



Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

Copyright Notice:

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/copyright.

[ca 1917]



Yesterday and Today

A Playlet for the
Young People's Branch

Ida Lillian Page

Price fifteen cents

YESTERDAY AND TODAY

A Suffrage Playlet for the Young People's Branch
of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union

By Ida Lillian Page

CHARACTERS

Martha—The one who served tea.
Helen—The one who believed in suffrage.
Doris—The one who enjoyed life.
Eleanor—The one who belonged to the Somerset Y.
Catherine—The one who was an "Anti."
Anna—The one who prophesied.

ACT 1. YESTERDAY (1907)

Room of Martha and Helen at school

Martha (seated at desk writing for dear life. As the curtain goes up she blots her paper, gathers the sheets together, places them in drawer, then looks at the clock)—My! ten minutes to five! I must hurry, the girls will be here to tea before I can possibly clear up. Anyway if I am a little tardy as a hostess I'm thankful beyond words to get that essay off my mind. (Begins to dust and place things in order, shaking up the couch pillows, getting things ready on tea table, etc.)

Helen (entering with books in her arm)—I'm delighted that French lesson is behind me. How I do hate it! Say Mart, why on earth do you suppose they make us study things we hate so?

Martha—Oh, just so when you return home you can make your debut as a finished product. Say, girlie, there is a pile of mail waiting for you on your desk. Oh, you need not blush, it's there all right; he always gets one here on Friday.

(Helen goes to her desk, picks up bunch of letters, sits down on the couch and begins to read).

Catherine (entering with workbag and taking rocker near Helen)—Hello girls, I know it isn't time for Martha to serve tea but I was so lonesome I thought I wouldn't wait for Doris to come in. Don't mind me Martha.

Martha—All right, make yourself at home.

(Helen, reading one of her letters and laughing, drops a leaflet on the floor. Catherine picks it up and reads aloud).

Catherine—Woman suffrage! Mercy me, Helen, what in the world are you doing with a suffrage leaflet and laughing about it at that?

Helen—Oh, this is a letter from my Aunt Caroline and she attended a lecture by Anna Shaw and she is telling me about it. Aunt Caroline writes she expects to live to vote, that it does not matter if the women are only voting in four states today, that ten years from now we shall find this will be one of the biggest issues before the public.

Eleanor (carrying her workbag)—What's that, suffrage the biggest issue before the public! I don't believe it. It's a big issue O. K., but what about the temperance question?

Martha (with everything finished at the tea table, takes her workbag and begins to darn stockings)—Eleanor, there you go again! (Addressing the other girls.) A body can't say a word about any old subject but up jumps Eleanor and shouts, "what about temperance?"

Eleanor—Say, Helen, in how many states did you say women were voting?

Helen—Auntie writes, in four—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho.

Eleanor—We have three prohibition states, I heard them listed with their dates last night at our Y. meeting. Maine, 1851; Kansas, 1880; North Dakota, 1889. Well Helen, if your Aunt Caroline expects to live to vote, I expect to see prohibition. It may look a long way off, but it will come.

Martha, Helen and Catherine (all together)—Oh, you dreamer!

Catherine (with the leaflet still in her hands)—Mercy me, girls, just listen to this: "We hear much of the so called unrest among the women of our day as if this unrest were something strange and peculiar, but it is merely the expression of the organized womanhood of our nation against the corrupt social and political conditions of our time. The women of large possessions and the women of direst poverty are all seeking for that 'something' which is to give them power to right the wrongs, heal the wounds and bind up the broken-hearted." I suppose that means they want the ballot.

Helen—Sure thing that is what they mean, they want to vote.

Catherine—Helen, do you mean *you* want to vote?

Helen—Say, Cathie, you must remember that Aunt Caroline brought me up. I've heard all this kind of talk since I was in short dresses. We all think Eleanor is a dreamer about the temperance question, but honestly I'm just as bad about suffrage. You can call us cranks, or any other title you can think up, it's all one to us, we have the "vision."

Martha—But say, girlie, what on earth do you want to vote for anyway? I have never bothered my head about it.

Helen—Well, here goes, these are my principles—I'd advise you Catherine to take them down in shorthand, you might need them for reference. First, I believe every one is born with the desire to govern themselves; second, I believe in our form of government and wish to have the privilege of selecting the men who make the laws for our town, state and nation.

(Doris and Anna enter carrying tennis rackets).

Doris—Good afternoon, girls, what are we interrupting anyway? It sounds as though Helen were lecturing with her firstly and secondly. See here Helen, you keep off the lecture platform. That belongs to Eleanor. No one else granted the privilege around these parts, and don't you forget it!

(The girls all laugh and all speak at once as follows):

Helen—But, Doris, I was just trying—

Martha—Why Helen was going to tell us—

Catherine—Helen wanted us to know—

Anna—For goodness sake don't all talk at once. Doris and I are just tired to death from our game of

tennis with the boys and we came in here to Martha's tea hoping for a little rest. How on earth do you suppose we are going to get it if you all talk at once. Helen, go ahead and get it off your mind so we can have peace.

Doris—I'll bet a cookie she has forgotten by this time what her thirdly was to be. Let's hear.

(Doris and Anna find seats).

Helen (dropping her letters on couch and standing)—No, I have not forgotten. Here goes—Third, I have always felt it was an injustice to tax woman's property and not give her an opportunity to help spend those taxes; fourth, I want to see better schools and cleaner streets and I'm with Eleanor in saying 'no saloons'; fifth, I believe in the curfew law for towns and the women would see that such a law was passed; sixth, I believe the women's vote would affect the child labor laws and would raise the wage of working women.

Doris—Oh say, Helen, that's enough, we are all convinced that you want the ballot and would use it rightly. Do you know what I want more than the ballot? I want something to eat this minute. I'm nearly starved after that game with Jack and Carl.

Helen—If you have had enough of my reasons I'll stop; but, I believe if Eleanor would only speak she would tell you that she is a believer also.

Eleanor—Yes, I'm with you for it is part of our W. C. T. U. work. It was adopted by the National in 1882, and, just think girls, it is told of Frances Willard that she made her first speech for suffrage in Philadelphia in 1876. And that same year when the National convention met in New Jersey her friends pleaded with her not to mention the subject, but she did, and in six years' time the women themselves were ready to accept it gladly.

(Martha goes to tea table and gets ready to serve).

Doris—Say! This is getting too serious for me. Of course I know Longfellow says "Life is real! Life is earnest! And the grave is not its goal," but I'm in for a good time in my life and I'll give up if I'm going to bother my brains over all these serious propositions although I'm perfectly willing to march with you girls to your tune of (starts marching all alone singing chorus of song by Deborah Knox Livingston, "The Advancing Host," to the tune of "Bringing in the Sheaves"):

"Women want the vote, women want the vote,
To bring in prohibition, women want the vote,
Women want the vote, women want the vote
To make a sober nation, women want the vote."

(As she begins to sing Eleanor puts her hands on Doris' shoulder and gets in line, quickly followed by Helen with her hands on Eleanor's shoulders, and Anna brings up the rear. March around all singing this chorus twice. Catherine sits still and never even smiles. All the rest smile, while Martha keeps busy at the tea table. As the girls finish the chorus the second time Martha calls).

Martha—Come, ladies, your tea is served. (The girls take their seats and Martha serves.)

Anna—It's a wonder you wouldn't get in line, Catherine!

Catherine—You know I do not believe in suffrage. Why should I, even in a joke, parade for it?

Doris—Oh, Catherine, you are the limit! Do you know she takes everything in dead earnest! If I tell her a joke it's no joke, for I have to explain the joke. She gets on my nerves! But I'll bet she thinks she knows why she doesn't believe in suffrage. Perhaps, by the time I've finished tea I may have strength of mind enough to hear it. But if I do, Anna will have to make it up to me by telling my fortune from the tea cup.

All the girls—That's great. It's up to Anna to tell us what will happen ten years from now.

Anna—It's a bargain if Catherine lives up to her part of it. We have heard what Helen had to say, it's only fair for Catherine to give her side. But I'm afraid that Catherine will not only be giving us her views, but Henry Forrest's as well.

Eleanor—That's so. Henry's going to debate against suffrage tomorrow night, and he has been after points and telling his opinions for the past week.

Martha—Now, Catherine, forget Henry for two minutes and tell us your side. We all know Henry has no use for strong-minded girls, as he calls all suffragists.

Catherine—It's not fair to tease me about Henry. I guess he isn't the only friend I have. Anyway I do agree with him on this question at least and there's no reason to say otherwise. Woman's place is in the home and you all know it as well as I do. She would make a muddle of politics; she never possessed or developed political faculty. Woman settles things emotionally, which would never do in the matter of voting. We do not need the ballot for we are represented by our fathers, brothers and husbands. We do not want the ballot. Is it worth while to subvert the whole order of human society by making women do men's work?—That's all I can think of now.

Helen—That's enough! Thank goodness you are through! Well we'll wait ten years and see what happens.

Martha—Now, Anna, take our cups and tell us what you see.

Anna—I'll begin with yours.—You will inherit a fortune and spend it on your voice. Yes, I can see you in Grand Opera ten years from now. (Takes Catherine's cup, looks very serious and says): Sure enough, believe me, Catherine is going to marry a fellow who looks like Henry O. K., and in the future I can see him in a woman suffrage parade which she is watching pass by. She still is not willing to fall in line. (All the girls laugh.)

Doris—Guess that one is sure to come to pass ten years hence.

Anna—I'll tell yours next, Doris. Let's see what fate lies in your cup (takes cup). Well, well, you are bound to have a good time even if you travel all around the world to find it. You are traveling, traveling, only at the end I see you settled down on a farm in the West.

Doris—Not much you do! No farm for me! I'd never love any man well enough to live on a farm. So there is one fortune that cannot come true. (Anna returns Doris' cup and reaches for Helen's.) I expect now she will tell us Helen gets married. That

seems to be the one thing she sees in everybody's cup, although she forgot it for Martha's.

Anna—Yes, Helen is going to get married. I see her in a beautiful home but I do not know her husband. She does not know him now; it's not her "steady" of today.

Eleanor—Say, Anna, does she still believe in suffrage?

Anna—She must, for over her desk I can see a pennant marked "Votes for Women."

Eleanor—That's good. I don't want her to go back on the suffrage question. It's my turn now (passes her cup to Anna).

Anna—Goodness gracious, girls! As sure as daylight I see Eleanor on the platform lecturing. I can even hear her say, "Women are opposed to the liquor traffic, the gambling house, the corrupt politician, and every evil that seeks protection by the vote. They want the ballot to combat these evils."

Eleanor—Here, wait a minute, I want to write that down. That's a fine sentence, how ever did you think of it (writes). I'll not wait ten years to use that, I'll give it to Henry tomorrow night when we debate.

Martha—Anna, now finish it up by telling your own.

Anna (picking up her cup)—I'm to marry the man of my own selection and I seem to see a house full of children, so it looks as though I'd be busy ten years hence.

Curtain.

ACT 2. TODAY (1917)

Reunion at Helen's Home

Living room. Helen, Martha, Doris, Catherine, Anna, all seated with their fancy work.

Helen—It seems almost too good to be true that I've been able to gather "Our Six" to celebrate the anniversary of that wonderful tea party we had at school ten years ago.

Anna—Yes, we are all here except Eleanor.

Martha—She will be here later on. I met her this morning. She is to speak at a meeting in town this afternoon and will come directly here from there.

Doris—Anna, there is one you prophesied rightly about. She is certainly living up to her part of the bargain for she is in the lecture field all the time.

Catherine—Oh, girls! You ought to have been at my home last month when I was entertaining. Eleanor ran in late, just as she will do today, and my maid offered her a glass of cider. She was horrified. She was too much of a lady to say anything then, but when we were alone she spoke her mind just as she used to do back in school. Said she was sorry I was tempting my friends. Then I told her I never served anything stronger. Well, before you could say Jack Robinson she was talking about the amount of alcohol in cider. I think she said it was two to seven per cent, something like that. I tried to turn it off in a joke and teased her about liking vinegar.

Helen—Oh, Catherine, you are too funny! I can guess how she then explained to you that cider passes through two chemical changes before it becomes vinegar.

Catherine—That's just what she did, but how did you guess it? Oh! I can't remember all she said. If you want to know, just ask her when she gets here. I never did like chemistry.—I'm just dying to have Doris tell us about Oregon.

Doris—Girls, it all seems like a dream to me. Don't you remember how I always said I was going to enjoy life. Well, sometimes it frightens me when I stop to think, for I have enjoyed all these years. As you know when we separated my mother wanted to travel, and we *did* travel. Europe one year, Japan and China next; and so it was, each year some other place, even to the uttermost parts of the earth. For one summer we went to Alaska. Then one day I met my husband. He was a banker and mother and I met him through business. We were married and shortly afterward the doctor told him the bank was too confining. His delicate health has been the only shadow in my life. We went west to Oregon for his sake and have a large fruit farm. But it isn't like living on a farm; we have all the comforts of a city home and go to town as often as we wish.

Martha—Your life sounds almost like a fairy tale "and she lived happy ever afterward," you know. How long have you lived in Oregon?

Doris—We moved west in 1913.

Helen—Let's see, Oregon women had the suffrage then didn't they?

Doris—Oh, yes, it was granted to them the year before that.

Catherine—Mercy me, Doris, you don't mean to tell us that you vote! I never would believe that a "fly-away" like you would ever be persuaded to do such a thing!

Doris—Well, girls, it was like this. You know I was never interested in the subject one way or the other, but when we settled in Oregon and I found that all my neighbors voted, why I just felt that I ought to vote also. So when I had been in the state the required time I went right along with my husband and we registered together and voted together, and as far as I can see I am enjoying life just the same.

Martha—Oregon voted dry too, didn't she?

Doris—The women certainly helped to bring that to pass. If you remember there were six states voting that day in November, 1914—Oregon, Washington, Colorado, Arizona, California and Ohio.

Helen—How Aunt Caroline would enjoy this. She could tell you that the first four named voted dry and that she knew California and Ohio would come in later.

Catherine—Mercy me! Helen, how many dry states are there?

Helen (laughing)—Catherine, if only you would read a little once in a while you would know there are twenty-three today, and there may be more before the year is out. The Territory of Alaska, too, has voted "dry."

Doris—Anna, why don't you speak up, you are a voter as well as I am.

Catherine—Mercy me! Is there another voter here? Really Helen I do believe I had better go home (tries to leave the room, Helen leads her back).

The first thing you know Anna will commence and I might have to change my mind about being an "anti." That would be terrible, for Henry has been trying to convert me for the last five years. I *just won't be changed!*

Anna—"Mercy me," as Catherine says, I've been waiting to get my opportunity to put in a word. But do you know it is really funny after these ten years to think we should still be "going it" about suffrage and temperance. I thought when I came in, "Now the girls will all want to know about my husband, and how many children I have, and what kind of a house I live in, and whether I keep servants and how many, and how I manage to keep them, and whether it costs more to live in Colorado than it does in the East, and whether I have any trouble getting a good dressmaker in the wilds of Denver, and how many women's clubs I belong to." I was ready for all these questions and even brought Harold's picture and the children's with me, and the last thing I did before coming east was to have the house taken to satisfy your curiosity.

(All leaving their chairs and speaking at once, go over to Anna).

Helen—Let's see Harold.

Catherine—How many children have you?

Martha—I want to see your home.

Anna (passing the pictures as she takes them from her bag)—And here you are starting me off on a suffrage question. Now you all know the women of Colorado have voted since 1893. The state was named among the four, ten years ago when this conversation began. She voted dry November, 1914, and the law went into effect in January, 1916. Yes, Catherine, I helped to vote her dry and I have never neglected my husband, babies or home in order to vote. Why when election day comes, I put on my hat to go marketing, put the baby or babies in the carriage, and out we go. I enter the voting place and leave my babies outside just as I do at the grocer's and the butcher's. I remember reading what one of our Governors said, and it's true, every word of it: "Equal suffrage has been a great success in Colorado. It has established a higher standard of morals in political parties and in office holders. It has revolutionized the old practice of disturbance at the polls, and has made them as respectable places as the retail dry goods stores of our cities."

Doris—Listen, Catherine. Anna seems to think it's her duty to reform you, so I'll quote one of our Governors to help Anna's cause along. He says, "The women not only register and vote, but they vote for those men and those measures that make for decent government."

Martha—You see, Catherine, it's just this way, you made up your mind in school that you were going to be an "anti," and you have never really stopped long enough to truly think these facts out.

Catherine—Mercy me! Another one after "yours truly"—Oh! Please, Helen, make them change the subject. (Rises, walks up and down, then seats herself again.)

Helen—We'll try to be good, Catherine. Martha, I'm sure Doris and Anna want to know what you have been doing.

Martha (laughing)—It's too bad, Anna, that I cannot tell you that my fortune came true. It didn't! The fortune never arrived. I taught school and did study hard at my music but by and by I married a good man and true, and that settled any going abroad to study music. But you may be interested to know that my little son—he's seven—has commenced with the violin and now my dream is to send him abroad. If Helen serves us tea today that is what you must find in my cup!

Helen—Anna, I've always had it in for you because you promised me a beautiful home and a fine husband. He was to be a stranger, some one I did not know ten years ago!

Anna—As far as I can see, you have the beautiful home, the only trouble being you have not as yet met the stranger. Come on out to Denver and I'll introduce him to you. I've told him all about you and he is hoping you will return with me next month.

Helen—Oh, Anna!

Anna—Better come. You don't know how nice he is. They think in Denver I'm quite a match-maker. Truth to say, all my matches turn out well, so you will not be making any mistake.

Eleanor (coming in with wraps on and removing the same)—What's all this, Anna? Are you still match-making? Is she after you, Helen? (Greeting all the girls, each one arising as she is kissed.) You better get your life insured before you go to Denver, for sure thing she will have you engaged before you leave the city. It is really dangerous!

Catherine—Mercy me, Eleanor! Did she try it on you?

Eleanor—I'll have to plead guilty. Now, Helen, you did not know you were giving my "announcement tea" today; but it's the truth and what's more I'm going to be Anna's sister-in-law. Isn't that great?

Catherine—Oh, Eleanor, and you are going to move away to Denver! Oh! Dear!! Me!!! Here I've depended on you all these years and how am I going to manage without you? Why how can you marry—*you*, a "woman's rights" woman? You have no time for husband or home or children!

Eleanor—Oh yes, I have. I've worked hard for the cause ever since I was a girl and I expect to work for it as long as I live. I'm going to vote with my husband the same as Anna does. "Colorado has the most advanced laws of any state in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children." I'm quoting Judge Lindsey, and I'm glad to go and be a citizen of Colorado.

Helen—Eleanor, I want to be the first to wish you joy and happiness. I'm so thankful you were in the East last year to help New Jersey in her battle for suffrage in the early fall, and then to have a part too in the campaigns in New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

Doris—Oh, yes, Eleanor, I want to ask you whether you felt discouraged because the bills—I should say the amendments—were defeated in each of these states.

Eleanor—Not at all; it was just so much education. You see we easterners are not as progressive as the people of the West and it will take a little

longer, that's all. I'll come back East for the next campaign and help again. Take New Jersey, for instance, we lost it by over 56,000; but the people do not all realize that there were 100,000 men who voted at the last presidential election who failed to vote on this suffrage amendment. They were just not interested. That's all, and that's the real problem in the eastern states—to fight the indifference of many voters and to overcome the liquor men's influence, for we all know (even Catherine) that the liquor interest stands pat against suffrage. Why, we only lost Pennsylvania by 54,000. What's that for a big state like the Keystone state!

Helen—That's the way I feel about it too, Eleanor. What is 200,000 for New York and 127,000 plus for Massachusetts?

Eleanor—Now here I am talking "shop," and I promised myself when I came in that I was just going to gossip with my old friends and show you my ring and get some good advice about my "hope" chest and trousseau!

Doris—It's no use, Eleanor, you must answer one more question before you leave the lecture platform.

Eleanor—What's the matter now? Do you want to know how many prohibition states there are? Twenty-three and the Territory of Alaska is correct. Or do you want to know in how many states women are voting today? Full suffrage in eleven, presidential and municipal suffrage in one, namely, Illinois, and suffrage in Alaska. Now if it isn't either of those questions it must be you want to know in how many prohibition states the women vote. Six is the answer, namely, Kansas, Colorado, Washington, Oregon, Arizona and Idaho.

Doris—No, Eleanor, you have another guess coming. Before you came in Catherine tried to tell us how you lectured her about serving cider. You left an impression on her mind for she said she *thought* you said it had from two to seven per cent alcohol in it. Then she got a little mixed up because she hates chemistry, you remember; she tried to explain what you said about vinegar.

Anna—Eleanor, I have not looked at a chemistry book since I left school and I need to be instructed too.

Eleanor—Well of all things! Every one of you were in the class over ten years ago when Professor Wood explained this matter and I have not looked it up in a book since. I guess I remembered because I needed the fact in my profession. (Exit Helen.) The alcohol forms in the apple juice by the breaking up of the sugar. This is fermentation. Then, in due time, if the cider is left exposed to the air where the oxygen can unite with the alcohol, it changes twice, first to aldehyde and next to acetic acid which makes it vinegar of course. It's as simple as A. B. C. when you know.

Catherine—I'll remember that just about as long as you are telling it, Eleanor.

Eleanor—If you would only put your mind to serious things, Catherine, you would be a dandy. It's no trouble for you to remember social occasions, and how everybody was dressed. Just begin to remember some of the things that count.

Catherine—I am going to begin today. Henry will be frightened when I go home and tell him I've been

with a party of suffragists. Eleanor, I've really made up my mind to sit down calmly all alone and face the facts that Doris and Anna have told me this afternoon, and I'm quite worried because it surely looks as though I'd have to change my mind about a good many things.

Anna (rising and putting her hand on Catherine's shoulder)—I'm sure, Eleanor, she will never serve cider again. You have started her thinking about that, too.

Catherine—That's true, Eleanor, and I wanted to tell you so today. Never again will I offer it to my guests or partake of it myself.

Eleanor (going to Catherine and taking both her hands)—Catherine, you better join our W. C. T. U. We meet tomorrow.

Catherine—I'm not sure yet whether I'm ready to do that, but it looks as though my conscience would drive me to it.

Martha—Well, of all things, surely wonders never cease! Eleanor, you ought to rejoice over many blessings today.

Eleanor—I do. It repays me for all the hours of labor during these long years.

Doris—There comes Helen and I know it is to tell us that tea is served, and I'm as hungry as I was ten years ago when we came in for that suffrage temperance tea at school.

Helen—Please come to the dining room, and Anna may tell us over the tea cups what will happen in the next ten years.

(Exeunt.)

Issued by the National W. C. T. U. Department of Franchise

SEND ALL ORDERS TO
NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE
UNION

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS



[1917]

MICHIGAN**Equal Suffrage Association**

In common with other States, the work in Michigan has increased in proportion to the wonderfully aroused public sentiment in favor of equal suffrage throughout the world and the problem has been to meet the growing demands put upon the State Association.

Owing to the fact that a vigorous campaign for State-wide prohibition in which many suffragists have been actively interested has been waged in Michigan during 1916 our work has had to be somewhat broader in its scope than would have been the case had the field been clear. This also influenced us in the decision to postpone the suffrage campaign from 1916 to 1918.

Our plan therefore has been to arouse as strong a public sentiment in favor of the cause as possible to be crystallized by more intensive organization during 1917-18. To this end a multitude of meetings have been held covering nearly the entire state, with speakers of national and local prominence addressing them. Not the least important result obtained from these meetings has been the formation of organizations in many of the educational institutions of the state, where care was taken to place the best speakers. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale during her two weeks' speaking tour proved particularly popular with the students. Having a practical newspaper woman in charge of our press work, we have been able to get live suffrage news into the papers, helping materially to arouse interest in the meetings over the state.

An effort is being made to demonstrate the value of the taxpaying woman apportionment plan and a house-to-house canvass is being pursued in a number of counties, a three-year pledge card being used.

Necessarily great stress has been laid upon the political side of the work this year. The interviewing by letter or by personal call of all candidates for state and national offices has been faithfully done in the hope of sending men to Congress who will vote for the passage of the Federal Amendment and electing men to the State Legislature who will either submit the question to the voters of the state in 1918 or ratify the Federal Amendment should it be referred to the state before that time.

NELLIE SAWYER CLARK, President.

MINNESOTA

1916

Woman Suffrage Association

The Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association has continued its plan, adopted last year, of organizing by legislative districts, appointing a leader for each district, and a chairman for a township or precinct; dividing

these among section chairmen who make house-to-house canvasses, leaving literature and enrolling members.

On account of the campaign in Iowa and South Dakota, the plan has been adhered to of organizing in the counties adjacent to these states.

In addition to Mrs. Albert McMahon, who was an organizer last year, we secured the services of Mrs. Rene E. I. Stevens, who has been organizing in Minnesota since January, with the exception of one and one-half months which she spent working in the Iowa campaign. Minnesota contributed the services of Mrs. McMahon for three and one-half months to Iowa.

Minneapolis entertained the Mississippi Valley Conference May 7-10. There was a mass meeting of 2,000 people in the Auditorium Sunday afternoon, a banquet at the Radisson Hotel of 500 people Monday evening, a luncheon on Wednesday, at which time plans for demonstrations at the Republican and Democratic conventions were presented, a mass meeting in the St. Paul Auditorium Wednesday evening, besides business sessions for three days.

Deputations of Minnesota women called upon all of the delegates to the National Republican and Democratic conventions of the Twin Cities and for many of the other districts, urging them to vote and work for planks in their platform advocating woman suffrage.

About thirty Minnesota suffragists were in Chicago at the time of the Republican convention, most of them marching in the parade. For the Democratic convention Minnesota suffragists went from St. Paul to St. Louis in a "Suffrage Barge." The barge was decorated with suffrage banners and pennants, and the bow was set aside as suffrage headquarters.

Word had been sent to suffragists in towns along the route, and meetings had been arranged at various stopping places. Meetings were also held on the boat. On the return trip the Minnesota delegation was joined by that from North Dakota.

On Americanization Day a protest was telegraphed to President Wilson because American women were not included in the nation's invitation to its citizens to participate in the privileges of self-government, so freely granted to every class of men.

Our Hennepin County Association, under the direction of Mrs. McMahon, has begun a series of successful automobile trips through the country.

Mrs. Catt appointed the President of the association representative of the National Woman Suffrage Association at the Prohibition convention, which met in St. Paul in July. The Resolutions Committee was asked to include a plank in their platform favoring the Federal Amendment. This request was acceded to. The President was also asked to speak before the convention on the subject of the Federal Amendment.

The association employs one paid press chairman. Weekly bulletins are sent to some of the state papers, and a plate is sent from time to time

We have begun the organization known as the "Unit Plan," and hope before the end of the fiscal year to see a general interest in this up-to-date "Organization Idea."

The Republican and Democratic parties at their respective caucuses to elect delegates to the National conventions, were asked for the endorsement of the movement to obtain a plank in the National platforms.

In February occurred our Congressional conference at St. Louis, with Mrs. Catt as our leader. At that time plans were laid for the demonstration which was held in the same city during the National Democratic convention in June.

This demonstration, which has made emphatic suffrage history, was under the direction of Mrs. William C. Fordyce, City Chairman of St. Louis.

to 150 papers. She also edits the suffrage column of the "Suffrage Forum," a department of the Minneapolis *Sunday Journal*, the other column being contributed by the local Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage.

The Congressional work has been confined to sending letters and telegrams to and having interviews with Congressmen in regard to the Federal Amendment as directed by the National Congressional Committee.

The association hopes to have an organizer in every Congressional district before another year. We have now two women besides our regular organizers who will give part time to organizing Congressional districts.

CLARA HAMPSON UELAND, President.

Some of the Discriminations Against Women in North Carolina

*Handed Down from Barbarous Ages and Still Enforced
though Abolished by the Constitution of
1868 — 49 Years Ago*

Though all married women are by the Constitution entitled to hold their property "as if they were unmarried," yet—

A. If property is conveyed or devised to two people who happen to be married, the husband still takes all the rents and profits during their joint lives, giving the wife nothing, and his heirs, possibly by another wife, also get the whole property if the husband is the longest liver.

B. A jury is forbidden by statute to believe the woman on oath when a man is tried for seduction unless she is corroborated by another witness. This is the only case in North Carolina where a jury is forbidden to believe a witness.

C. Though abolished elsewhere, the useless requirement of privy examination is still required, though a standing insult, based on the presumed incapacity of women.

*These and many other discriminations against women
are retained because they have no votes.*

The remedy is to acquire votes — Politicians will never
respect the rights of women who
cannot vote.

Property Rights of Married Women Guaranteed by State Constitution Cannot be Denied on the Authority of the Scriptures.

"They twain shall be one flesh" means equality, and not the destruction of all rights of the wife

Opinions of Chief Justice Walter Clark and Justice George H. Brown in *Freeman v. Belfer*
(92 S. E. 486, 488)

CLARK, C. J. (dissenting). The question here presented whether a divorce a mensa et thoro constitutes husband and wife tenants in common of land held in entirety has never hitherto been decided in this court.

When an estate is conveyed to two or more persons under our law, it makes them tenants in common. There is no exception to this by any statute, but in England, formerly (though not now) an exception was made, not by any statute, but by the opinion of judges who held that, as the law then stood, the property rights of the wife being suspended during coverture, if a conveyance or devise was made to two persons who happened to be husband and wife, the husband should have the whole of the estate during his lifetime, and at his death it should go to the survivor. Thus by judicial enactment was created the "estate by entirety."

By our Constitution adopted in 1868—now 49 years ago—the former conception of the extinction of the wife's right of property during the marriage was utterly abolished, and it was provided (article 10, § 6) that the property of the wife, either at marriage or thereafter acquired, should be and remain her sole and separate property as if she were unmarried. It therefore follows that, if the Constitution governs, a conveyance or devise to a man and his wife stands as if the wife was still single, and they hold as tenants in common.

When the same abolition of the common law as to property rights of husband and wife was enacted elsewhere, it was held in England, Ireland, Canada, and 28 states of this Union that the result was to make husband and wife when grantees or devisees of the same property tenants in common. 2 Lewis' Bl. Com. 182, note 18; Cole Mfg. Co. v. Collier, 95 Tenn. 115, 31 S. W. 1000, 30 L. R. A. 315-319, 49 Am. St. Rep. 921; 21 Cyc. 1201, 1202. It should have been so held in North Carolina also, but the judges held to the contrary, when the question was first presented here, and that opinion has been followed ever since, though more than once the court has suggested to the Legislature the propriety of abolishing entireties.

The question, however, now raised by this

appeal for the first time is whether when there is a divorce a mensa et thoro the wife is deprived of her half interest in the property conveyed or devised to her and her husband jointly. If it had been held that she is, no judge or court is bound by an erroneous precedent, but should rather correct it. In *McKinnon v. Caulk*, 167 N. C. 411, 87 S. E. 559, L. R. A. 1915C, 396, the question was presented as to the effect of an absolute divorce, and it was held that in such case the husband and wife were remitted to hold the property as tenants in common. This was in accordance with the holding in all other states except two.

The question now presented is as to the effect of a divorce a mensa et thoro. This has not been decided in this state, and we should decide the question upon the language of the Constitution and upon the reason of the thing in analogy to *McKinnon v. Caulk*, supra. It is unrighteous for the husband to receive the rents and profits from the wife's half of the land after such divorce.

Conceding that a conveyance or devise to two persons who happen to be husband and wife must be construed, therefore, contrary to its language, and that the wife cannot have the constitutional right to hold her property therein as if "unmarried," the only plausible reason is that, as the husband is charged with the wife's support, therefore, during their joint lives, the income from such property should go to the husband to be applied to their joint support. Any argument that is based upon "being one flesh" is purely fanciful; for it is untrue in fact, and, since our Constitution of 1868, untrue in law. Therefore, when there is a divorce from bed and board, the husband being discharged from the support of his wife as fully as in a divorce a vinculo (except as to the alimony which when allowed should be paid out of the husband's own property), it follows that the wife is entitled to her half of the income from the joint property during their joint lives and to partition. There is no precedent against this, for the matter is absolutely res nova, in this state at least, and we should follow the Constitution and the reason of the thing.

(2)

It has been stated by a most distinguished judge and law writer that in North Carolina, notwithstanding the provision in our Constitution of 1868 which confers equality of property rights upon married women, the Supreme Court of this state has followed in every decision the former judicially created doctrine of the inferiority of the wife and the submergence of her existence in that of the husband except and until there has been some act of the Legislature in conformity with the spirit and letter of the Constitution. A long list of authorities bearing out this statement can be easily appended. These decisions have not always been against the individual woman who was litigant because the protection of being non sui juris (which is another word for being incompetent and incapable) has sometimes been claimed for her by her lawyer, but the decisions have usually, if not always, been against the claim, by whichever side and whenever set up, that the woman is by the Constitution held competent and has the same property rights as if she had remained unmarried. We have held that a man has a right to slander the good fame of his wife, though he is indictable for doing the same as to any other woman. *State v. Edens*, 95 N. C. 693, 59 Am. Rep. 294. We have held that the earnings of the wife by her needle belong to her husband (*Syme v. Riddle*, 88 N. C. 463), notwithstanding the language of the Constitution which guarantees that all property "acquired in any manner whatever after marriage as well as before" shall remain her sole property, and even that damages for loss of her limb and physical and mental suffering belong to her husband, and cannot be recovered by her (*Price v. Electric Co.*, 160 N. C. 450, 76 S. E. 502). In these respects, and in some others, statutes have been passed requiring conformity to the Constitution, but statutes have not yet cured all discriminations against the wife as fully as the Constitution has done, and especially it has not yet done so as to the judge-created "estate by entireties." But no decision has until now extended that estate to a case like this where there has been a divorce from bed and board.

The ruling by which a devise or conveyance of property jointly to husband and wife becomes the sole property of the husband during his life is without any authority in any statute here or in England, but was created solely by men judges in the barbarous days in England, and was the expression by them of the sentiment which still prevails among savages, based upon their idea of the superiority of men and the incompetence and incapacity of women, and pictured the state of such society where men are loafers and women are drudges doing all the work which is appropriated by the men. The state of the English law as to wives, which survived to his day and far later, from those ruder times when the judges (not Parliament) created the discriminations against them, is accurately expressed by Shakespeare, a good lawyer

(whether his works were written by Lord Bacon or not), when he made Petruchio say of his wife:

"I will be master of what is mine own,
She is my goods, my chattels; she is my house,
My household stuff, my field, my barn,
My horse, my ox, my ass, my anything."

Of a piece with this was the doctrine, also judge-made, for there was never statute for it, that if a man beat his wife "with a switch no larger than his thumb," the court would not punish him. The last of these was still held law in this state till after the Constitution of 1868, and was abolished by the decision in *State v. Oliver*, 70 N. C. 60 (in 1874), long after this was done in England, while the doctrine as to the annihilation of the property rights of the wife by her marriage was abolished in England and everywhere else and as clearly by our Constitution in 1868 as language could make it. *Walker v. Long*, 109 N. C. 510, 14 S. E. 299.

The statement of Adam (not of God), Gen. ii, 24, "that husband and wife should be one flesh" was figurative, and cannot deny property rights to married women in North Carolina contrary to our Constitution under the conditions of society which prevail since Adam's expulsion from Paradise. Adam in a moment of exaltation made a statement of his high intentions of equality with his wife in all things. As a literal fact, they were not made one flesh, and could not be. Even as to union of interests, which was meant, decrees for divorce have been signed by every superior court judge in North Carolina.

Indeed, the expression as quoted in Mark (chapter x, verse 8), "They twain shall be one flesh," and to the same purport in Matthew (chapter xix, verse 5), and "They two shall be one flesh" (Eph. v, 31, which is explained in verse 32) show the equality, and not the submergence, of the wife in the husband as the one being resulting from the union. It would be as logical and as just to say that the wife was the one, and therefore that when property is conveyed or devised to her husband and herself that she should have all the rents and profits during her lifetime, and that on the husband's death she should have the whole in fee simple, as the contrary ruling by men judges that the husband should have all the proceeds of the joint property during his lifetime. Our property rights are fixed by our Constitution and laws, and not by the law of Moses.

The obscure and utterly unknown judge who in the remote past evolved the doctrine of entireties out of his own consciousness doubtless based the idea upon the above citations, but neither he nor the Mosaic law as to property rights can control the provision of our own Constitution which confers upon married women expressly the same rights "as if unmarried." It would be as logical to hold that the modern enlightened laws of war should be controlled by the requirements

(3)

of the old Scriptures that the captives taken in war should be utterly slain, men, women, and children (1 Sam. xv), or to follow other requirements which a sect in England and Scotland once advocated and even in admiration named some of their children "Hew-Agag-in-Pieces."

A landowner in having his land surveyed found that the distance called for between two points in his deed was greater than by a straight line between those two points, and proposed "to bend out" into his neighbor's field in order to "get his poleage." The neighbor promptly replied, "Why don't you bend in to get your poleage?" If it is absolutely necessary when there is a conveyance or a devise to a man and his wife of property jointly that one shall have the whole of it, why should it not be the wife instead of the husband? There is as much reason for one as for the other.

When the Constitution of 1868 provided that upon marriage a woman should retain all her property which she then had or might thereafter by any means acquire, there remained no longer any reason to deprive the wife of her half interest in realty conveyed or devised to her and her husband jointly by confiscating it all for the benefit of the husband. This was at once so held in England, Ireland, Canada, and 28 states above cited.

In *Mial v. Ellington*, 134 N. C. 131, 46 S. E. 961, 65 L. R. A. 697, this court reversed the ruling in *Hoke v. Henderson*, 15 N. C. 1, 25 Am. Dec. 677, though that had been made by a very strong court (Ruffin, Daniel, and Gaston), and had been in force for nearly three-quarters of a century, and had been cited with approval more than 60 times. If, notwithstanding the express provision of the Constitution, a similar act of justice cannot be rendered to wives, still there can be no reason why the Constitution should be further disregarded by extending for the first time such ruling to cases where there is a divorce from bed and board.

At a time when women are no longer disposed to submit to enthroned wrong and to suffer in silence as their mothers did, when all five political parties have pledged themselves to confer full suffrage upon them, and in 19 states women already have the right to

vote for president, and in 20 other states suffrage in lesser matters, and the President and Cabinet and the political leaders in all parties are pledged to full and equal suffrage, when the irresistible tide of long-delayed justice is sweeping over all other countries as well as in ours, it is surely not an auspicious hour by judicial construction to extend in this state the discrimination against women to new fields where it has not heretofore obtained and further restrict the constitutional guaranty of their personal or property rights. The estate by entirety is further unconstitutional because it exempts from claims of creditors property not included in the homestead allotment.

NOTE.—The utter absence of rights in the wife as against the husband, announced by *Petruchio*, cannot be justified against all wives because his wife was a shrew. Even those who condemn women to inferiority and indignities as punishment inherited from Eve will not support that view. In this case, the aggregate of the wife's rents and profits of which she was deprived may well have exceeded what came to her at last by the chance of being the longest liver. Moreover, all wives do not survive their husbands.

BROWN, J. (also dissents). I am of opinion that, when there is a separation for life between husband and wife, sanctioned by law, as in divorce a mensa, the interest of the wife in property held in entirety should be enjoyed by her free from the control of the husband. There is as much justice and reason in applying this rule to a divorce a mensa as to one a vinculo. If we do not so hold, then the husband, although legally separated from the wife will have the control of the property held in entirety, and will not be accountable to her for the rents and profits. This is manifestly unjust to the wife, for it is as much her property as the husband's.

The case has never been presented before this court before. I think it best to settle the matter by holding that when husband and wife are separated by decree a mensa they at once become tenants in common of property held in entirety.

For this reason, I am unable to concur in the judgment of the court.

(4)

Another Discrimination Against Women.

Statute forbids jury to believe testimony of woman in indictment of man for seduction unless she is corroborated — Only case in North Carolina law compelling a jury to disbelieve competent testimony.

Opinion of Chief Justice Walter Clark in *State v. Moody*

(90 S. E. 900, 902)

CLARK, C. J. (concurring). Concurring fully in the opinion of the court, I think it, however, well to call attention to the fact that our statute is less of a protection to the woman than in almost any other state.

Our statute (Rev. § 3354) makes criminal "the seduction of an innocent virtuous woman under promise of marriage" with a proviso that "the unsupported testimony of the woman shall not be sufficient to convict."

Seduction was declared a crime by a very early English statute, but in very few states is it required that the seduction "shall be under promise of marriage." Clark's Criminal Law (3d Ed.) § 128; McClain, Cr. Law, §§ 1111, 1112; 35 Cyc. 1329. The proposition often urged that rape cannot be committed except upon a woman of virtuous character has been justly repudiated in all the courts. It is not easy to see why it should be required as to the offense of seduction. Such requirement is not made as to the prosecutor in embezzlement, larceny, or any other offense against property, nor as to the party assaulted whether killed or in a charge of rape or any other offense against the person.

The further requirement that "the unsupported testimony of the woman shall not be sufficient to convict" is not required by our laws as to any other offense and rarely in other jurisdictions. In 35 Cyc. 1360, it is said:

"In a prosecution for seduction, the testimony of the female alone, without corroboration by other evidence, is sufficient, in the absence of a statute to warrant a conviction"—citing *People v. Wade*, 118 Cal. 672, 50 Pac. 841; *Washington v. State*, 124 Ga. 423, 52 S. E. 910; *State v. Stone*, 106 Mo. 1, 16 S. W. 890.

Even the unsupported testimony of an accomplice, if believed, is sufficient for a conviction of felony. *State v. Rowe*, 98 N. C. 629, 4 S. E. 506, and cases there cited.

In this state the disadvantage to the woman has been carried much further still by the judicial construction which requires the woman to be corroborated as to three distinct circumstances and even throws upon her the burden of proving her character for virtue. In those few states where this last circumstance is subject of proof, it is usually re-

quired that the defendant shall prove the bad character, and not that she shall prove her good character.

It was of this offense that John Philpot Curran, in *Massy v. Headfort*, said:

"The Cornish plunderer, intent on spoil, callous to every touch of humanity, shrouded in darkness, holds out false lights to the tempest tossed vessel and lures her and her pilot to that shore upon which she must be lost forever, the rock unseen, and nothing apparent but the treacherous signal of security and repose, until she is at length dashed upon that hard bosom where her honor and happiness are wrecked forever, sinking before his eyes into an abyss of infamy or, if any fragment escape, escaping to solace, to gratify, to enrich her vile destroyer."

The defendant here had courted his victim assiduously for three years, and then, when brought to the bar to answer for his conduct, he summoned to his aid all who would defame her character and traduce her virtue. The burden was placed on her to prove her good character by preponderance of evidence over the assaults made upon it by one who for three years had asserted his devotion and to convince the jury by other evidence than her own, difficult as it is because the law of North Carolina has asserted that the oath of a woman in such case is unworthy of belief, and her testimony cannot be taken as true, unless she is supported by other evidence.

In this state, as yet, women have no share in the government, and it may be that it is not unnatural that discrimination should be shown against them in this matter; but it has not escaped criticism by law-writers and courts. There is no disposition in this court to extend the discrimination, or make convictions more difficult in this than in all offenses. The general rule is, as to all offenses, that a witness is presumed to be of fair character, and that it is for the party who impeaches the credit of a witness to attack the testimony of the witness, taking into consideration his or her interest in the matter and relation to the controversy and the parties to it, without any artificial requirement that the testimony of one witness shall not be sufficient if the jury shall believe it.

(5)

Requirement of Privy Examination of Wife.

Is Contrary to the Constitution which Empowers Her to Convey with "Written Assent" of Her Husband.

Exaction of privy examination is also useless and an insult to every husband and wife.

Opinion of Chief Justice Walter Clark in Satterwhite v. Gallagher

(92 S. E. 369, 370)

CLARK, C. J. (dissenting). We held in Warren v. Dail, 170 N. C. 406, 87 S. E. 126, that a married woman can make any contract that she could make if unmarried, and make her property, real and personal, liable, without privy examination and without charging the same upon any specific property. If this were not so, then it would have been necessary to have held the "Martin" Act (Laws 1911, c. 109) null and void, though in full conformity with the Constitution of 1868, which emancipated married women as to property rights, making them sui juris and providing that as to their property, whether owned by them at the time of marriage, or acquired thereafter in any manner, they should have as full control "as if they were unmarried," save only that the husband's assent is required as to conveyances. Walker v. Long, 109 N. C. 510, 14 S. E. 299.

This court has always held that the husband's witnessing a conveyance made by his wife is a sufficient "assent" (Jennings v. Hinton, 126 N. C. 48, 35 S. E. 187), or writing a letter (Brinkley v. Ballance, 126 N. C. 393, 35 S. E. 631), or signing the deed without express assent (Jones v. Craigmiles, 114 N. C. 613, 19 S. E. 638), and in many other instances. In the present case the husband fully concurred in the paper by signing it, and, it having been recorded, the defendant is entitled to specific performance, and the plaintiffs are not entitled to have such contract canceled as a cloud upon title.

The requirement of "privy examination" cannot be added to the constitutional provision which authorizes a married woman to convey subject (as said in the concurring opinion in Warren v. Dail, 170 N. C. at pages 413-415, 87 S. E. 126) to only one restriction, "the written assent" of the husband, for no other clog or requirement can be added.

The privy examination was imposed at a

time when married women had no such right, and was probably inadvertently brought forward in the codifications of the laws. Though copied in the "Martin" act it should be held subordinate to the change in the Constitution in regard to the freedom of married women to convey their own property with merely "the written assent" of the husband. Under the Constitution, therefore, the Legislature can require the privy examination only when the wife joins in the conveyance by the husband of his own property, by way of release of her contingent right of dower, which is given and can be taken away by the Legislature. Even in that case it is useless, as the husband in fact selects the justice of the peace. Its retention, after its abolition in England and all our sister states (except four) would be nothing more than a curious instance of mental inertia except to those who deem it little short of a standing insult to all husbands and wives, based upon the legal assumption thus made, that husbands, in this state, will influence their wives by improper means, or cheat or bully them, and that wives by such means can be made to assent to conveyances unless protected by a magistrate selected by the husband. The aggregate expense and annoyance of privy examinations, useless as they are, is no small consideration. The Constitution requires privy examination of the wife only when she joins in the conveyance of the husband's "allotted" homestead, which is an implied abolition of it in all other cases. "Inclusio unius, exclusio alterius." The deed of a married woman without privy examination is color of title. Perry v. Perry, 99 N. C. 270, 6 S. E. 86.

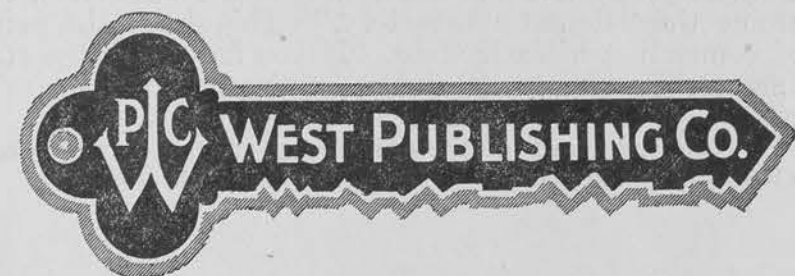
As, in this case, the husband joined in the contract to convey, it is a valid contract, and the court below, it seems to me, properly held that the plaintiffs had not stated a cause of action for cancellation.

Authorities

Whether One or a Hundred
Whether For or Against You

You can find all there are by following
the Key-Number through the American
Digest System and the National Re-
porter System

The Only Way to
Cover the Ground Completely



Saint Paul, Minnesota

The National Case-Law Storehouse

Reports of **625,000** late decisions by the highest State and Federal courts, covered by the National Reporter System, are kept stored in the West Publishing Company's building. Any one of these can be furnished at a moment's notice, and at a nominal cost—

25 Cents for Any Case Reported Anywhere in the National Reporter System

These storerooms of authorities are at the command of the profession.

You find a case cited—you would like to examine it. Can we furnish it in pamphlet form? Yes, if it is in the Reporters. To ascertain whether a case cited from the State Reports falls within the time of the Reporters, examine the "Reporter Directory." This shows the point of connection in each state. If you haven't a Reporter Directory, write to us and we will send you one.

There is no need to take an important citation on trust when a few cents will give you a full report of the decision itself.

West Publishing Co.

St. Paul, Minn.

Announcement

Season 1917-18



*The Feakins
Transcontinental
Lecture
Tours*



WILLIAM B. FEAKINS, Inc.

TIMES BUILDING, NEW YORK

BENJAMIN CHAPIN

"The Lincoln Man"



BENJAMIN CHAPIN STUDIOS
RIDGEFIELD PARK, N. J.

Friends:

My Lincoln Cycle of Photoplays is booked for the Globe Theatre, New York City, for eight weeks, beginning June 3, 1917. Four features in one production:

MY MOTHER—"The Spirit Man"
MY FATHER—"The Physical Man"
MYSELF—"The Lincoln Man"
THE CALL TO ARMS—"The Humanity Man"

These features will be shown in other cities following their New York run.

My time will be so taken up with these Lincoln Photodramas that I will not be able to fill many engagements with my Lincoln Monologue Portrayal. Perhaps, however, I could arrange to come to you when the Cycle has its first showing in your city.

Faithfully yours,

Benjamin Chapin

Introduction



HE Spring of 1917 opens the eighth season of this management. A limited list is offered, but later in the season it is expected that other suggestions will be made. Committees will act wisely if they save some dates for timely offerings, as the season progresses.

On the other hand, prompt action is suggested in the case of any of those herewith presented in whom you may be interested.

Some folks have hesitated to make plans for next season because of the uncertainty of conditions incident to the entry of the United States into the World War. For the same reason, we delayed the issuance of our regular booklet, but it is sent forth now with the conviction that with the placing of the Liberty Loan and the passing of tax legislation conditions will be more settled and many hesitating committees will begin to make definite plans, and by early fall belated bookings will keep us all busy.

Laurence Housman will not return until the season of 1918-19. Norman Angell is not permitted to leave England at present. Many inquiries are constantly received in regard to Hilaire Belloc. He writes that he cannot come until after the War.

Only a few subjects are mentioned in most cases, to indicate some of the fields covered. The individual circulars often suggest subjects more in line with your particular interests; and sometimes special subjects will be considered.

ALFRED NOYES



Author of "Drake," "Tales of the Mermaid Tavern," "The Lord of Misrule," etc. Visiting Professor of English Literature at Princeton University; Lowell Institute, Lecturer in 1914 (Course repeated) on "The Sea in English Poetry."

"SONGS OF THE TRAWLERS"
And Other Poems.

Readings with comment. The British Admiralty gave Mr. Noyes the unusual privilege of going out with the trawler fleet engaged in hunting submarines. He also visited the front during the Battle of the Somme.

"AN EVENING WITH ALFRED NOYES."
Author's Readings.

"THE SPIRIT OF TOUCHSTONE."
Dealing with the Fools of Shakespeare.

"A NEW ASPECT OF HAMLET."

LONDON DAILY NEWS: "It is impossible to estimate the value of writings like those of Mr. Noyes and Mr. Kipling, but there is no doubt whatever that in the present crisis they are worth an army corps by way of sustaining the spirit of the Nation."

LONDON BOOKMAN: "The leaders will have to be many and diverse must be their gifts, but among the poets there is none to whom one may look with more confidence than to Mr. Alfred Noyes."

LONDON DAILY CHRONICLE, Oct., 1916: "The most characteristic of living English poets."

ANOTHER CRITIC SAYS: "Mr. Noyes is the poet not only of to-day but of the future; for, curiously enough, while many of the so-called modernists were chiefly concerned with questions of technique, Mr. Noyes was one of the very few poets who, both before and after the war, was devoting much of his power and vision to the most urgent of all possible subjects, the great human problems connected with the world catastrophe."

"There was a distinct impulse towards literary expression as a result of his visit."—*Lyman P. Powell, LL.D., President Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.*

"One of the most captivating readers of poetry I have ever heard."—*W. H. Carruth, Professor of English, Stanford University.*

"He captivated one of the most brilliant audiences ever assembled in our university."—*H. H. Peckham, Professor of English, Purdue University.*

BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE



Actress, Lecturer, Author of "What Feminism Is," "The Nest-Builders," etc. One of the most successful and sought-after women on the American platform.

"Woman in the Great War."

"The Awakening of Women."

"Musical Comedy, the Movies, and the Modern Play."

"New Tendencies in American Drama."

"The Corollary of Birth Control."

"What Feminism is."

"The Art of Dress."

"Poetry of the Great War." (Readings)

"The Friendships of Shakespeare's Women."
(Readings)

"Her vigorous, healthy personality swept through the town like a breeze of ozone."—*J. E. Williams, Streator, Ill.*

"So convincing was her brilliant address that at its conclusion the assemblage of 800 persons rose en masse to show their agreement with her."—*Altoona (Pa.) Mirror.*

"A speech as logical as it was comprehensive on 'The Drama as a Social Force'; it was both interesting and far-reaching."—*Iowa State Journal, Ames, Ia.*

"Thoroughly womanly, with all feminine graces of manner and presence, yet with a brain that deserves the adjective virile and with an historical and social knowledge of her subject that a man might envy, this woman in her own person proved that a woman can think a man's thoughts and be a woman still."—*Editorial in Evening Press, Grand Rapids, Mich.*

Available as far West as Denver and in the South this Season.



KATE BARNARD

*Former Commissioner of Charities
of Oklahoma*

- "Politics, the Game."
- "Woman and Destiny."
- "Behind Locked Doors."
- "Within Prison Walls."

"For almost an hour she held the most intent attention of the House of Representatives."—*News and Observer*, Raleigh, N. C.



DR. W. DE KERLOR

French Experimental Psychologist

- "Our Hidden Forces." *
- "Building a Winning Personality." *
- "The Psychology of Line and Color in Art."

* Demonstrating with members of the audience

"A very fine talk, quite different from the Psychological Lectures we are accustomed to. A splendid theme ('Building a Winning Personality'); the possibilities are great."
—W. R. STRAUGHN, PH.D., Principal, State Normal School, Mansfield, Pa.



MAX EASTMAN

*Editor "The Masses"
Author "Enjoyment of Poetry"*

- "Slang in Conversation and Poetry."
- "What is Humor and Why?"
- "The Age of Journalism."
- "Progress Towards Liberty."

He based his arguments on the broad and comprehensive appeal of a man who has lived a full life and seen the interplay of the forces of industry and psychology and learned to recognize what the democracy of the future is bound to bring.
—*Springfield Republican*.



EVERETT D. MARTIN

Editorial Writer. Educational Lecturer. Director of the unique educational experiment at People's Institute, Cooper Union, New York.

- "The Effect of the World War on Progressive Ideas"
- "Modern Ideas in Literature"

Goethe, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Walt Whitman, Romain Rolland.

(Single lecture or a course of six)

- "Know Thyself."

A course of six lectures dealing with the messages of William James, Bergson, Schiller, and other modern explorers of the mystery of personality.

"Unusually full of thought, original, stimulating and suggestive to a notable degree; heartily enjoyed and appreciated by the Club."
—Program Committee, *Clio Club*, Williamsport, Pa.

FREDERICK PALMER



*Author of "The Last Shot"
"Thru Manchuria with Kuroki"
"The Call of the Blood"
"My Second Year of the War"*

"With Our Men in France" (illustrated), etc.

The only accredited American correspondent with the British Forces in France during first two years of War.

Bookings cannot yet be made for this lecture, but definite information can be given during the summer. Applications should be made early. Mr. Palmer's lecture "My Second Year of the War," illustrated with motion pictures was probably the most successful war lecture of the season of 1916-17.

WITTER BYNNER



*Author "The Tiger,"
"The New World," etc.*

- "The Return of the Poets."
- "The New Freedom in Verse."
- "Modern American Poets."
- "Modern English Poets."

Mr. Bynner is spending the spring and summer of 1917 in the Orient, and will return in the fall with new material for lectures.

BASANTA KOOMAR ROY



*of Calcutta, India, Author of
"Rabindranath Tagore: The Man
and His Poetry," "The Women Poets
of India" and "Hindu Folk-Tales"*

- "America and the Challenge of the New Orient."
- "The Awakening of India."
- "Tagore: The Poet and His Personality."
- "Beauties of Hindu Literature." (with Readings)
- "The Feminist Movement in the Orient."

"A well-known contributor of articles on things Indian to American magazines and reviews, and a lecturer of much personality and charm."—*The Century Magazine*.

WINTER RUSSELL



*Attorney, Lecturer,
Formerly Chairman Speakers'
Bureau of Woodrow Wilson
College Men's League*

- "World Democracy"
- "Irresistible Life"
- "Everybody's Gold Mine"
- "Christopher Columbus"

A forceful and vigorous speaker

Other Suggestions

J. M. DE BEAUFORT

Author, "Behind the German Veil."

A Record of a Journalistic Voyage of Discovery

Count DeBeaufort visited German Headquarters and the Eastern Front, and has many interesting and unusual lantern slides.

MONSIGNOR ARTHUR S. BARNES, M.A.

Catholic chaplain at Oxford University and chaplain in English Army.

"A Chaplain's Experiences at the Front."

Also Literary Lectures.

JOHN SPARGO

ex-Member National Executive Committee, of the Socialist Party who resigned because it was becoming too Pro-German.

These persons are available from time to time, some of them in the East only. Those marked thus * are apt to be in the West and South some time during the Season. Correspondence is invited.

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE *

Questions of the Day.

THE FULLER SISTERS *

Old English, Irish and Scotch Folk Songs, in Costume.

DR. C. HOUSTON GOUDISS *

Editor "The Forecast," Pure Food Magazine.

"Food Conservation."

DR. WM. B. GUTHRIE

Sociology, Politics, History.

"The Psychology of International Relations."

DR. TOYOKICHI IYENAGA

Japanese Scholar and Diplomat.

"Japanese-American Relations."

Other Suggestions

HUTCHINS HAPGOOD *

Author and Lecturer

Politics, Economics, Labor.

VAHAN CARDASHIAN

Author "The Ottoman Empire in the xxth Century."

"Turkey, the Cause and the Prize of the War."

ALFRED W. MARTIN *

Author and Ethical Teacher

Literature, Ethics, Sociology.

MRS. THEODORE PARSONS

Author of "Brain Culture Through Body-Building," etc.

"Physical Preparedness," with Demonstrations.

EDWIN MARKHAM

Author "The Man with the Hoe," etc.

Literary and Social Topics.

PRINCE LAZAROVICH *

An authority on the Balkan States.

Historical and Military Subjects.

CHARLES RANN KENNEDY

Author, "The Servant in the House"

Readings, with Comment.

LESLIE WILLIS SPRAGUE *

"Will Democracy Endure?"

"Learning to Live in Cities"

JOSEPH MORROW

Illustrated Lectures on Ireland.

THE B. R. BAUMGARDT LECTURES



Each year the lectures of B. R. Baumgardt, Scientist and Explorer, have drawn him a larger following, until now, whenever he is announced to speak on any subject, numbers of people flock to hear him, having learned that he is extremely well-informed upon any subject that he selects, giving it broad treatment and keen analysis.

The best recommendation of his lectures is to be found in a published list (which will be sent upon request) of organizations, from Maine to California, where he has appeared—in fourteen of them, from five to nine times; in ten of them, from ten to fourteen times; in six of them, from fifteen to nineteen times; in four of them, from twenty to thirty times; and in two of them, forty times.

"The Romance of Human Progress"

"Modern Russia and the Rise of the Slav"

"The Latest from the Heavens"

"Municipal Art Centres, Ancient and Modern"

"Switzerland, the Playground of Europe"

Mr. Baumgardt lectures both with and without stereopticon illustrations. Many other subjects available.

An illustrated, detailed circular will be sent on request.

COL. E. A. HAVERS



"The Marvels of Modern Photography"

(in Science, Art and Travel)

Entirely new, carrying the science of photography right up to date.

Col. Havers made two trips to Europe to complete his photographic material to illustrate this lecture, which has been endorsed by the Natural Science Association of Princeton University, Photographic Clubs and Colleges.

Entertaining and instructive. Will hold any audience.

Send for circular giving complete outline of this lecture, and list of other subjects.

REV. CHARLES F. AKED, D.D., LL.D.



"THE PLACE OF AMERICA IN THE RE-CREATION OF THE WORLD."

This lecture has been described as a prophetic appeal to the wisdom and patriotism of America.

"PROPHETS OF THE DAWN; THE INSPIRING STORY OF RUSSIA IN REVOLUTION." For more than thirty years Dr. Aked has been a close student of this movement. This brilliant lecture is informing to a degree.

"BUT HAS HE SEEN IT YET?"—A discussion of H. G. Wells' *"Mr. Britling Sees it Through"* and *"God, the Invisible King."*

"A PREACHER AT THE PLAY." A new course of five lectures in which the appeal is always to the healthy-minded and heroic.

1. *"The Strongest Man on Earth."* Based on Ibsen's *"An Enemy of the People."*
2. *"Potash and Perlmutter."* Its ethical and racial significance for the Gentile and the Jew.
3. *"The Disraeli of George Arliss and the Disraeli I Knew. Is Fiction Stranger than Fact?"*
4. *"The Heart has Its Reasons!"* Brieux, *"La Foi,"* and Zangwill, *"The Next Religion."*
5. *"Rostand's Appeal to the Heroic in 'Chantecler' and 'La Samaritaine,' and Sardou's in 'La Societe.'"*

"CAN THE LEOPARD CHANGE HIS SPOTS?"

"LINCOLN AND GLADSTONE: TWIN GIANTS OF THE ENGLISH SPEAKING RACE."

"THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR."

"THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF EVERYTHING — A CHEERFUL VIEW OF LIFE."

Dr. Aked will be in California during the summer of 1917, will speak on the Pacific Coast in the early fall reaching the vicinity of Chicago about November 1st, and going East at the end of that month. He will make a trip to the middle West and also South after the holidays. An eight-page folder, with outlines of lectures will be sent upon request.

[post-Jan. 25, 1917]

KATE BARNARD

"Oklahoma Kate"



"Miss Kate Barnard of Oklahoma yesterday carried a telling message to members of the House of Representatives when for almost an hour she held the most intent attention of that body. Miss Barnard appeared girlish, fresh and youthful, as one sure of her ground and unafraid. She talked freely and with no effort. Her talk was the saving feature of an otherwise uninteresting session."—*News and Observer*, Raleigh, N. C., January 25th, 1917.

Management of
WILLIAM B. FEAKINS, Inc.
Times Building
NEW YORK

KATE BARNARD

WHAT WOMAN MAY ACCOMPLISH IN THE WAY OF REAL STATESCRAFT
AND HOW IT CAN BE DONE.

Miss Barnard was for two terms State Commissioner of Charities and Corrections, an office having equal rank and authority with the Governor or Attorney-General—the dictator of State Policies, the author of eight of Oklahoma's laws, and three planks in its Constitution—a strong-armed reformer, and a frail little dark-eyed woman, all in one. She led the State Democratic ticket by 7000 votes in 1907, and by 10,000 votes in 1911. Her lectures deal with the enlarging horizon of women, the correspondingly larger viewpoint, and the finer and nobler service she is rendering to home, State, and country.

Her first work was for the poor immigrants who were pouring into Oklahoma. She cared for 3,000 destitute families and put 500 children into the city schools. These activities made her a political power and she used her influence to the best advantage when the new State Constitution of Oklahoma was under consideration.

On her own initiative she secured protection for the children of the poor. To familiarize herself with conditions elsewhere, she made a tour of the slums, factories and workshops of the larger cities in the East. She consulted members of the National Child Labor Committee and leading sociologists, and with this first-hand information she entered a systematic campaign to create a demand for a child labor plank, a compulsory education plank, and a Department of Charities, in the new State Constitution.

The hardest fight of her life grew out of her efforts to properly protect the children of the poor in the constitution of Oklahoma—a fight which lasted three years, DURING WHICH SHE MADE 127 SPEECHES, OPENED AND CARRIED ON A PRESS CAMPAIGN, INTERVIEWED LEADING POLITICIANS, SECURED ENDORSEMENTS OF BIG POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FOUGHT AND DEFEATED A SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE.

She took the stump for Democratic success and helped elect a majority of Democrats to the Constitutional Convention. She made a plea before the Constitutional Convention with the result that her model child-labor plank passed. It is known as "Proposition No. 388," and bears the inscription, "Introduced by Delegate W. C. Hughes at the request of Miss Kate Barnard." Her propositions

for a Department of Charities, and for compulsory education also passed. Ambassador Bryce said of Oklahoma's Constitution, "It is the finest document of human liberty written since the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of Switzerland," and no little credit for making it such is due to the activities of a single woman—Miss Barnard.

Her thorough knowledge of social conditions and her profound interest in the welfare of the people resulted in her nomination for the office of Commissioner of Charities, an elective office, in a southern state, where women do not vote. She was a favorite speaker on the Democratic side. Slender, graceful, petite, with dark hair and skin and flashing eyes, and a rapid-fire articulation that was the despair of the reporters, she painted pictures of the wrongs of childhood, of the sufferings of minors without the protection of law, of the needs of the orphans, and of the iniquity of sending criminals to jails, thrilling her vast audiences with her earnest eloquence.

Miss Barnard's expose in 1908 of the atrocious conditions prevailing in the Lansing (Kansas) penitentiary will be long remembered; she inspired the legal battle between Oklahoma and Kansas, which resulted in breaking the contract which the State of Oklahoma had with the State of Kansas, for the care of Oklahoma prisoners. She figured in a big prison reform fight in Arizona in the winter of 1911-12, coming out victorious.

In 1912 she succeeded in restoring \$2,000,000 to the Indians and Indian orphans of her state, and in prosecuting the men who tried to deprive them of their lands and money.

Her work in cleaning up the insane asylums of Oklahoma and Arizona and other states is well known.

Miss Barnard is a member of the American Academy of Social and Political Science. She has spoken before the City Club, Cooper Union, the League for Political Education, in New York City; in Ford and Faneuil Halls in Boston; the American Section of the International Tuberculosis Congress at Washington, D. C.; the Governors' Congress in Richmond, Va.; the National Editorial Convention at New Orleans; the North Carolina State Legislature, and the State Conference for Social Service, at Raleigh, N. C., and learned societies, colleges, universities, and legislatures all over the country. Her accomplishment has been so notable as to attract inquiry from Max Nordau, of France, Enrico Ferri, of Italy, Muensterburg, of Germany, and famous leaders of statescraft. Her own work is constructive statescraft and one of her addresses will be a *revelation of what a woman may accomplish* in the world's work.

LECTURE SUBJECTS

WOMAN AND DESTINY.

What Women May Do to Bring Peace and Harmony into Public Life.

WITHIN PRISON WALLS.

The Injustice and the Heartache Behind Prison Walls and the Better Way of Dealing with Unfortunate and Misguided Men.

BEHIND LOCKED DOORS.

The Tragedy of the Insane, the Prevention, the Cure.

POLITICS, THE GAME.

A Running Account of a Three Years' Battle for the Child Labor Law, Lifting up the Curtain and Showing the Finesse, Strategy, Intrigue, Comedy and Pathos of the Political Game. This Lecture takes best at Schools and Colleges and with Women.

COMMENT

My Dear Miss Barnard:

In behalf of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association and of the delegates to the State Convention, I write to express our thanks for your splendid and spirited address at the banquet in Williamsport last week. We were all captivated by the speaker and the speech, and hope we may have the pleasure of hearing you again.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) HELEN C. CLARK,
Secretary.

[February, 1917] *File copy*

"Efficiency Booklet Series"

HOW TO REACH THE RURAL VOTER

By

Amelia MacDonald Cutler

February, 1917, Edition

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N.

930 NICOLLET AVE.

MINNEAPOLIS, : : MINN.

Copyright, 1917, by

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING
COMPANY, INC.

Published by

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE
PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

HOW TO REACH THE RURAL VOTER

OUTLINE.

- I. Character of district and of suffrage objections.
- II. Answers to the suffrage objections.
- III. Kind of suffrage workers.
- IV. Cordial relations between farm and suffrage organizations.
- V. Character of arguments for organization.
- VI. Of general appeal.
 1. Parcels post.
 2. Good roads.
 3. Schools should respect farming.
 4. Prohibition and responsible labor.
 5. Extension of rural credit system.
 6. Gambling in grain.
 7. Transportation.
 8. Scarcity of labor.
 9. Food inspection.
 10. Double rural vote.
- VII. No appeal.
 1. Child labor.
 2. Eight-hour.
 3. Vice commissions.

HOW TO REACH THE RURAL VOTER.

I. The first step in reaching the rural voters of your district is to ascertain what the foremost economic and political interests are and what the objections to woman suffrage are. As these issues and objections differ in neighboring farming districts, it would be best for every suffrage league in a political district where the farming vote is a factor, to devote some time to answering the following questions.

If it is possible, invite especially to a meeting the farm women who have been active in behalf of local farm interests, and ask them to take part in an open discussion of farm interests. Then answer the objections fully in order presented. Send one copy to headquarters and keep one on file for the use of speakers, canvassers and district organizers.

1. What is the leading farm industry of your district?
2. What farm organizations in your district?
 - a. Names of officers.
 - b. Aims of organizations.
3. What legislative action have these organizations furthered?
4. What results have been obtained?
5. How does your district stand on prohibition?
6. What was the last vote on suffrage?
7. Who are your town committeemen?
8. What are the arguments advanced against suffrage in your district?

II. The second step is to prepare answers to the objections to suffrage which would be convincing to the rural voters of your district. The importance of this preparation is to obtain a composite picture of the prejudices and to present the arguments in a way to meet the prejudices. It is often impossible to arrest the attention of a farmer by an argument which has no point of contact. By leading up to a reason for suffrage by mentioning an objection first, the attention of those holding

4. Prohibition and responsible farm labor. If the building of roads in your district maintains a group of political henchmen who vote for license at elections, who feels the effect of this condition most? Isn't it the farmer and his family? If the family have to work harder because the farmer cannot find a reliable "hired man," ought not the women of the family to be able to offset the vote of those desiring license?

5. Extension of rural credit system. In many cases the widow or the daughter who is running the home farm finds it necessary to have a labor-saving device such as a milking-machine or a washing-machine. Under our present system of banking it is almost impossible for a woman to get a loan for working capital. Yet if conditions force her to be a breadwinner, a taxpayer, etc., she should be entitled to the same help from the rural credits as the men. Only when women are politically recognized can they secure such assistance.

6. The retail ^{cc}food dealers have been controlled by the big dealers and the railroads, so that at present the Eastern farmers have to pay so much for grain that they are driven to reducing their herds. In New York State production fell off 1% last year—in a year of high prices for farm products. It is a well-known fact that New England cannot feed herself. This presents an alarming future for the consumers who are trying to raise families on a modest fixed income. They must face the possibility of a rising scale

of prices on a fixed salary. It is for the best interest of consumer and producer that the Eastern farm section should be prosperous and productive. It is interesting to note that while the United States District Attorney Anderson and mayors of cities were urging a boycott to bring down high prices, the Federation of Women's Clubs of New York City appealed to their enfranchised sisters in Illinois to start legislation prohibiting gambling in wheat on the Chicago stock exchanges. Wouldn't such a regulation be better than boycotting?

7. Farmers and consumers should control transportation of foods and distribution to city markets, instead of railroads and middlemen doing so. The 60% of the retail cost of food now spent in distribution should be divided between farmers and consumers. The quality of living would improve if farmers could afford more labor, and cold-storage plants were regulated by consumers. It is a matter of public housekeeping and one in which city housewives are becoming greatly interested.

8. Scarcity of labor and high prices of labor due to industrial activities are reducing Eastern farmers' families to peasantry. All are forced to work without adequate compensation. Should not the women thus forced to work for the nation, have great national rights?

9. Inspection of food is an interest close to consumer and producer. The appointment of inspectors should be taken

the objection is attracted. It is like raising a red flag. Present these objections and answers in such form that they will be available for the use of speakers and canvassers in your district. Take this outline as an example.

"A great many people are stating that the women of California voted for license. California is a 'wet' State. No one denies that. California is a great State for grape vineyards. Southern California will not permit you to dispute that. Well, you remember, there was a serpent in the garden of Eden. And there is a tempter in the vineyards of California. The money for California wine comes from all over the country. It seems just as unfair to blame the farmers of Southern California for growing grapes for the wine industry as it is to blame the women of California because the State went 'wet.' As a matter of fact, no record was kept of the vote of the farmers or the vote of the women. It is possible that some of the grape-growing farmers thought that the grape business would be just as good if grape-juice were popular instead of wine, and that they could make more money growing grapes if they could count on sober, industrious workmen. All that we do know about the liquor vote is that the liquor interests all over the country united in spending money to induce California to vote 'wet.' The same liquor interests spend more money to defeat woman suffrage than any political enemy we have."

Present then if you can secure them,

circulars sent out by liquor interests as proof of your statement. The leaflets in print are all useful in this connection.

III. The third step is to decide on the personality of speakers and interviewers best suited to your district. This is a most difficult matter to adjust—as difficult as selecting the right man for diplomatic service. If it is at all possible, it is best to answer a prevailing rural objection to suffragists as selfish, childless women, by selecting women for the rural work, who are known to the community as devoted mothers. Where personal interviews necessitate the use of a car, it is wise to arrange to have a mother accompanied by her young children—combine duty with pleasure in doing this work. So many rural men say that their wives do not care to vote that it is of particular value to bring to their attention the fact that there are women who wish to vote to protect their children's interests, and that their support is asked in behalf of such women even if their wives do feel that they are adequately represented. Personal charm, adaptability and a knowledge of farm problems are of great service, but, above all other requisites in rural interviewing, is that of **personal sympathy.**

IV. The fourth step is to establish cordial relations between the farm organizations and the suffrage organizations. Those who have accomplished this have achieved an important step. To those who have not, the following suggestions are given:

1. Find out what organization leaders and prominent farmers are in favor of suffrage and who are against it.

2. Confer with those in favor and ask them to keep the league informed of the public meetings of the organization.

3. When occasion arises confer with a leader again who favors suffrage as to the best way of presenting propaganda. If possible, persuade a member of the organization to come out publicly for suffrage by presenting resolutions, distributing the literature or by giving a talk. If this is not possible, be sure to secure the suffrage privilege in due form through the representative. By no means take the hearing for granted.

V. Great care should be used in presentation of suffrage arguments and leaflets in these organizations. All material should be related to farm problems in some way. Special effort should be made to show the closeness of interests between consumer and producer. The antis have appealed to the farmer's mistrust of city women so that it is wise to build up confidence in the city suffragists.

VI. Arguments which appeal everywhere are outlined as follows:

1. **Parcels post** as government carrier should not discriminate against farm produce. Parcels post has not assumed responsibility for perishable farm produce, though it has assumed responsibility for perishable merchandise and liquors. Pol-

icy of P. O. Dept. has been dictated by great mail-order houses. Should not the interests of the farmer and the housewife in the city who wants fresh food for the family be considered to a greater degree? Women's votes are needed for national housekeeping.

2. **Good roads** should be considered more necessary to the farmer and the consumer than to automobilists. Good roads have followed the automobile routes in New York State. The New York City family which owns no automobile, but buys milk and pays highway taxes, ought to have some influence in determining where these roads should go. It is for the best interest of city children that dairy sections should have good roads so that the milk may be brought from the farms quickly and easily. Women are interested in such problems.

3. **Schools should respect farming as well as commerce.** Why should every farm boy have to do problems about a train leaving B at 5 o'clock and another leaving A at 6 o'clock, both going at 30 miles an hour, towards C? When would they meet? Are railroad problems any more general than farm problems like this: If grain has advanced in price 50%; the price of labor 25%; the cost of farm tools 10%, how can the milk farmer make expenses when the price of his product has advanced from three cents to four cents a quart? Women are the teachers in these schools. Why not let them vote on all school matters?

out of politics and placed in hands of experts. Dr. Harvey D. Wiley endorses woman suffrage. City mothers want fresh milk from farms, not milk that has been treated; want butter, not oleomargarine made to imitate butter by the use of aniline dyes; prefer pure fruit jellies to colored gelatine flavored by chemicals. At present, the homemaker has nothing to say about these matters. Both the farmers and the consumers are anxious to have adequate protection from disease of farm animals. The farmers of Maryland once lost thousands of hogs from hog cholera started by impure vaccine sent out by a careless veterinary. In a county of New York State tuberculosis was distributed by a sale of Jerseys advertised as free from the disease. A veterinarian had certified the cattle free from disease. Why should the farmers and consumers pay the price for such carelessness and dishonesty? These are matters which women take seriously. Why not let them vote on them?

Take also the matter of exterminating the hordes of preying insects and pests which infest American farms. Millions of dollars are lost annually because of indifference of the public to farmers' needs. In Connecticut an orchardist lost 1000 young apple trees because deer were protected. Before the war the United States was the dumping ground for diseased nursery stock from Europe, because 14 nurserymen were powerful in their efforts at Washington to fight inspection, and thus get cheap stock from Europe. The

United States Department of Agriculture protested, but it lacked the political support. Farmers are rallying now to protect their interests, and the mothers of the cities are watching, for they are beginning to realize that the farmers' best interest is their best interest. The National Housewives' League called a special meeting in New York and endorsed the Farmers' Leagues. Wouldn't you rather have votes than endorsements behind you?

10. Double farming vote by enfranchising your wives. City women will not vote solidly for the same interests as farmers, but a large group who are interested in food problems will. Then count on the vote of your wives behind your interests. This will do much to give the farmer greater political strength than he has known for many years in Eastern States.

In addition, the pamphlets on property rights of married women, prohibition and the baby fliers are useful.

VII. Do not mention or circulate literature on the following:

1. Child labor—because the farmer is an "individualist," and is opposed to all regulations of labor. Also child labor as it is known on Northern farms is as educational for the child as anything offered its life. There are rarely any abuses.

2. Eight-hour day—Farmers are opposed to this. Their own day is about 12-16 hours. Competition of 8-hour day labor is depleting farms of labor.

3. Vice conditions in cities—Antis use this to make farmers mistrust the city vote of women.

EFFICIENCY!

Everywhere suffragists are becoming alive to the fact that they must have greater efficiency; that it is **efficiency** which **counts** and through efficiency only can they attain the goal of suffrage.

"THE EFFICIENCY SERIES"

Is a series designed to educate suffragists themselves.

The pamphlets embody the actual results of practical experience.

- (a) A Suffrage Training School.
- (b) How to work for Suffrage in an Election District or Voting Precinct.
- (c) How to Raise Money for Suffrage.
- (d) Blue Book Suffrage School.
- (e) Suffrage Argument—Outline for Speech or Debate.
- (f) How to Reach the Rural Voter.

Price: 5c Each 45c per Dozen
\$3.50 per 100. Postpaid.

[post-Feb. 22, 1917]

File Copy

LIVING WITNESSES

Scores of letters from ministers working in the states where both men and women vote have recently been received. Their testimony, regardless of denomination or creed, is unanimous as to the splendid results of equal suffrage, both upon the community and the home. Space permits printing excerpts from only a few; yet even this small number should make all open-minded, conscientious citizens realize that it is their *moral duty to help* in the great work of getting the ballot for all the women of the United States.

Determine now to do your part.

P. T. Rowe, D.D., Bishop, Diocese of Alaska, Seattle, Washington:

"Woman Suffrage in the West has been taken most seriously and exercised most conscientiously. In so far as I am able to judge—and I am as familiar with the facts and conditions as any other intelligent citizen—the results have been highly satisfactory: a real moral uplift and inspiration, while reports to the contrary are, in my opinion, baseless and untrue." (*Excerpt from letter of January 26, 1917.*)

Charles F. Mieir, Pastor Highland Baptist Church, Portland, Oregon:

"Our hope of political cleansing and civic righteousness rests in the women getting the ballot (1.) For from personal observations for seven years in Washington and Oregon I know the great majority of the best women in the community vote. (2.) The literary qualification of the American womanhood is higher than the men—proof, the comparative numbers of boys and girls in the graduating classes of eighth grade, high school, college and university. Give women the vote and they will study the issues. (3.) The moral standard of our women is, as a class, higher than that of men. And the conscienceless im-

**Real Moral
Uplift**

**Political
Cleansing**

moral man has a much harder time to get into office when women have to elect him." (*Excerpt from letter of January 23, 1917.*)

J. W. McDougall, D.D., Pastor St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, Spokane, Washington:

Best Women "The best women, and that, too, in large num-
Vote ber, are taking a hand in governmental affairs. It is too bad the truth cannot be published. Our people would not return to the old way." (*Excerpt from letter of January 25, 1917.*)

D. W. Thornberry, The Deanery, St. Matthew's Cathedral, Laramie, Wyoming:

"Women in Laramie are in the very forefront of every undertaking which has for its object the bettering of moral conditions in our community. There is no doubt whatever in my mind as to the standpoint of women generally in the West today in regard to the exercise of their voting privileges when public morality is at stake. They are taking their full share of the responsibility and are doing it well." (*Excerpt from letter of January 24, 1917.*)

Rev. G. N. Gardner, State Superintendent and Corresponding Secretary, Nevada-Sierra Baptist Convention, Reno, Nevada:

"I was a resident of California when equal suffrage was passed and my observation was that at the first election after this passage there was very little, if any, change in the moral status, but the second vote marked a decided change in the moral issues. I moved to Nevada and watched very closely the movement here where practically the same thing took place. The first election did not seem to change the conditions, but the women of

the State are taking a decided part in the issues which we believe will be for the betterment of the State.

"I cannot see where woman suffrage has any bearing on the divorce question in the least. Because of a certain technicality in the laws of the State of Nevada, people of other states take advantage and come here in large numbers to be relieved of their domestic difficulties. The good women of the State are not asleep and before long we will see them take a part in hitting this thing hard." (*Excerpt from letter of January 24, 1917.*)

George F. Lowe, formerly of Ogden, Utah, now Pastor First Baptist Church at Loveland, Colorado:

"My personal observation of the question of woman suffrage is that the saloons, brothels and all the baser elements of society hate to see woman suffrage come into a state because they know such things cannot long exist when women have the right to vote at the polls for themselves and their children. I do not hesitate to say woman suffrage is a great blessing to Utah." (*Excerpt from letter of January 25, 1917.*)

Rev. W. H. Bowler, State Superintendent, the Idaho Baptist Convention and the Utah Baptist Convention, Boise, Idaho:

"I have resided in Idaho ever since it had woman suffrage and have been traveling constantly over the state and I know the people and conditions in all parts of the state. From this long and wide observation I am ready to affirm the strongest sort of a conviction that woman suffrage has been a very material help and blessing to Idaho. In all parts of the state the very best and foremost women vote regularly. In Idaho, the votes cast by bad women are an exceedingly small minority of the whole. Since the vote was given to the women in this state, Idaho has made remarkable

and encouraging progress in temperance, restriction of gambling, Sabbath observance and many other things that tend toward morality." (*Excerpt from letter of January 22, 1917.*)

Rev. T. F. McCourtney, General Missionary and Corresponding Secretary, Arizona Baptist Convention, Phoenix, Arizona:

"For four years I was pastor of one of our larger churches and for ten years I have been in the general work as Superintendent of our Baptist Mission Work in Arizona and it gives me real pleasure to say that our best women have always been felt on the side of better morals. Since our women have been permitted to vote it has been comparatively easy to carry against the saloon power and other intrenched evils. **They have by their presence at the polls** completely changed conditions there, and I have yet the first thing to see at the polls that would in any way lower the dignity of women. **Let all women vote.** I wish you success." (*Excerpt from letter of January 25, 1917.*)

John Chandler White, (Episcopal) Archdeacon of Springfield, Illinois:

"As one who has studied the question for many years and who at first was decidedly prejudiced against woman suffrage, I am glad to bear witness to the immense good accomplished by even the limited suffrage that women have in this state, **both upon the women themselves and upon the general welfare and good of the community.** I have observed with my own eyes the splendid improvements along all lines that the woman vote has made. I am bound to say that in my humble opinion the woman vote is going to be the salvation of our national politics. The best women in our towns and cities go to the polls and vote intelligently and conscientiously for the best things and men, and

I do not believe they can be bribed. I hail with thankfulness the coming of equal suffrage and feel bound to give it all the support and encouragement I can from my pulpit and personally." (*Excerpt from letter of January 24, 1917.*)

Samuel S. Cohen, Rabbi of Lion Temple, Chicago, Illinois:

"Judging by conditions in the State of Illinois, the partial suffrage won by the women several years ago has been so used as to fully justify their present claim to complete suffrage. Good mothers and faithful wives use the ballot for the purpose of protecting their homes and children and in some instances even their husbands against the spread of the contagion of immorality. It is a matter of history that in several Western towns the pleas to close up the red-light districts were unheeded until the women gained a voice in the administration of the city government. While women are made of the same clay as men—subject to the same virtues and vices—owing to their greater interest in the home, their vote has, on the whole, been a force making for higher morality. This truth is indirectly proven by the fact that the most determined opponents of woman suffrage have been the representatives of vicious interests. Movements, as well as people, should be judged not only by their friends, but also by their enemies. It is my firm conviction that the personal morals of men will be raised to a higher level by woman suffrage." (*Excerpt from letter of January 31, 1917.*)

A. E. Isham, Vice-President, Evangelical Lutheran Synod of California, First Evangelical Lutheran Church, Redlands, California:

"Great numbers of the very best women cast their ballots and the result has shown the highest order of intelligence and moral principle. If it were not so, Los Angeles would not be

as clean a city as it is, it would not have been possible to close out San Francisco's "Barbary Coast," the liquor laws would not be so rigidly enforced, the minimum wage for women would not be possible, the eight-hour day for women, including nurses, would never have been passed, and so through the list of beneficial legislation and reform that has made California as well as other western states the example of humanitarian social progress.

"Immorality, the saloon, gambling, child labor, social injustice are in imminent danger wherever the women are given the ballot and the opportunity to use it intelligently. The New West refutes the false statements of the enemies of Woman Suffrage." (*Excerpt from letter of February, 1917.*)

William Calvert, Lutheran Church, Hutchinson, Kansas:

"I personally know a lot of as noble women as you can find who vote and who vote as they should against all evil—who vote for men who are known to be on the side of morality and all that is right. The enemies to which you refer know their day is short and are making this determined effort to upset the Woman Suffrage canoe. They cannot do it—it is of God and cannot be overthrown. You have our sympathy and prayers. May you be successful everywhere." (*Excerpt from letter of February 10, 1917.*)

W. S. Pryse, Presbyterian Church, Elk Grove, California:

"I have resided in California for the past ten years and am fully informed as to the political, social and moral conditions in the State. The best class of women generally vote and take a keen interest in elections. There is a rising tide of opposition to immoral conditions in this and other Western States. The fact is there is not a sound or well-founded argument that can be urged against Woman Suffrage, not one. The opposition of the

**Aids Beneficial
Legislation**

**On the Side
of Morality**

**No Sound
Argument
Against
Suffrage**

Anti-Suffragists is simply the old-fashioned conservatism, the mental inertia, which always arrays itself against every progressive movement. There is no valid reason for it, but it is just that they are instinctively afraid of anything new. To my knowledge the Presbyterian Church in California is a unit in favor of Woman Suffrage." (*Excerpt from letter of January 22, 1917.*)

J. F. Shepherd, First Presbyterian Church, Twin Falls, Idaho:

"The mothers, wives and sisters, homekeepers, cultured, refined, Christian women do vote, and politicians who seek office are subjected to severe scrutiny as to life, habits, record and policies.

"We have not as many divorces as in older States; many of our divorcees are from the East very recently and these do not vote. Voting solidifies the home, does not divide it. The polling places are quiet and respectable. Smoking there is rare and profanity and obscenity around the booths unknown. Our western men have not lost the spirit of chivalry, but it is increased by the opportunities afforded at the polls." (*Excerpt from letter of January 22, 1917.*)

Major J. W. Andrews, The Salvation Army, Portland, Oregon:

"I desire to say that the effects of Woman Suffrage in this city and state have been the very opposite to that which your enemies would like eastern people to believe. Crime has fallen off in this city more than a hundred per cent. in the past year. In January, 1915, there were 1,743 arrests, covering cases of drunkenness, vagrancy and disorderly conduct, as compared with 776 in January, 1916. The figures for January, 1917, are not available at the moment, but I am convinced they will show a substantial decrease compared with last year. The best women of this city exercise their franchise on all questions of civic and moral importance." (*Excerpt from letter of February 7, 1917.*)

**Crime Has
Fallen Off**

Rev. O. G. Wichmann, Pastor of German Church, Laramie, Wyoming:

"I have been a pastor of German-speaking congregations since 1889. My education as well as my environments had certainly not been influencing me in favor of women's vote.

"In this rather conservative city elections are going on very quietly without even a word out of place. Whether it is

German Minister Praises It to be attributed to the influence of ladies that even little smoking is going on at the polling places, I do not know, but I presume so. Probably more women are voting than men. Men are at times kept away by work, women seldom. All of the ladies of my Ladies' Aid—good German housewives—are voting regularly at the elections. They are exactly the type of the German housewife devoted to Kinder, Kirche, Kueche, slow to take interest in public affairs.

"Since last year my oldest daughter, a graduate from the Normal School of the University of Wyoming, is a voter. Casting her vote is just as well one of her duties as is the playing of the organ in our little German church. All lady-teachers vote.

"Should I ever move to one of the states where voting of women is not introduced, I should certainly do all in my power to help introduce it." (*Excerpt from letter of February 22, 1917.*)

George C. Rafter, D.D., Rector Emeritus St. Mark's Church, Cheyenne, Wyoming:

"I have never known a case of divorce on account of Woman Suffrage.

Not a Cause of Divorce "In all my experience, I never witnessed any trouble or unseemly conduct at the polls. I believe, too, that women receive better wages in Wyoming, where they are permitted to vote, than in states where the ballot is denied them." (*Excerpt from letter of February 9, 1917.*)

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

[post-March, 1917]

The Lecture Bureau
of
The Joseph Fels
International
Commission

Lectures on
The Present Crisis
and Democracy

Presented by

WARREN WORTH BAILEY

EARL BARNES

HERBERT S. BIGELOW

JOHN DEWEY

FREDERIC C. HOWE

JOHN J. MURPHY

SCOTT NEARING

GEORGE L. RECORD

JOHN WILLIS SLAUGHTER

Under the direction of the Lecture
Bureau of The Joseph Fels Inter-
national Commission, 122 East
37th Street, New York City.

*The Services of The Lecture
Bureau of The Joseph Fels
International Commission*

are available to

Forums

Women's Clubs

Labor Organizations

Universities and Colleges

Commercial Organizations

All Political and Economic Or-
ganizations

Granges and Other Farmers'
Organizations

THE LECTURE BUREAU
of the
JOSEPH FELS INTERNA-
TIONAL COMMISSION

The Lecture Bureau has been organized to promote a wider interest in those problems which affect the public welfare, and to promulgate measures for bettering social conditions.

To carry out this purpose a staff of the ablest lecturers, writers, and economists in the country has been secured. It is composed of men and women who through years of study and personal experiences have gained wide knowledge and understanding of our social, economic, and political life, and who are applying that knowledge and understanding to the working out of our present day problems. By their work in the lecture field they put at the disposal of all who are trying to understand and to meet the critical issues of today the benefit of their experiences in dealing with actual conditions, and their conclusions as to how these issues can best be met.

Groups and organizations dealing with local social problems and economic ills will find in this lecture service valuable assistance in developing the means of righting conditions in their own communities. The earnest efforts made in behalf of human betterment, and the actual contact with the practical side of industrial life which such efforts have entailed, have earned for these men and women a hearing wherever there is a desire for a clearer understanding of constructive social philosophy and its practical application to present day conditions. Moreover, their ability and recognized standing as lecturers of the highest rank assure a presentation of their subjects that will prove as interesting to their audiences as it is helpful.

Our services are at the command of all organizations interested, address:

A. LYLE DeJARNETTE
Director Lecture Bureau
The Joseph Fels International Commission
122 East 37th Street

WARREN WORTH BAILEY

CONGRESSMAN Bailey has supported every measure of economic and industrial progress which has come before Congress since his election as a Representative of the people.

Congressman Bailey's loyalty to labor has been shown by the support he has given the Child Labor Law, the Industrial Commission, the Federal Compensation Law, the Eight-hour Act, etc. He also supported such measures as the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, the New Banking Act, the Farmers Loan Act, the Income Tax Act, the Agricultural Extension Bill, the Good Roads Bill, the Widow's Pension Bill, the Grain Grading Bill, etc. Congressman Bailey has also been a leader in the fight for national conservation.

Congressman Bailey is much interested in taxation. "Sixty per cent. of the taxes for carrying on the war," he says, "falls upon the people with incomes of \$1,000 a year and under. Already the common people are bending under their burdens. Taxes, visible and invisible, are pressing them to the ground. Taxes do not fall upon those who seem to pay them; they fall upon the consumer."

Congressman Bailey's subjects are

The Truth About the Trusts
Who Pays for War?
The Railroads and the People.
Invisible Taxation.

EARL BARNES

"A FEW men have the gift of quiet pervasive inspiration. Professor Earl Barnes is one of the few men having in perfection the delightful art of the scholarly *causerie*. His talks are broad visions of history, literature and human affairs seen through a temperament—a kindly, illuminating discussion of themes of broad human interest. Professor Barnes gives us the scientific method on a background of traditional culture. His volumes of studies in education are an invaluable contribution to educational psychology. He has something of that mellow, genial quality which we associate with such names in educational history as that of the great Dr. Arnold, Master of Rugby. No one who has come under the influence of his rich, warm personality ever wholly loses the memory of it."—Bulletin of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

For a number of years Mr. Barnes was professor of history at the University of Indiana. When Leland Stanford University was founded Mr. Barnes was appointed Professor of Education, and during the six years of his association there his department gained a national reputation. He has lectured widely throughout the United States and Great Britain.

Mr. Barnes is the author of *Studies in Education; Where Knowledge Fails; and Women in Modern Society*. His work deals largely with child study and with the historical development of the race. Appreciating the influence of economic conditions on race progress, he takes an active part in the effort to create and maintain the freedom of opportunity that makes for human development.

Among Mr. Barnes' lectures are

Fighting For the Ownership of the Earth.
Social Inventions in Peace and War.
Women and War.
What Property Does to Its Possessor.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW

"HERBERT S. BIGELOW of Cincinnati is the man who put the initiative and referendum in the Ohio constitution, converting the convention thereto by a great speech on the floor. This man has put Christianity into practical politics as no other man has done before in this country.

"Fifteen years ago he became a coadjutor of Tom L. Johnson, once reviled, now almost sainted, in Ohio. He was gloriously walloped when he ran for Secretary of State, but he organized the campaign for a new constitution, forced the Legislature to call the convention, was elected as a delegate and was chosen president.

"All the progressiveness there is in the constitution framed by that convention and adopted by the people of Ohio was put into it chiefly through the effort of Herbert S. Bigelow. He is still fighting all over Ohio for economic justice. He is the most eloquent man in this country today, lifting you to Heaven without even taking your feet off what Prof. L. H. Bailey calls 'the holy earth.'"—"Reedy's Mirror," St. Louis.

Mr. Bigelow's lectures include

Religion and Politics.
Millionaires and Taxes.
Democracy After the War.
Strikes, a Plain Talk to Capital and Labor.
Institutions and New Ideas.

JOHN DEWEY

"JOHN DEWEY, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University, is not famous like W. J. Bryan or Charlie Chaplin. He is not even known by name to most of the millions whose thought he is guiding and whose characters he is forming. This is because his influence has been indirect. He has inspired individuals and instigated reforms in educational methods which have reached the remotest school houses of the land.

"Talking has never become a reflex action with Prof. Dewey. He has to think before he speaks. Few professors and almost no instructors are bothered that way."—Edwin E. Slossin, in the Independent, March, 1917.

"In connection with his educational work, Professor Dewey founded and conducted an experimental school for children widely known for its investigations upon the relation of the psychology of childhood to methods and subject matter of teaching."

He received the degree of Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University in 1884 and has occupied the chair of Philosophy successively at the University of Michigan, the University of Chicago and Columbia University. Among his numerous books are: *Democracy and Education*; *Essays in Experimental Logic*; *Ethics*; *School and Society*; *Schools of To-morrow*; *Need For a Recovery of Philosophy*, and *Moral Principles in Education*.

FREDERIC C. HOWE

FREDERIC C. HOWE, Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York, began his public career through his close association with Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, Ohio. Dr. Howe actively furthered Mayor Johnson's democratic and constructive measures, especially the promotion of municipal ownership and the regulation of public service corporations. He served on the city council, was President of the Finance Commission, and was a member of the Tax Commission. He was also in the Ohio senate for three years. In addition to his political activities Dr. Howe was Professor of Law at the Cleveland Law School, and a lecturer in Western Reserve University.

Since leaving Cleveland Dr. Howe has been successively lecturer on Comparative Politics at the University of Wisconsin, Director of the People's Institute of New York City, and Commissioner of Immigration.

Dr. Howe has lectured and written extensively on Economics and Constructive Democracy. He is the author of *The City*, *The Hope of Democracy*; *Privilege and Democracy in America*; *The British City*, *The Beginnings of Democracy*; *Wisconsin, An Experiment in Democracy*; *European Cities at Work*; *The Modern City and Its Problems*; *Taxation and Taxes in the United States*; *The Confessions of a Monopolist*. He has investigated municipal ownership in Great Britain for the United States Department of Labor, and is recognized as the foremost authority on municipal ownership, and municipal organization and problems.

Dr. Howe's wide scope in the lecture field embraces such topics as

After the War, What?
War and Immigration.
The City of To-morrow.
Standing at the Gates at Ellis Island.
Immigration, a Problem and a Program.
Financial Imperialism.

JOHN J. MURPHY

JOHN J. MURPHY has been Tenement House Commissioner of New York City for six years, during which time he has handled with remarkable success the increasingly difficult problem of decent housing for the poor of New York. Prior to his appointment by Mayor Gaynor to the position he now holds he was Secretary of the Citizens' Union and of the Tariff Reform Committee. Mr. Murphy proposed and pushed forward the municipalization of the city ferries, and originated the plan for the construction of subways on an assessment basis.

Mr. Murphy is the author of *The Wisdom of Benjamin Franklin*. He has lectured and written extensively on social welfare. His views on the inter-relation of taxation, housing, poverty, and municipal welfare are based on the actual daily experiences of one who is constantly in touch with circumstances which cause congestion, and the conditions which congestion in turn produces. His convictions as to the proper solution of the problem of overcrowding have come from a realization of the futility of employing only corrective methods.

Mr. Murphy's lectures deal with such subjects as

Democracy and Destitution.
Privilege and Poverty.
Housing and Taxation.

SCOTT NEARING

SCOTT NEARING, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Toledo, Ohio, has been instructor in economics and sociology in Temple University, Swarthmore College, and the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. His splendid stand for academic freedom, growing out of his dismissal from Wharton School in 1915, has done much to strengthen the position of radical teachers in all our institutions of higher education. Dr. Nearing ranks among the foremost economists and lecturers of the United States. He lectures before many universities, and is on the lecture staff of the American Association for University Extension and the Chautauqua Institution. He has been prominently identified with the child labor movement, and is the author of several authoritative works on economics and social problems. Among his best known books are *Wages in the United States*; *Financing the Wage Earner's Family*; *Income*; *Poverty and Riches*.

In speaking of the war Dr. Nearing has said, "The world is war-sick. Leaders of thought in every great nation are asking. How can wars be prevented? No intelligent person today would think of trying to fight a disease without asking why the disease occurred. Causes are of equal importance in the analysis of a social question. What are the germs of the social disease—war? Many causes of war have been named—envy and hatred; difference in nationality, race, religion and language; secret diplomacy; the existence of a military class—these may be contributory causes, but the real cause of modern wars is to be found in the financial imperialism of the present day system of competitive international business."

Among Dr. Nearing's lectures are

Working and Owning For a Living.
Industrial Democracy.
Poverty.
Reducing the Cost of Living.
The Contest for the United States.
Ownership Throttling Democracy.

JOHN WILLIS SLAUGHTER

JOHN WILLIS SLAUGHTER, sociologist and lecturer, has done most of his public work in England, although he was born and educated in the United States. He was for several years Secretary of the Sociological Society of London, and is the founder of the *Sociological Review*. While engaged in this work he was appointed lecturer at the university of London, and placed on the staff of its University Extension Board. He worked with Sir Francis Galton and was elected Chairman of the Council of the Eugenic Society.

Dr. Slaughter spent three years in South America, where he became familiar with social and political conditions. He spent several months in Mexico investigating the revolution and the circumstances which led up to it. He was in close touch with General Carranza and the leaders of the revolution and studied the Mexican situation at close range.

By reason of his experiences and study both in Mexico and South America, Dr. Slaughter has gained wide knowledge and understanding of the political, economic, and social status of Latin America. He has also spent some time in England since the outbreak of the war, studying its effects upon the British working class.

Dr. Slaughter is now writing and lecturing on social conditions as he has found them in England, Mexico, and the United States, some of his subjects being

England in War Time.
Lloyd George and the New Liberalism.
The Problem of Mexico.
Latin-America and the United States.

GEORGE L. RECORD

GEORGE L. RECORD was one of the leaders in the New Jersey campaign for the direct primary and election reforms, and for a public utilities commission. Mr. Record has held various public offices. He was a member of the Board of Education of Jersey City, and was for six years Corporation Counsel of that city. He has also been a member of the New Jersey State Board of Assessors. He has represented several municipalities in New Jersey in important litigation against public service corporations, securing in one instance a reduced gas rate, and in another maintaining a "six tickets for a quarter" rate on the street car lines. He is now serving as the representative of Passaic, New Jersey, in the working out of a plan for the municipal ownership of its water supply.

Mr. Record is a student of industrial and social problems and has had close association with the political aspect of public questions.

Mr. Record's lectures group themselves under the general title

The Abolition of Privilege

IN EUROPE in the stress of sudden warfare, the children were, for the moment, forgotten.

In Great Britain, for instance, some of the first war economies were in the educational system. School buildings were taken over for military purposes; teachers enlisted; repairs, building, appropriations, and supplies were cut down; evening schools, medical inspection, school dentistry, and free lunches were stopped or cut down; and the age limits for schooling were changed so that 300,000 little children 5 or under who had been in school were turned out, while thousands of children of 11 and 12 were excused from school to go to work.

The laws governing hours of labor in munition plants were broken down. Club work, settlement work, and general child welfare work were crippled or stopped.

The results are:—

Thousands of children in England are without teachers or schools.

At least 150,000 children between 11 and 13 have left school to go to work.

Sir James Yoxall said in Parliament, "A large portion of our elementary school system is in ruins—I will not say as desolate as the ruins of Louvain, but there is to some extent a likeness."

Sidney Webb predicts that, "Peace will involve almost the remaking of the nation's educational machinery."

Juvenile delinquency in England has increased at least 34 per cent since the war began.

The Health of Munition Workers Committee has found it necessary to recommend that children should not be employed **more than 12 hours a day, or at night.**

This same committee has stated that "The munition workers in general have been allowed to reach a state of reduced efficiency and lowered health which might have been avoided **without reduction of output** by attention to the details of daily and weekly rest."

And this committee says that children "are drawing on their strength," and is anxious to know what will become of them after the war.

Reports from other belligerent countries are meagre but apparently conditions are much the same.

In Berlin in 1915 there were twice as many crimes committed by children as in 1914.

A newspaper in Budapest reports that in that city alone there are **3,000 registered munition workers under 12 years of age.**

WHAT SHALL WE DO IN AMERICA?

The President said in his message to Congress calling for war:

"My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe the thought of the nation has been altered by them."

In other words, we in this country still have our ideals and principles intact. We must remain true to them.

You, as a member of an organization which has for 13 years fought for the welfare and development of American children, can help to preserve our American ideal of child protection in a very practical way.

1. Oppose all attempts to break down the school system in your vicinity either by relaxing enforcement of compulsory education laws or by cutting down school funds.

Arnold Bennett said in England under like circumstances, "Education is the very last thing we ought to economize in."

2. Oppose all attempts to break down the labor laws of your state, either by giving young children special permits to work, or by exempting certain establishments from the laws limiting hours of labor.

In England where they relaxed the enforcement of the laws they have found "too big a price is being paid for the output."

3. Support as usual local and national social agencies.

Do not allow settlements, recreation centers, health boards, juvenile protective associations, child welfare and child labor committees, and other organizations that it has taken years to build up to be destroyed.

There are, also, constructive legislative measures that must be passed in spite of the war.

The appropriation for the enforcement of the federal child labor law was not passed by the last Congress. This Congress must pass it, if, at this time when children are more likely than ever to be exploited in industry, we are to be assured of the federal government's protection for working children.

In most state legislatures now in session there are pending child welfare and child labor laws which must not be forgotten in the press of war business.

[April, 1917]

WHAT SHALL WE DO FOR THE CHILDREN IN TIME OF WAR?

In Great Britain after two years of war, a Committee on Health of Munition Workers found it necessary to say,

"At the present time when war is destroying so much of its best manhood, the nation is under special obligation to secure that the rising generation grows up strong and hardy, both in body and character. It is necessary to guard not only against immediate breakdown, but also against the imposition of strains that may stunt future growth and development."

Here in America we must remember this at the start. In our eagerness to do our bit, we must not forget the children.

National Child Labor Committee

INCORPORATED

105 EAST 22D STREET

NEW YORK CITY

AFTER THIRTEEN YEARS OF STEADY PROGRESS IN CHILD PROTECTION WE MUST NOT NOW ABOUT FACE AND GO BACKWARD.

We who have the welfare of the children at heart must adopt the motto that has become famous in England—

BUSINESS AS USUAL

Will you help us do so?

Owen R. Lovejoy summed up the situation at the recent national conference on child labor when he said:

"Those of us who have dedicated ourselves to the protection of these defenceless ones must keep our heads clear and our motives unmixed, determining that whatever happens all other forms of treasure, all other forms of wealth, all other methods of defense shall be sacrificed before we compel the children of America to pass through the fire."

National Child Labor Committee

(Incorporated; supported by voluntary contributions)

105 East 22d Street, New York City

HONORARY MEMBERS

WOODROW WILSON
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
WILLIAM H. TAFT

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

FELIX ADLER,
Chairman
V. EVERIT MACY,
Treasurer
HOMER FOLKS,
SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY,
Vice-Chairmen

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, General Secretary
A. J. McKELWAY, . . . Secretary for the Southern States
EDWARD N. CLOPPER, Secretary for the Northern States
JOSEPHINE J. ESCHENBRENNER, Membership Secretary
FLORENCE I. TAYLOR, Publication Secretary

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

FELIX ADLER, Chairman
JANE ADDAMS
LEO ARNSTEIN
HENRY BRÜERE
FRANCIS G. CAFFEY
HOWELL CHENEY
EDWARD T. DEVINE
HOMER FOLKS
WILLIAM E. HARMON
FLORENCE KELLEY
ADOLPH LEWISOHN
SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY
V. EVERIT MACY
CHARLES P. NEILL
ISAAC N. SELIGMAN
LILLIAN D. WALD
STEPHEN S. WISE
JOHN W. WOOD

[April 19, 1917]

Minnesota
Equal Suffrage
Constitutional Amendment
League

Headquarters
902 Lumber Exchange Building
Minneapolis

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION
—OF—
THE MINNESOTA EQUAL SUFFRAGE
CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT
LEAGUE.

Know All Men by These Present, That we, the undersigned, all residents of the State of Minnesota, have hereby associated ourselves together to become incorporated, and do hereby form a corporation under the provisions of section 3102 to 3109 inclusive, of the Revised Laws of Minnesota 1905, and the acts amendatory thereof, and to that end do hereby adopt the following Articles of Incorporation:

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. The name of this corporation shall be The Minnesota Equal Suffrage Constitutional Amendment League.

SECTION 2. The general purpose thereof is to secure the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the State of Minnesota extending full and equal suffrage to women.

SECTION 3. The location of this corporation shall be in the city of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. Any person who is a legal resident of the State of Minnesota and who believes in the principle that women should have the same right as men to vote, and who will agree to actively further the object of this league, may become a member thereof by signing an enrollment card. The acceptance of such person as a member shall be subject to the approval of the Central Committee.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The officers of this corporation shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary and a treasurer. The first officers shall be chosen from the incorporators, who shall constitute a board of directors, and shall hold office until their successors are elected at the

first annual meeting. Thereafter the officers shall be elected annually from the membership of the league. The first board of directors are A. M. Peterson, D. P. O'Neill, Angie V. Kingsley, Sarah E. Lyons and Mary A. Cunningham.

SECTION 2. The management and control of this corporation shall be vested in a State Central Committee, consisting of the officers of the league and one member from each State Senatorial district. The first State Central Committee shall be chosen by the incorporators and shall hold office until the first annual meeting, at which, and annually thereafter, the members of the State Central Committee shall be elected by a majority vote of the members present from such district.

SECTION 3. Vacancies in any office or on the committee may be filled by appointment by the State Central Committee for the unexpired portion of the term.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. The annual meeting of the league shall be held in the city of Minneapolis on the first Saturday of April at an hour and place to be designated by the State Central Committee. Other meetings may be called by the president, to be held at any place within the State, with the consent or at the request of five members of the State Central Committee.

SECTION 2. Every member shall have the right to vote on all questions at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. The authority to receive and expend money and to transact other business in furtherance of the object of this league shall be vested in the State Central Committee, and a full report thereof shall be rendered at each annual meeting, for the year preceding.

SECTION 2. Meetings of the State Central Committee shall be held quarterly, in the months of March, June, September and December, and oftener at the call of the president or upon request in writing of five members of the committee. Written notices of all meetings shall be mailed to each member of the State

Central Committee at least one week prior to the date of such meeting, and when such notice has been given, any number present shall constitute a quorum to transact business.

SECTION 3. The State Central Committee at its first meeting shall adopt by-laws for the government of the league, which by-laws shall be in force until approved at the annual meeting following, and may be amended at any annual meeting thereafter.

Signed,

A. M. PETERSON,
D. P. O'NEILL,
ANGIE V. KINGSLEY,
SARAH E. LYONS,
MARY A. CUNNINGHAM.

Incorporators.

State of Minnesota, County of Ramsey—ss.

On this 19th day of April, A. D. 1917, before me, a Representative for the 27th Legislative District, Minnesota, personally appeared A. M. Peterson, D. P. O'Neill, Angie V. Kingsley, Sarah E. Lyons and Mary A. Cunningham, to me known to be the persons who signed the foregoing articles of incorporation, and each of them did acknowledge that they executed the same as their free act and deed, and the free act and deed of each of them.

(Signed)

J. E. MADIGAN,
Representative 27th District,
Minnesota.

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N.

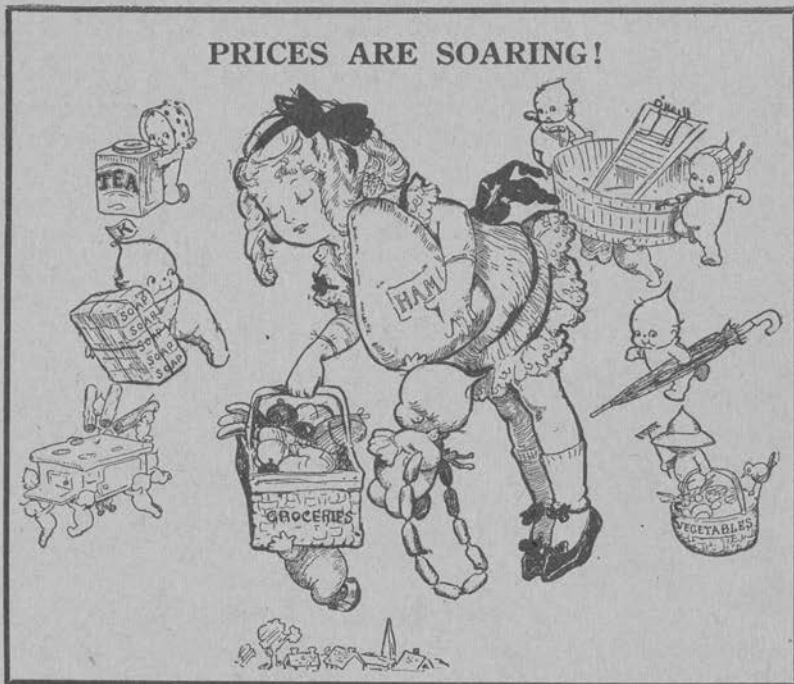
930 NICOLLET AVE.

MINNEAPOLIS,

MINN.

[May, 1917]

PRICES ARE SOARING!



Don't You Want to Reduce
the High Cost of Living?

WITHOUT THE VOTE

All That Women Can Do NOW to Reduce the High Cost of Living is to
ELIMINATE WASTE IN THEIR OWN KITCHENS

The Department of Agriculture announces that there is a waste of \$700,000,000 in the kitchens of the United States. The largest part of this waste probably is in the kitchens of hotels, clubs, restaurants and of families with many servants.

Only one family in fifteen can afford to keep even one servant, so most housewives do their own cooking. The woman who does all her own cooking does **not** waste much food, but she will find the following an **aid to more economical housekeeping**:

Household Budget

Carefully plan the best use of your income, however small. A good scale for a family of four as made by social experts is:

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 25% rent | 15% clothes |
| 5% light, heat, etc. | 10% education & amusement |
| 35% food | 10% savings. |

A weekly account should be kept in order to see if the expenditures are kept within the budget.

Careful Planning of Meals

It is economical to plan meals for an entire week in advance. Then buy only the food needed and do not buy things just because they strike the fancy.

Careful Buying

Check up and weigh groceries and meat. Buy by weight and in bulk whenever possible. If you have storage room, potatoes, apples, onions, oranges, etc., are much cheaper by the bag, bushel or box.

Cut Out ALL Waste

No food should ever be thrown away unless it has spoiled. Delicious dishes are made from "left-overs." Dried peas, beans, lentils, rice and hominy are all cheap and have high food value and can be made most appetizing by good cooking.

WITH THE VOTE

All the **EFFECTIVE** Methods of Reducing the High Cost of Living
DEMAND VOTES

All those who want to **keep** the cost of living high are voters. Many of those who want to **reduce** the high cost of living are **forbidden the vote**.

The men who dishonestly corner the supply of food for speculation, and hold up the public for high prices, not only **all have the vote** themselves, but are usually in a position to control the votes of others. The housekeepers who want to **reduce** the high cost of living **must have the vote** before their interests will be protected.

Then they will be able to

First: Demand Government Aid and Protection

There is no department of government today that has power to **compel information** about the food supply, to find where the food is, who owns it, whether there is a shortage of cars for shipping. **Women should be given the right to vote** in order that they may help **protect** the interests of the public.

Second: Get Better Market Facilities

We have State Departments of Health, of Education, and of Highways. Every State should also have a **Department of Markets**. **Women should be given the right to vote** so that they may secure better market facilities.

Third: Stop Gambling in Foodstuffs

The distribution of food adds enormously to its cost. Any one can buy food and hoard it indefinitely for high prices, no matter how much it may be needed. A story was printed recently of a carload of eggs which was held five months and passed through the hands of nine dealers, each one taking a profit before it reached the consumer. Wheat sometimes passes through from ten to twenty hands. **Women should be given the right to vote** so that they can help regulate the gambling in foodstuffs.

Fourth: Stop Deliberate Waste of Food

It should be counted a crime to deliberately waste food. Cargoes of fish, loads of fruit are sometimes **dumped overboard** to maintain high prices. California women, after they got the vote, made it a legal offense to destroy any kind of foodstuff for the purpose of keeping up the price. **Women demand the right to vote** in order that they may have **GOVERNMENT PROTECTION** in their work of feeding their families.

CAREFUL HOUSEKEEPING

Don't Thow Away a Scrap of Food

To Use Stale Bread. CHEESE PUDDING. Soak stale bread in milk. Add a half pound of cheese cut in small pieces. Cook on top of the stove until a pulp. Add the yolk of one egg, then the white of the egg well beaten, salt and pepper. Bake in a moderate oven.

To Use Any Scraps of Meat. MEAT SOUFFLE. Put pieces of any kind of meat through the meat chopper. To two cups of meat add one cup of white sauce, flavor with onion juice. Add beaten yolk of one egg. Cook one minute. Add white of egg beaten stiff. Pour in baking dish and bake twenty to thirty minutes.

To Use a Ham Bone. Put the ham bone and one pound of split peas in three quarts of water and simmer for four or five hours. Strain through a sieve and thicken with a little flour. It makes an excellent soup.

A Delicious Dish of Somp. Soak a cup of samp (large hominy) overnight. Boil till soft. Make a white sauce, sufficient to cover the samp in a baking dish, grate cheese over the top, and brown in the oven.

Pot Roast. Take two pounds of lower round of beef, heat a pot very hot, put in some suet and brown the meat on all sides. Roll it in flour, then pour one cup of boiling water carefully so as not to wash off the flour. Add one onion, a carrot, a pepper, cover tightly and simmer gently three hours.

A Good Luncheon Dish. Chop a little left-over spinach, heat and spread over a slice of hot toast. Place on top of this a poached egg.

The price of food is woman's business. Give her the vote so she can attend to it.

Votes for Women Will Reduce the Cost of Living

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue  New York City

Printed May, 1917.

[May 31, 1917]

Minnesota

Branch National Woman's Party

(Formerly Congressional Union for Woman's Suffrage)

"We are interested in the United States, politically speaking, in nothing but human liberty."—President Wilson, in his book, "The New Freedom."

FINANCIAL REPORT

As at May 31, 1917

MINNESOTA BRANCH NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY Executive Committee

Mrs. A. R. Colvin, Chairman, Davern Avenue, St. Paul, Minn.
Mrs. Alden H. Potter, 1st Vice-Chairman, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mrs. H. G. Harrison, 2nd Vice-Chairman, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mrs. Anne McCoy, Treasurer, 1921 1st Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Miss Sarah C. Grant, Executive Secretary, 731 Ashland Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Mrs. C. A. Severance, St. Paul, Minn.
Mrs. Walter R. Ramsey, St. Paul, Minn.
Mrs. Gertrude Hunter, Minneapolis, Minn.
Miss Katharine Smith, Minneapolis, Minn.
Miss A. E. R. Furness, St. Paul, Minn.
Headquarters Chairman, Mrs. Frank D. Williams, St. Paul, Minn.
Legislative Chairman, Mrs. A. R. Colvin, St. Paul, Minn.
Membership Chairman, Mrs. Luth. Jaeger, Minneapolis, Minn.
Suffragist Chairman, Miss Nettie Blasing, St. Paul, Minn.

Congressional District Chairmen:

First Congressional District, Mrs. Hattie Smith Fuller, 406 Mariner's Lane, Albert Lea.
Second Congressional District, Mrs. W. J. Morehart, Mankato.
Third Congressional District, Mrs. E. H. Loyhed, Faribault.
Fifth Congressional District, Mrs. E. Dana Durand, 915 6th Street S. E., Minneapolis.
Sixth Congressional District, Mrs. Clara Kingsley Fuller, Little Falls.
Seventh Congressional District, Mrs. A. W. Winter, Granite Falls.
Ninth Congressional District, Mrs. W. A. Marin, 121 E. 27th St., Crookston.
Tenth Congressional District, Mrs. W. T. Coe, Wayzata.
Minnesota Member National Advisory Council, Mrs. A. H. Bright, Minneapolis.

(NOTE: At their conventions in Washington, D. C., March 1-4, 1917, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and the National Woman's Party voted unanimously to amalgamate as the National Woman's Party.)

MINNESOTA BRANCH NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From July 1, 1916, to May 31, 1917

RECEIPTS DEPOSITED IN BANK:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------|
| July | \$ 312.87 |
| August | 83.55 |
| September | 204.55 |
| October | 349.00 |
| November | 24.05 |
| December | 10.00 |
| January | 170.95 |
| February | 83.85 |
| March | 67.00 |
| April | 22.50 |
| May | 45.00 |

Total Deposits\$1,373.32
Additional Cash Received and Disbursed for Petty Bills... 8.17

Total Cash Receipts.....\$1,381.49
Balance as Per Last Audit..... 12.64

Total\$1,394.13

DISBURSEMENTS (As per Checks Issued):

| | |
|-----------------|-----------|
| July | \$ 187.78 |
| August | 175.01 |
| September | 214.00 |
| October | 284.55 |
| November | 100.00 |
| December | 30.00 |
| January | 65.00 |
| February | 142.75 |
| March | 68.00 |
| April | 71.43 |
| May | 19.60 |

Total Disbursements by Check.....\$1,358.12
Balance as Per the Books..... 27.84

Total\$1,385.96
Cash Disbursed for Petty Bills..... 8.17

Total\$1,394.13

RECAPITULATION OF CASH RECEIPTS.

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| Contributions | \$1,157.99 |
| Collections | 45.97 |
| Luncheons | 89.25 |
| Suffragist Pins, Etc..... | 29.60 |
| Temporary Loan from Treasurer..... | 58.68 |

Total Cash Receipts.....\$1,381.49

(Individual contributions are omitted here, having been acknowledged week by week in the "Suffragist." Treasurer will gladly furnish contributors with detailed list from Auditor's report if desired.)

DISBURSEMENTS BY CHECK FROM JULY 1, 1916, to MAY 31, 1917

| Check Date No. 1916 | Payee | For | Amount |
|------------------------|--|---|----------|
| 40 June 11 | Temple, Webb & Co. | Auditing | \$ 16.88 |
| 1 July 8 | Joy L. Webster, for Miss Hill | Express | 31.50 |
| 2 July 16 | T. & C. Club..... | Luncheon | 64.75 |
| 3 July 15 | Kamman Art P. Co.. | Post Cards, etc..... | 8.50 |
| 4 July 15 | Wom. Welf. League..... | | 7.50 |
| 5 July 21 | Sarah C. Grant..... | Field Work | 25.00 |
| 6 July 27 | Ramaley Ptg. Co.... | Dodgers, etc. | 16.00 |
| 7 July 27 | Boyeson & Co..... | Cards, etc. | 17.65 |
| 8 July 27 | C. A. Ross & Co..... | Signs, etc. | 18.70 |
| 9 July 27 | Virginia Arnold | Cong. U. | 62.50 |
| 10 Aug. 3 | Wom. Welf. League. | Office Rent | 15.00 |
| 11 Aug. 3 | Kamman Art P. Co.. | Printing | 10.50 |
| 12 Aug. 3 | Mrs. A. R. Colvin... | Sundry Bills | 18.31 |
| 13 Aug. 8 | Treas., Cong. U.... | Minnesota Contribution ... | 50.00 |
| 14 Aug. 29 | Treas., Cong. U.... | Minnesota Contribution ... | 50.00 |
| 15 Sept. 18 | Inland Printer | Printing Songs | 12.00 |
| 16 Sept. 18 | Peterson Ptg. Co.... | Printing | 2.00 |
| 17 Sept. 19 | Treas., Cong. U.... | Minnesota Contribution ... | 50.00 |
| 18 Sept. 22 | Treas., Cong. U.... | Minnesota Contribution ... | 100.00 |
| 19 Nov. 3 | Treas., Cong. U.... | Minnesota Contribution ... | 125.00 |
| 20 Nov. 3 | Treas., Cong. U.... | Suffragists | 4.55 |
| 21 Nov. 3 | Wom. Welf. League. | Office Rent | 15.00 |
| 22 Nov. 12 | Treas., Cong. U.... | Minnesota Contribution ... | 125.00 |
| 23 Nov. 12 | Wom. Welf. League. | Office Rent | 15.00 |
| 24 Nov. 23 | Treas., Cong. U.... | Minnesota Contribution ... | 100.00 |
| 25 Nov. 12 | Wom. Welf. League. | Office Rent | 15.00 |
| 26 Dec. 27 | Wom. Welf. League. | Office Rent | 15.00 |
| 1917 | | | |
| 27 Jan. 8 | Wom. Welf. League. | Office Rent | 15.00 |
| 28 | | | |
| 29 Jan. 13 | Kathleen O'Brennan. | Lecture | 50.00 |
| 30 Jan. 19 | Church Club | Hall for O'Brennan Lecture | 25.00 |
| 31 Feb. 9 | Wom. Welf. League. | Office Rent | 15.00 |
| 32 Feb. 9 | Sarah C. Grant..... | Organizing | 70.00 |
| 33 Feb. 23 | Sarah C. Grant..... | Organizing | 35.00 |
| 34 Feb. 26 | H. C. Boyeson Co... | Circulars, Ptg., etc..... | 31.75 |
| 35 Feb. 26 | P. W. Jackson..... | Paper | 1.00 |
| 36 Mar. 3 | Wom. Welf. League. | Office Rent, March..... | 15.00 |
| 37 Mar. 19 | H. C. Boyeson..... | Supplies | 15.00 |
| 38 Apr. 2 | The Suffragist | Copies | 6.43 |
| 39 Apr. 2 | Wom. Welf. League. | Office Rent, April..... | 15.00 |
| 40 Apr. 2 | Alice Paul | Woman's Party | 50.00 |
| 41 May 19 | Sarah C. Grant..... | Balance due | 133.10 |
| Mar. 13 | Returned Check ... | San Francisco, California, not properly endorsed.. | 3.00 |

Total\$1,358.12

RECAPITULATION OF DISBURSEMENTS.

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Rent | \$ 142.50 |
| Treas. Cong. Union..... | 904.58 |
| Printing, Stationery, etc..... | 133.10 |
| Miscellaneous | 177.94 |

\$1,358.12

The books were audited and found correct June 26, 1917, by Mr. W. G. Fatchett, Public Accountant, 646 Plymouth Building, Minneapolis.

Lord Northcliffe, called by some the most influential man in Great Britain, declared in one of his chain of great newspapers, "The old argument against giving women the franchise was that they were useless in war. But we could not carry on the war without them. We were wrong. Women have borne their full share in all the departments of life. Let the right to vote be given them."

"I suppose you will all agree that there is nothing so necessary for a nation in the emergency of war as a unified people, and I, for one, can not conceive of a unified people in this country with millions of women of patriotism and intelligence feeling that they are not receiving justice nor their rights, and that they are being denied the active political participation in the Government although the Government is calling upon them today to give all their power and service in this emergency."

"America cannot win this war, either for her own purpose of vindicated right, or with her allies for world democracy, except through the support and the day-and-night effort and sacrifice of American women.

"Millions of girls and women in these modern times have come from our schools and colleges, complete in mentality, in character and in patriotism to vote their opinion into law and policy. And as long as these millions of women feel with cause that this government under which they live is unjust to demand great sacrifice of them without granting them the franchise, these women represent an unhappy and unenthusiastic element of our citizenship. There is a menace in this growing group.

"So, I, for one, hope that the Government at Washington now, by federal amendment and as a real war measure, will pass the national suffrage amendment now pending in Congress. If you would make people willing to die for democracy, give them a real democracy that is worth dying for."—Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port of New York.

"How long must women wait for liberty?"

"We press our demand for the ballot at this time in no narrow, captious or selfish spirit, but from purest patriotism, for the highest good of every citizen, for the safety of the republic, and as a glorious example to the nations of the earth."—Susan B. Anthony.

It is unpatriotic, we are told, to complain of injustice now. We believe that it is unpatriotic not to complain. We have no right to allow our representatives to act basely—to preach freedom abroad, and deny freedom at home. It is never unpatriotic to demand justice. It is unpatriotic to deny justice.—The Suffragist, June 30, 1917.

[June, 1917]

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE AND PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

By Chief Justice WALTER CLARK, of North Carolina.
(Pennsylvania Law Review, June, 1917.)

The Constitution of the United States was framed nearly a century and a half ago when government by the people, or even for the people, was an untried experiment. The masses, as a rule, were uneducated and entirely without experience in government, and the propertied class looked upon the idea of entrusting the government to their hands as rash and inexpedient. It had been attempted only in England, and there a share in the government was restricted to the nobility in one house and the property owners of means in the other. Even in this country in 1787, when the United States Constitution was framed, in few states was there manhood suffrage even for the lower house. For the state senates there was required for many years a property qualification for electors. In only one state was the governor elected by the people. In the other states he was chosen by the legislatures and in not one were the people entrusted with the election of the judges. The whole idea was to restrain whatever share in the government was given to the people by every safeguard that could be thought of, which was not too evidently a denial of popular government.

By the federal constitution only one-sixth share in the government, *i. e.*, half of the legislative department, the lower house of Congress, was to be elected by the people and in many states there was a restriction upon suffrage even as to that, for it was provided that the representatives should be chosen by those qualified to vote for members of the lower house of the state legislature, and this did not mean manhood suffrage in all the states at that time.

The United States senators were to be elected at second hand by the state legislatures, and the Senate was by far more important than the House of Representatives because to the Senate was committed the confirmation of the appointees of the president and the treaty-making power. Moreover, the senators were elected for a term of six years while the members of the House had a term of only two years.

The president was made elective at third hand by electors, who were usually chosen by the state legislature, and it was intended that the electoral body should really be independent electors. In the constitution of 1787 at Philadelphia it was provided that the electors should vote for two persons, the person having the greatest number of votes should be president and that the next highest should be vice-president. Thus it was not contemplated that nominees for president and vice-president should be considered by the legislatures in selecting the electors for president. At the close of Washington's term began the present system of nominating a president and vice-president for whom the electors were expected to vote, but in 1801 Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, who had been nominated on the same ticket for president and vice-president, had the same number of votes. This threw the election into the House of Representatives on the competition of Burr for president, and a crisis arose which was only averted by the best statesmanship of the age. Jefferson was finally chosen, but to prevent the occurrence of another crisis the twelfth amendment was adopted. Under this, however, the people have practically achieved an amendment to the constitution of the most serious nature but which is not written in the constitution, and that is the president

by universal acceptance has been made elective by the people, and the electors have become simply figureheads to express the public will as to the choice of a president.

The legal election, which takes place when the electors assemble in the several state capitols and vote in January following, passes unnoticed. In law, and under the constitution, any elector is free to vote for whom he chooses. But even in the exciting contest between Tilden and Hayes (when the result was determined by one vote in the electoral college, as counted by Congress) there was not an elector who dared to vote for any other candidates than those named at the head of the ticket on which he himself was elected at the November election. In the first contested election in 1796, three electors chosen on the Democratic-Republican ticket felt free to vote for John Adams, the Federalist candidate, and thereby defeated Jefferson, who would have been elected if even two of the three had voted for him, for the vote stood, Adams seventy-one, Jefferson sixty-eight.

The United States judges were to be selected at fourth hand, by being appointed by a president, elected at third hand and confirmed by a senate elected at second hand, and to make them further entirely independent of that public opinion upon which in theory our form of government rests, these judges were made appointive and given life tenure. By the decision in *Marbury v. Madison*,¹ an *obiter dictum* by the way, these judges gave themselves without any expression in the constitution, the irreviewable power, to be exercised by a majority of their own body, to veto any act of Congress, though approved by the executive department. This enormous power was claimed but not exercised in *Marbury v. Madison*, which had no immediate effect, for Mr. Jefferson and the Congress of that day would have refused to execute any decision of that purport. This power was not again claimed as against an act of Congress until the Dred Scott case² in 1856, and that was soon set aside by the result of the great Civil War, but the court has since construed the fourteenth amendment (which was intended solely for the protection of the negroes) as giving the judiciary the power it had before asserted.

The veto given the president was not absolute but was made subject to reversal by a two-thirds vote in Congress. If it had been intended also to give the Supreme Court the veto power, it is very certain that that veto would have been made also subject to reversal by the same vote. If the president or Congress does not properly interpret the constitution, as the people understand it, they can be changed at the end of their short terms, but if the judges exercise the judicial veto, contrary to the popular will, they can not be reversed nor reviewed except by a constitutional amendment as was done by the eleventh amendment and the seventeenth amendment. When the court conferred on itself the veto power, it did not restrict it as subject to be overruled (like the president's veto) by a two-thirds vote. If there be such unlimited and irreviewable power, the ultimate power in our government is bestowed by the constitution on five appointive life-tenure judges. The grant of so enormous and irresponsible a power should be clear and not left to inference or argument by the claimants of such power. Let the paragraph in the constitution conferring it be pointed out and all controversy will be at an end. If such unrestricted negative upon the action of the two houses of Congress approved by the president, existed, it would practically amount to bestowing upon five appointive life-tenure judges the power that the English have but recently taken from their House of Lords as unendurable. It would also result that whatever influence could secure the appointment of five out of nine judges on the United States Supreme Court could in truth say to the people of this country, as has been claimed, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." This

¹ 1 Cranch 137 (1803).

² 19 How. 393 (1856).

power is so enormous and so contrary to the genius of a government based upon the popular will that it can not be accepted unless written in unmistakable words in the face of the constitution. The divine right of courts, like the divine right of kings, rests upon no authority except their own assertion.

Returning to the electoral college, the present cumbersome system under which, as in the last election, the result in the union may be decided by a very few votes in the ballot box, as in North Dakota, in New Hampshire, or California—or as in South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, or Oregon in the Hayes-Tilden election—has always been pregnant with danger.

The Constitution of the United States, Article II, clause 2, provides: "Each state shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress." The legislature of each state, of course, is elected in the manner prescribed by its constitution, but the power and discretion vested in it to provide the manner in which the presidential electors shall be chosen is derived solely from the Constitution of the United States, and no state constitution can restrict the execution of such power. The federal constitution selected a state agency as the depository of this power, but the exercise of such power is given to the state legislature subject to no restriction from the state constitution.

In *McPherson v. Blacker*,³ Chief Justice Fuller quotes with approval the following from the Report of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections by Senator Morton, its chairman:

"The appointment of these electors is thus placed absolutely and wholly with the legislatures of the several states. They may be chosen by the legislature, or the legislature may provide that they shall be elected by the people of the state at large, or in districts, as are members of Congress, which was the case formerly in many states; and it is, no doubt, competent for the legislature to authorize the governor, or the supreme court of the state, or any other agent of its will, to appoint these electors. *This power is conferred upon the legislatures of the states by the Constitution of the United States, and can not be taken from them or modified by their state constitutions any more than can their power to elect senators of the United States. Wherever provisions may be made by statute, or by the state constitution to choose electors by the people, there is no doubt of the right of the legislature to resume the power at any time, for it can neither be taken away nor abdicated.*"

The court (on p. 36) added: "The construction to which we have referred has prevailed too long and been too uniform to justify us in interpreting the language of the Constitution as conveying any other meaning than that heretofore ascribed, and it must be treated as decisive."

It is a federal power which the state legislatures have exercised at will, and in divers ways, and have changed the method from time to time, as suited them. At the first election for president in 1789 all the states (North Carolina, Rhode Island and New York not voting) chose the electors by their legislatures, except Virginia, which chose them by districts in 1789-1796. That state chose them by the state at large in 1800 and 1804; it then returned to the district plan in 1808-1816. It elected them by general ticket in 1820 and 1824, then by districts in 1828, and then again in 1832 it returned to the plan of electing them by the state at large, which policy it has pursued ever since.

The other states also show changes between these three methods from time to time, although since 1824 most of the states have elected by the state at large. South Carolina, however, persisted in electing by the legislature until after the war. Florida chose its electors by the legislature in 1868 and Colorado did the same in 1876.

³ 146 U. S. 1, 34 (1892).

In 1789 New York, though (unlike North Carolina and Rhode Island) already in the union, failed to participate in the presidential election and chose no electors. North Carolina and Rhode Island chose no electors that year because they had not at the time entered the union. Nor were the above three methods of election—by the legislature, by general ticket or by districts—the only methods which the legislatures have adopted. The Supreme Court of the United States in *McPherson v. Blacker*,⁴ has pointed out that in Tennessee and North Carolina the legislatures at one time committed the choice of electors to a limited number of citizens, not representing the state in any other public function.

In North Carolina in 1796, the legislature passed an act dividing the state into four districts, and directed that the members of the legislature residing in each district should meet on a certain day and choose three electors. In Tennessee in 1796, and in 1800, the legislature appointed certain persons by name, in each of three districts, which should choose an elector for each of the three districts. In some states, at times, it was directed that each congressional district should choose an elector and that the two electors at large should be chosen by the whole state, and in other states the two electors at large have been chosen by the legislature although the other electors were chosen by the people by districts.

The power of the legislature of each state to exercise its discretion in the method of choosing electors is plenary and has been exercised in the above method and in still other ways. In Maryland in 1788 the electors were chosen by a general ticket, but were allotted three to the western shore and two to the eastern shore of that state. In the second presidential election the electors were chosen in nine states by the legislatures, and in six by the people. Of these latter, Maryland, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania chose their electors by a general ticket, and Virginia by districts. In Massachusetts the state was divided into four districts, in each of two of which five electors were chosen, and in each of the other two, three electors. In North Carolina, as above stated, the legislature divided the state into four districts and directed that the members of the legislature residing in those districts should choose three electors for each district.

In Illinois by the Act of June, 1913, the General Assembly by a majority vote (by one majority in the state senate) directed, in execution of the trust confided to it by the federal constitution, that the twenty-nine electors from that state should be chosen at the ballot box by the adult citizens of that state, not disqualified for crime, irrespective of sex. At the election on November 6, 1916, 876,700 women participated in the choice of electors. The twenty-nine electors thus chosen were duly counted by the two houses of Congress in canvassing the votes for president. This is the ultimate tribunal to pass upon the legality of the electoral vote. So the matter is thus settled in accordance with the unbroken precedents in the past, that the electors for any state shall be chosen, in the language of the federal constitution, "*in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct.*" These legislatures have "directed" in many and divers manners as above set forth. Recently in North Dakota and Rhode Island with five electoral votes each; in Nebraska with eight votes; in Arkansas (in the primary) with nine votes; in Indiana and Michigan with fifteen each, and in Ohio with twenty-four, statutes similar to that in Illinois have been adopted providing that women may vote for presidential electors in the same manner as men. In all eight of these states suffrage for officers named in the state constitution is restricted to "male persons," though in several of them the legislature has conferred equal suffrage for municipal and county elections. There are eleven other states in which, under their constitutions, women exercise full suffrage and under the

⁴ *Ubi supra*, at 29-32.

direction of the legislatures, which prescribe that the presidential electors shall be chosen "by the duly qualified voters," women vote equally with men. Thus in nineteen states casting one hundred and seventy-two electoral votes and with over eight and a half million women voters, the electors are now chosen by equal suffrage. The legislatures in many other states will probably take the same action of conferring presidential suffrage on women.

The usual method for many years has finally settled down to the choice of presidential electors at the ballot box and by the state at large in every state. This was first done by the large states as it gave them more power and influence in the change of administration than voting by the district method, but the plan has since become general. This system is highly objectionable in many respects. Among other reasons, it readily lends itself to the choice of a minority candidate for president, which has happened no less than nine times. John Quincy Adams in 1824, Hayes in 1876, Harrison in 1888 received fewer votes in the ballot box than their opponents. Polk, Taylor, Buchanan, Lincoln (in 1861) Garfield and Cleveland (in 1892), each received fewer popular votes than the combined opposition. The chief objection, however, to the method of election by a general ticket in each state is the suppression of minorities. For instance, in New York in 1884 a change of five hundred fifty-six votes cast at the ballot box would have given the thirty-six electoral votes of the state to Blaine instead of to Cleveland, thus determining the result in the union, making as it would a change of seventy-two electoral votes. In all justice eighteen votes should have been given to each.

It is an anomaly that 1,110 votes in New York (as in 1884) should swing seventy-two electoral votes, thirty-six from one candidate to the other and thus decide the result. The consequence is that while, nominally, any citizen of the republic is eligible to the presidency, only citizens of two or three of the larger states, with doubtful electoral votes, are in fact eligible. All others are barred. For proof of this look at the history of our presidential elections. For the first forty years of the union the presidents came from two states—Virginia and Massachusetts. Then there followed a period when the growing West requiring recognition, Tennessee, Ohio and New York commanded the situation for the next sixteen years. The Mexican War gave us a soldier who practically represented no state, and was succeeded, on his death, by a New Yorker. Then for the only time in our history "off states" had a showing and Pennsylvania and New Hampshire had their innings. Since then the successful candidates (except the present incumbent) have been strictly limited to "pivotal states"—New York in the East, and Illinois, Indiana and Ohio in the West. This condition is unsatisfactory. The magnetic Blaine from Maine was defeated, as was Bryan from Nebraska. Had the former hailed from New York or the latter from Illinois the electoral votes and influence of those states might have secured their election.

In view of these and other objections it has been long and strenuously urged that the states return to the system which all have now abandoned, of choosing the electors by districts. This would require a constitutional amendment, however, as it would be an interference with the discretion reposed in the legislature of each state to appoint the electors "in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct." It would be equally objectionable as the present system in that there would inevitably result a competition in gerrymandering.

Another method that has been often urged is to change the election of president by abolishing the electoral college and choosing the president by a *per capita* vote of the whole union. To do the last would be dangerous and almost a certain provocation of civil war, for the charge of fraudulent voting at any precinct or voting place, however remote, might affect the result, and as frauds would most likely occur in those states where the majorities are largest, as in Pennsylvania or Texas, Ohio or Georgia, a contest would always be

certain, and federal supervision of every voting precinct throughout the union would be necessary, whereas now frauds in states giving large majorities, unless of great enough magnitude to change the electoral vote of the whole state, can have no effect. Besides, it would be impossible to get the change enacted by the required two-thirds vote in Congress or ratified by the three-fourths of the states, for the smaller states would not give up the "loading" of their vote now afforded by the two electoral votes allowed each state, irrespective of size, and the South especially would not consent to a system which would deprive them of representation by reason of the negroes and the women not voting at the ballot box.

Under the present system each state has representation according to its census population, plus two votes to each state—that is, the electoral vote of each state equals the number of federal representatives and senators; but if in a presidential election the electoral vote is based upon the number of ballots actually cast, would the smaller states assent to the loss of the two electoral votes given for statehood, which are now half the electoral vote in several states? Would the South ratify an amendment to elect a president on that basis, when, as a rule, the negroes do not vote and the country from Delaware to the Rio Grande would lose at once one-third of its power in the election of president? Would any of the southern states, or others, do that which would cost one-half of their remaining votes where the women do not vote as compared with the states where they do vote?

If the South lost one-third of its weight in a presidential election by the negroes not voting and one-half of its remaining strength by the women not voting, it would not have any more power in the election of a president than the single State of New York which would cast more ballots than the whole South when the women vote in that state, as they probably will at the next presidential election. Is the adoption of a constitutional amendment bringing about a *per capita* vote for president throughout the union capable of adoption, or will it be wise in view of the danger of a contest over the returns of every voting precinct?

May the writer suggest that the remedy is, while abolishing the electoral college, to preserve the system of giving each state the same number of electoral votes as now? This is equivalent to the French system of electing the president in a joint session of the two houses of their Parliament, only our election will be by the people. But instead of giving the entire vote of any state to the candidate that gets a small majority therein, as when a majority of 1,110 at the polls swung the entire thirty-six electoral votes of New York from Blaine to Cleveland, or the sixty-three ballots which changed the four electoral votes of New Hampshire to Mr. Wilson, or the two hundred ninety-four ballots which gave the entire twelve votes of Minnesota to Mr. Hughes (either of which states might have changed the entire election), the electoral vote of each state should be divided according to the popular vote in that state for each candidate without any fractions. Thus, Mr. Cleveland should have got eighteen and Mr. Blaine eighteen. Other states would be divided more or less evenly and the result would be that the choice of president would no longer be restricted to two or three states, as was the case for long periods in our past history and is likely to be always the case as long as the whole electoral vote of two or three large pivotal states must swing to one side or the other and determine the result. *A close ballot in any state would then not affect more than one electoral vote.*

This is substantially the suggestion made years ago by Senator Buckalew of Pennsylvania except that he added (which is advisable) the abolition of the cumbersome and useless electoral college and the certification by the state boards of elections of the popular vote to be counted by Congress on the above stated basis.

This change would avoid also the present evil of large sums being spent to carry the solid electoral vote of pivotal states, for they would cease to be pivotal states. At the same time, this would avoid the open gulf into which a *per capita* ballot by the whole union would lead us. While the electoral vote of a state should be divided *pro rata*, according to the popular vote for each candidate, it is essential that each state should vote as one district, since its boundaries are unchangeable. To permit the legislature of each state to divide it into electoral districts would, as already stated, simply open up competition in the art of gerrymandering.

WALTER CLARK.

Supreme Court,
Raleigh, N. C.

❧ Please read above carefully and hand to some intelligent friend.



COMMERCIAL PRINTING COMPANY, RALEIGH, N. C.

[Sept. 7, 1917]

The Protest of Dudley Field Malone.

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, Collector of Customs for the Port of New York, for many years a close friend and supporter of President Wilson, tendered his resignation from office to the President, September 7, giving as grounds in his letter to Mr. Wilson, printed in full below, the failure of the Administration to keep its campaign suffrage promises, and, specifically, the Administration's imprisonment of women in a Government workhouse for petitioning the President for liberty. From the time when, nearly two months ago, Mr. Malone witnessed the arrest of women for carrying suffrage banners on the streets of the Capital, he has supported and defended the course of the National Woman's Party, and has now officially given up a highly-paid office under the Administration in order that he may freely speak his mind concerning a Government that sends its sons abroad to fight for democracy, while it imprisons its daughters for asking for democracy. Mr. Malone has been Collector of the Port for four years. He was Third Secretary of State under Bryan and Assistant Corporation Counsel of New York City. He campaigned for Mr. Wilson for Governor of New Jersey, and is credited with President Wilson's decisive victory in the last campaign through his California speeches.

New York, N. Y., Sept. 7, 1917.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Last autumn, as the representative of your Administration, I went into the woman suffrage States to urge your reelection. The most difficult argument to meet among the seven million voters was the failure of the Democratic party, throughout four years of power, to pass the federal suffrage amendment looking toward the enfranchisement of all the women of the country. Throughout those States, and particularly in California, which ultimately decided the election by the votes of women, the women voters were urged to support you, even though Judge Hughes had already declared for the federal suffrage amendment, because you and your party, through liberal leadership, were more likely nationally to enfranchise the rest of the women of the country than were your opponents.

And if the women of the West voted to re-elect you, I promised them I would spend all my energy, at any sacrifice to myself, to get the present Democratic Administration to pass the federal suffrage amendment.

But the present policy of the Administration, in permitting splendid American women to be sent to jail in Washington, not for carrying offensive banners, not for picketing, but on the technical charge

of obstructing traffic, is a denial even of their constitutional right to petition for, and demand the passage of, the federal suffrage amendment. It, therefore, now becomes my profound obligation actively to keep my promise to the women of the West.

In more than twenty States it is a practical impossibility to amend the State constitutions; so the women of those States can only be enfranchised by the passage of the federal suffrage amendment. Since England and Russia, in the midst of the great war, have assured the national enfranchisement of their women, should we not be jealous to maintain our democratic leadership in the world by the speedy national enfranchisement of American women?

To me, Mr. President, as I urged upon you in Washington two months ago, this is not only a measure of justice and democracy, it is also an urgent war measure. The women of the nation are, and always will be, loyal to the country, and the passage of the suffrage amendment is only the first step toward their national emancipation. But unless the Government takes at least this first step toward their enfranchisement, how can the Government ask millions of American women, educated in our schools and colleges, and millions of American women in our homes, or toiling for economic independence in every line of industry, to give up by conscription their men and happiness to a war for democracy in Europe

while these women citizens are denied the right to vote on the policies of the Government which demands of them such sacrifice?

FOR this reason many of your most ardent friends and supporters feel that the passage of the federal suffrage amendment is a war measure which could appropriately be urged by you at this session of Congress. It is true that this amendment would have to come from Congress, but the present Congress shows no earnest desire to enact this legislation for the simple reason that you, as leader of the party in power, have not yet suggested it.

For the whole country gladly acknowledges, Mr. President, that no vital piece of legislation has come through Congress these five years except by your extraordinary and brilliant leadership. And millions of men and women today hope that you will give the federal suffrage amendment to the women of the country by the valor of your leadership now. It will hearten the mothers of the nation, eliminate a just grievance, and turn the devoted energies of brilliant women to a more hearty support of the Government in this crisis.

As you well know, in dozens of speeches in many States I have advocated your policies and the war. I was the first man of your Administration, nearly five years ago, publicly to advocate preparedness, and helped to found the first Plattsburg training camp. And if, with our troops mobilizing in France, you will give American women this measure for their political freedom, they will support with greater enthusiasm your hope and the hope of America for world freedom.

I have not approved all the methods recently adopted by women in the pursuit of their political liberty; yet, Mr. President, the Committee on Suffrage of the United States Senate was formed in 1883, when I was one year old; this same federal suffrage amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1878; brave women like Susan B. Anthony were petitioning Congress for the suffrage before the Civil War, and at the time of the

Civil War men like William Lloyd Garrison, Horace Greeley, and Wendell Phillips assured the suffrage leaders that if they abandoned their fight for suffrage, when the war was ended the men of the nation "out of gratitude" would enfranchise the women of the country.

And if the men of this country had been peacefully demanding for over half a century the political right or privilege to vote, and had been continuously ignored or met with evasion by successive Congresses, as have the women, you, Mr. President, as a lover of liberty, would be the first to comprehend and forgive their inevitable impatience and righteous indignation. Will not this Administration, re-elected to power by the hope and faith of the women of the West, handsomely reward that faith by taking action now for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment?

IN the Port of New York, during the last four years, billions of dollars in the export and import trade of the country have been handled by the men of the customs service; their treatment of the traveling public has radically changed, their vigilance supplied the evidence for the Lusitania note; the neutrality was rigidly maintained; the great German fleet guarded, captured, and repaired; substantial economies and reforms have been concluded, and my ardent industry has been given to this great office of your appointment. But now I wish to leave these finished tasks, to return to my profession of the law, and to give all my leisure time to fight as hard for the political freedom of women as I have always fought for your liberal leadership.

It seems a long seven years, Mr. President, since I first campaigned with you when you were running for Governor of New Jersey. In every circumstance throughout those years I have served you with the most respectful affection and unshadowed devotion. It is no small sacrifice now for me, as a member of your Administration, to sever our political relationship. But I think it is high time that men in this generation, at some cost to themselves, stood up to battle for the national enfranchisement of American women. So in order effectively to keep my promise made in the West, and more freely to go into this larger field of democratic effort, I hereby resign my office as Collector of the Port of New York, to take effect at once, or at your earliest convenience.

Yours respectfully,
DUDLEY FIELD MALONE.

The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association has raised its \$60,000 quota of the Million Dollar Fund. We have lost this year the two women who have been the largest givers—Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw and Mrs. R. D. Evans.

Our Ways and Means Committee, Mrs. Benjamin F. Pitman Chairman, gave a great patriotic bazaar at the Copley Plaza, on November 12, 13 and 14. The whole proceeds go for war relief.

Alice Stone Blackwell, President.

MINNESOTA

Woman Suffrage Association

The Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association, at its Annual Convention held in Minneapolis in December, adopted unanimous resolutions endorsing the policies of the National Association, and declaring its intention of carrying out as far as possible, the plans outlined by the National Association in organization, circularization, Congressional work, press and finances. It was voted that we should try to raise the \$30,000 apportioned to Minnesota as its part of the National Budget of \$1,000,000, and of that to send \$3,000 to the National. At the Convention luncheon at the Radisson Hotel, at which Mrs. Nellie McClung was the guest of honor and the principal speaker, \$8,000 was pledged toward this sum.

The war interfered with many of these plans. Our women have been among the foremost in war activities, and have not been able to give as much time to suffrage as heretofore.

The war policy adopted by the National Council at its meeting in Washington in February was endorsed by our State Board.

War service in Minneapolis has been co-ordinated under the State Safety Commission and the Woman's Auxiliary Committee, and our association has co-operated with these committees.

Several of our local associations have opened Red Cross headquarters, among them the Hennepin County Association, and the Faribault Suffrage Club.

The Red Cross work of the Hennepin County Association has been one of the most important in the State. Classes meet daily at its headquarters on Nicollet Avenue. There are sixteen circles working under its direction and 14,000 finished articles have been turned out.

PRESS WORK. Our Press Chairman, Mrs. Walter Thorp, sends plate matter to 150 papers. She answers all editorials written either for or against suffrage. Bulletins are sent to officers and workers in the State. She takes care of suffrage publicity in Minneapolis; has furnished news to the *Woman Citizen* and furnished articles and photographs for all important State activities, such as the Duluth Conference, Dedication of

classes in dietetics and also classes to educate speakers to talk on the food question.

With four other organizations, we ran a canning kitchen all summer at Mrs. Hemenway's; the vegetables and fruit were given, and the products sold for war relief. With five other organizations, we are now running a "Liberty Bread Shop," where we make, demonstrate and sell wheatless breads. Mrs. George W. Perkins has had charge of this work.

An appeal to buy Liberty Bonds was sent out to our members, and bonds were sold at Suffrage Headquarters.

The Hoover census of housewives in Boston was taken by the Boston Equal Suffrage Association, which enlisted 1,500 workers and secured 66,420 signatures. The Sunflower Lunchroom has been successfully continued and carries out Hoover's directions. The Holyoke League took the Hoover census in four of that city's seven wards, securing 10,000 signatures. In Cambridge, in Worcester and elsewhere, a suffragist was made Chairman of the Committee to take the food census and to do other important work. Remarkable garden work has been done by the suffragists in various places.

A mass meeting was held at Faneuil Hall in behalf of the eight-hour day.

The Red Cross has been aided. Knitting, canning and preserving have been done all through the State.

A letter urging the five lines of work recommended by the National Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was promptly sent to suffragists throughout the State.

The Americanization work, with Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley Chairman, is going on with great activity. Classes of foreign women are gathered by Mrs. Bagley and her helpers, and the public school authorities furnish teachers. We have been especially successful in getting the Italian women, who had been called impossible to reach.

The Suffrage Association sends out a monthly bulletin to its workers.

Since Mrs. Ida Porter Bayer became our State Press Chairman, about June 1, the number of papers taking our material has more than quintupled. Our weekly press bulletins go to fourteen State press bureaus, and are often used by them. Our press items appear as editorials not only in country papers, but sometimes in the metropolitan press.

A suffrage coffee house for the soldiers is about to be opened at Ayer. A three-story double house has been bought by Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw and Mrs. George R. Fearing, and leased at a nominal rent to the suffragists, who will run it.

Three speakers from the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, addressed New York soldiers at Ayer just before the election, and many Massachusetts workers took part in the New York campaign.

Letters have been sent to the Woman's Clubs, inviting them to have speakers on the war work of women.

the Woman Citizen Building, the White Elephant Sale and the Garden Party.

We held our first White Elephant Sale in Minneapolis in November. It was a glorified rummage sale and attracted thousands of people. \$2,700 was cleared. St. Paul held a similar one later which was also successful, netting about \$1,700. It is the intention to make these annual affairs until suffrage is won.

A successful Conference was held in Duluth in April, the women from the Twin Cities going in a chartered car. Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, of Illinois, and Professor Maria Sanford, were the principal speakers.

LEGISLATION. A Presidential Bill was submitted by our Legislative Committee to the Minneapolis Legislature. It was defeated by a vote of 31 to 35 in the Senate. A Constitutional Amendment was introduced by a representative and passed the lower House by a vote of 85 to 41. This Amendment was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 14 to 49. (The defeat of this measure was satisfactory to our association, as it is the policy of the State Association to work for the Federal Amendment).

It was our privilege to have Dr. Effie McCollum Jones in the State for the month of May. She spoke to approximately 10,000 people, succeeded in getting 670 new members and raised \$480. She spoke on suffrage and war service in twenty-six towns, often speaking two and three times in one place, and made many enthusiastic friends for our cause.

The President and Mrs. Sumner T. McKnight were delegates to the Mississippi Valley Conference.

A Garden Party was held at the home of the President in August, at which \$800 was raised.

WOMAN CITIZEN BUILDING. The Scandinavian Woman Suffrage Association pledged money to build a booth on the State Fair Grounds for the use of suffragists. They were successful in this effort and the very attractive and convenient *Woman Citizen Building* was dedicated and turned over to the State Association. It was decided that as suffrage might be won within a few years that the house should be for the use of the women citizens of Minnesota, and so it was called the "Woman Citizen Building." A tablet in memory of Julia B. Nelson, one of the earliest and most noted Minnesota suffragists, was placed over the fireplace. The chief speakers were Prof. David Swenson of the State University, and Professor Maria Sanford.

CONGRESSIONAL WORK. The Association has endeavored to follow as closely as possible the plan of the National Board for the Federal Amendment drive. Each Congressional District has a chairman and chairmen have been appointed in many counties. Organizers have been working in four districts and petitions have been circulated. Resolutions endorsing suffrage have been adopted at the following meetings: National Editorial Association; Minnesota Association of Stationary Engineers;

Danish-Norwegian Editorial Association; Women's Christian Temperance Union; Northern Minnesota Conference of Methodist-Episcopal Church; Minnesota State Graduate Nurses' Association; Brainerd Musical Club.

FINANCE. Our Association is able to report \$30,515 raised for suffrage during the year in Minnesota. Of this \$3,000 was sent to the National Treasury.

MRS. ANDREAS UELAND, President.

MISSISSIPPI

Equal Suffrage Association

In the year 1916-1917 the Mississippi Equal Suffrage Association made advances in several directions. Under the inspirational direction of its President, Miss Pauline V. Orr, eight new leagues were organized, bringing the number to eighteen. The Annual Convention, held in Starkville April 13-15, was marked by speeches from Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Walter McNab Miller. Miss Orr, having resigned the presidency, was unanimously elected honorary president; and Mrs. Edward F. McGehee, of Como, President of the State Federation of Clubs, was elected president for the new year.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller made a brief tour of the State in April, speaking at Meridian, Jackson and Laurel.

In May a member of the Association introduced at the State Teachers Association a resolution endorsing the principle of equal suffrage.

Since the entrance of the United States into the world's war, suffrage work *per se* has been stopped. Members of every league are doing war service of some kind. Many are active leaders in the necessary organization work. One league conducted the registration of women for war service in its county. Leagues at Jackson and Greenville are making themselves felt as leagues in their patriotic work. But for the most part the work is of an individual nature.

The President, Mrs. McGehee, as Chairman of the Woman's Committee, Mississippi Division Council of National Defense, is doing a great work in popularizing equal suffrage.

NANNIE H. RICE, Corresponding Secretary.

MISSOURI

Equal Suffrage Association

(a.)—The introduction of a Presidential Suffrage Bill into the 1917 Legislature. Headquarters were opened in the State Capitol, Jefferson City, and a strong lobby of Missouri women, strengthened by a National organizer, maintained there during the session.

Eca 1918?

WHY ARE OUR
MARRIAGE LAWS
PRONOUNCED THE WORST
IN OCCIDENTAL
CIVILIZATION?



Now Ready

TWO BOOKS FOR YOU

BROKEN HOMES

By JOANNA C. COLCORD

Are you interested in a discussion of the causes that underlie marital unhappiness, family maladjustments, and family desertion? If so, this book by the chairman for 1919 of the Family Section of the National Conference of Social Work will answer some of your queries. It is original, readable, and, above all, practical.

Among the chapter headings are the following:

WHY DO MEN DESERT THEIR FAMILIES?

FINDING THE DESERTING HUSBAND

THE DETAILS OF TREATMENT

THE HOME-STAYING NON-SUPPORTER

NEXT STEPS IN PREVENTIVE TREATMENT

Cloth, 208 pages.

Price, 75 cents net.

AMERICAN MARRIAGE LAWS IN THEIR SOCIAL ASPECTS A DIGEST

By FRED S. HALL AND
ELISABETH W. BROOKE

It may reasonably be doubted (says Professor Howard) whether any people in occidental civilization has marriage laws so defective as ours.

This is more than a Digest, it is also a brief study, and in a neglected field. It summarizes many recommendations for the reform of our marriage laws. It arranges the social aspects of these laws, first by topics and then by states, so that readers can see exactly where an individual state stands, and can determine for themselves the direction that reform should take. Invaluable for suggestion; indispensable for reference. 132 pages octavo.

Price, cloth \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

For sale by
The National Woman Suffrage
Publishing Co.
(Incorporated)

171 Madison Avenue

New York City

ORDER FORM

The National Woman Suffrage
Publishing Co., Inc.
171 Madison Ave., New York

Enclosed please find \$ _____ (check or money order) for which
kindly send to the undersigned address

_____ cop_____ of BROKEN HOMES, cloth, @ 75 cents

_____ cop_____ of AMERICAN MARRIAGE LAWS, cloth @ \$1.00

_____ cop_____ of AMERICAN MARRIAGE LAWS, paper @ 50 cents

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____

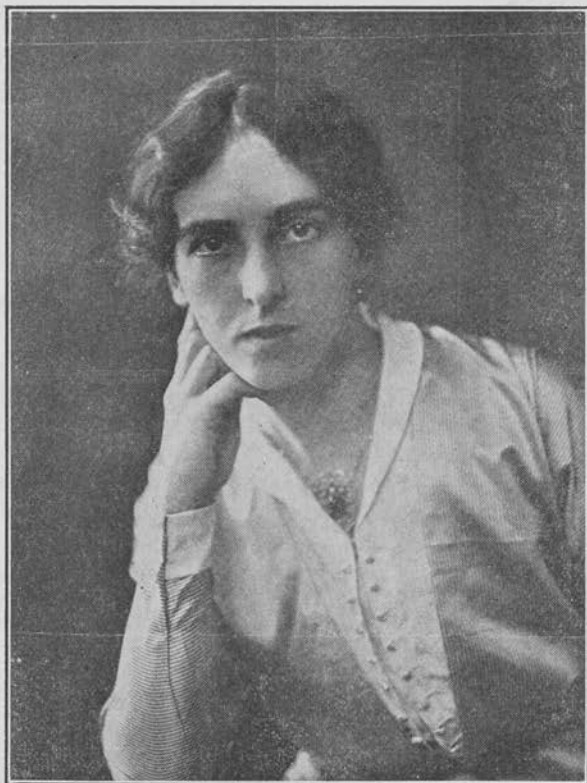
[1918]

LECTURE

Shubert Theatre
Wed. Feb. 20th
12:15 P.M.
admission free

WOMEN'S PART IN WINNING THE WAR

BY



MISS HELEN FRASER

of the National War Savings Committee, London

Author of

WOMEN AND WAR WORK

Exclusive Management

G. Arnold Shaw, Pub. 1735 Grand Central Terminal, N. Y



MISS HELEN FRASER'S presence in America at this time is due to the interest of President MacCracken, of Vassar College, in securing a woman who had distinguished herself in war work in England to lecture and hold conferences at the principal women's colleges. Wellesley, Smith, Mount Holyoke, Bryn Mawr, Connecticut, Goucher and Lake Erie Colleges co-operated with the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense in extending an invitation to her to visit America for six weeks through G. Arnold Shaw, *Secretary*, University Lecturers Association of New York, who has charge of her tour.

On Miss Fraser's arrival, November 30th, it was necessary to arrange for an extension of her time in America to fourteen weeks in order to meet the tremendous demand for her services from every part of the country which resulted from the preliminary announcement of her tour, sent out on November 17th. She spent her first week in America from December 3rd to 8th at Vassar College and there Miss Fraser made a most profound impression on the faculty and students, upholding her reputation as "one of the most brilliant women speakers of Great Britain".

Miss Fraser proceeded to Washington on December 14th and was received at the White House by President Wilson; she also met Secretary McAdoo, Secretary Baker and Samuel Gompers. On December 15th and 16th she addressed the Suffrage Convention in Washington and then it was that the full significance of what the war means to women was first brought home to a large gathering of American women. Many of the delegates, impressed with the vital importance of Miss Fraser's message to the women of this country, promptly arranged for lectures by her in their home cities with the result that it was again necessary to extend her tour until the early summer.

Prior to the war, Miss Fraser was engaged in lecturing on Suffrage and Social subjects throughout Great Britain; she is a member of the non-militant group of Suffragists, The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies of which Mrs. Henry Fawcett is President and of which Miss Fraser herself is a member of the Executive Committee. Since the war began she has been continuously engaged in war work of various kinds; Miss Fraser is an official of the British Treasury, being a speaker and organizer for the National War Savings Committee for which she has personally organized 109 of the 1500 War Savings Associations in Great Britain. She is speaking in America solely on what she considers the most vital subject before women today, namely "Women's Part in Winning the War"; her addresses do not touch upon the Suffrage question.

Miss Fraser will return to America in the autumn of 1918 to speak on the subjects given on page four of this circular.



The most Vital Problem of the Hour
To be published January 26th

WOMEN AND WAR WORK

by **MISS HELEN FRASER**
of the National War Savings Committee, London

12 mo. 320 pages

16 illustrations

\$1.50

Those who have been so favorably impressed with the author's vivid lectures will find still further inspiration in this admirably written book. What could only be treated in a cursory manner from the platform is here set forth in greater detail. The whole sphere of women's war work is surveyed and the book is full of helpful suggestion to the women of America, passing from a peace to a war basis, as the following chapter heads suggest:—

The Spirit of Women
Organization and its Pitfalls
Hospitals — Red Cross — The V. A. D.
Bringing Blighty to the Soldiers—Huts, Comforts, etc.
Woman-power for Man-power
Women in Munitions
The Protection of Women in Industry
"The Women's Land Army"
War Savings—The Money behind the Guns
Food Production and Conservation
The W. A. A. C.'s
War and Morality
What the War has done for Women
Reconstruction — War Finance and Peace Finance

SOME FACTS FROM ENGLAND

1¼ million women directly replacing men in industry
800,000 women in Munitions
258,300 women on the Land
10,000 recruits a month for the W. A. A. C.
Thousands of women in Hospitals, as Doctors, Nurses and V. A. D.'s

THIS BOOK TELLS HOW THE ABOVE BECAME FACTS

Order from your Bookseller today and receive copy of first edition.

G. ARNOLD SHAW



PUBLISHER, NEW YORK

Miss Helen Fraser's

SUBJECTS FOR LECTURES

Season 1918-1919

In response to many requests, resulting from the success of her inspiring lectures during the season of 1917-1918, Miss Fraser has agreed to return to America in the autumn of 1918 and will offer the following subjects:—

Women's Part in Winning the War
War Finance and Peace Finance
The Food Problem, Now and To-morrow
What War Means to Women
Women in Reconstruction
Social and Industrial Changes in the War
Lloyd George: Statesman and Leader

ORDER FORM FOR MISS FRASER'S BOOK

This order should be sent to your bookseller or direct to the publisher.

G. Arnold Shaw, *Publisher*,
1735 Grand Central Terminal,
New York City

Dear Sir:—

Please send of "Women and War Work" by Helen Fraser (\$1.50) and charge the same to my account for which I enclose \$

Yours very truly,

Name

Address
.....

Date

[1918]
MID-SEASON
ANNOUNCEMENT
1918.

Mabel B. Ury presents for School
and College Commencements

Mr. Charles Zueblin

in an opportune
lecture on

Mobilizing Youth

Other war lectures by Mr. Zueblin,
appropriate for Summer Schools,
Teachers' Institutes, Chautauquas:

America's Job in the World

World Reorganization

and six lectures to be given
singly or in series on

The United States—

Pace Maker and Peace Maker

For other notable lectures on
THE WORLD WAR
by American and Allied Publicists
Address Miss Mabel B. Ury
26 Pemberton Square, Boston



CHARLES ZUEBLIN

Publicist

Lecturer

Author,

"American Municipal Progress"

Announcement New Course of Lectures, Season 1918-19

War's Visions and Revisions

While we wage war the world is being reorganized. Every day the menace of autocracy becomes more terrifying. The glorious traditions of Germany have been overlaid by an almost inexpugnable infamy.

If the autocratic efficiency of Prussia can blot out in fifty years the traditions of the free Germanic peoples, no sacrifice is too great to save the world from its further encroachment. But the human wall opposed to the Hun must be backed by heroic imagination, fearless idealism and a democratic efficiency that will excel the mechanical perfection of the continuous camp of Central Europe.

This cannot be done by prayer and fasting or fraternal aspiration or internal strife. We cannot play our part in world leadership and organization until we are unconstrained by personal possessions or prepossessions.

1. *The World's Highway.*
2. *The Vitality of Nationality.*
3. *Horse-power and Man-power.*
4. *Race Recuperation.*
5. *Science at the Front.*
6. *Faith under Fire.*

[1918]
FILE COPY

LESSON ONE

To the Two Million New Women Voters—This Means You

WHY YOU SHOULD VOTE

Do you know that **YOUR FIRST CHANCE** to **VOTE** will be next fall, at the general state election, in November, and that the men you will have to vote for begin with the **GOVERNOR** of the state. There are six other state officers to be elected:—Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Comptroller, Treasurer, Attorney-General, and State Engineer and Surveyor. The City elections were held last fall and there will not be another Mayor elected until 1921.

What do you know about voting?

Did you read in the papers recently that the first time New York City women were given a chance to vote, 95 per cent. of those who had registered got out and voted? Did you wonder why no one had told you that **YOU** ought to vote?

Well, don't let that worry you.

The truth is that only the women of a small part of New York were able to vote at that election. It was a **SPECIAL ELECTION**, and it was made necessary because four Congressmen had resigned or died and their

place had to be filled. Only the people who lived in upper Manhattan, part of the Bronx, and a certain part of Brooklyn were able to vote for these men.

The **GOVERNOR** of **NEW YORK STATE** is a pretty important man, don't you think so? He is the manager of the entire business of the government of this big state with its eleven millions of people. Every law made for New York State has to go to him for his approval, and if it does not seem a good law to him he may veto it.

You are going to vote also for your own special representatives at the legislature in Albany, your **State Senator** and **Assemblyman**. It is important for you to choose the right man who is to represent you in that way, because he can make laws for you, both about your work and your home.

Besides these you can vote for your **Congressman** who goes down to Washington and represents you in the **Federal Government**. You want to make sure that you have the right man to represent you there in these trying War times. Of course, our first duty is to win the war. Every woman wants the man who is representing her in Washington to do his level best to help the country win the war. You want to make sure that the men who are elected this fall are wise and public spirited above the average. But that is not all. You have also to vote for certain Judges of the Municipal Courts, the Supreme Courts, and there are some Constitutional Amendments about which you must vote. You can see that voting this fall is going to be a big job, and it is im-

portant for you to make this first vote a right one that will help the government to do its very best.

We women are like a reserve army that the men have left at home. Nearly every woman has some man, somewhere in the army. These men are studying and drilling so as to give the best possible account of themselves when the time comes. Of course we could go ahead and vote any old way as most men do, you probably know as much now about voting as most men do but some of the new women voters are going into training for voting so that they can do their work for their country at home, as well as the men will do theirs on the field.

The new job of the women voters is just as important as that of the men. While the army is fighting to make "Democracy Safe" abroad, men and women voters must see to it that Democracy in the U. S. is doing its work well.

The government of the U. S. is a Democracy.

A Democracy is a government **by the people**.

Our government is therefore, what WE, the PEOPLE, men and women make it.

The government of the U. S. is also a Republic.

A Republic is that kind of a Democracy where the people elect certain **representatives** to manage the government for them.

The people of the U. S. are not **SUBJECTS** of anyone, they are **CITIZENS** and a part of their own government. **THERE IS NO POWER IN THIS COUNTRY EXCEPT**

**WHAT THE PEOPLE GIVE TO THE MEN THEY
ELECT TO REPRESENT THEM AND TO GOVERN
THEM.**

There is another thing about voting:—At the ballot box, every voter in the state is on an equality with every other voter. The poorest, the weakest, the least influential woman has just as much power, when it comes to voting as the richest, most influential one.

The ballot is secret. How you vote is something no one in the world need know unless you tell them. You go into an enclosed booth and mark your ballot where no one can see you. You fold it up and it is dropped, unopened into a box. In casting that vote you are doing something for your country, and not to use your privilege as a voter to the best advantage is to be a slacker.

READ THESE LEAFLETS, AND LEARN HOW TO VOTE INTELLIGENTLY.

Prepared by the
WOMAN VOTERS COUNCIL
WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY
3 East 38th Street

(Copyrighted by the Press Publishing Co.)

LESSON TWO

To the Two Million New Women Voters—This Means You

WHEN AND HOW TO VOTE

There is one thing that you must do in order to vote, that is **TO REGISTER**. There are certain days in October called registration days, when every person who wants to vote has **TO REGISTER**. The reason for this is to prevent people from voting who are not qualified.

To have the right to vote you must be (1) an American citizen; (2) at least 21 years old, and (3) have lived in the state one year, in the county four months, and in the election district thirty days. This does not mean that you must be in your home continuously for thirty days before election, but only that you must have established your residence there.

For the purpose of voting, each county and city is divided into **ELECTION DISTRICTS**. In New York City an election district has about 350 voters. It may consist of two or three blocks, sometimes a little more. Each election district has a polling place where the voters of the district go, both to register and to vote.

REGISTRATION DAYS come in October about a month before election and every day for a week, from 5 p. m. to 10:30 p. m. the polling places are open for the voters to register, on Saturday they are open from 7 a. m. to 10:30 p. m. **IF YOU FORGET TO REGISTER ON ONE OF THOSE DAYS YOU CANNOT VOTE ON ELECTION DAY.**

When you register, you have to tell your name and age, your exact residence, whether you were born in this country, if not when you were naturalized, your occupation, and you are required to sign your name. This is all for purposes of identification, and to prevent fraudulent voting.

After you have registered, that is all you need to do before **ELECTION DAY**. On that day, which is the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, you go to the same place where you registered. The same inspectors of elections will probably be in charge of the elections who were there on registration day. You will be first asked your name and address and the inspector will look in the registration book to see that you are properly registered. You then sign your name again in the poll book, and the inspector will compare this signature with the one you wrote on registration day to make sure that you are the same person who registered. Then the ballot clerk will hand you two ballots folded in a set, and you go into the polling booth where you will find a **BLACK LEAD PENCIL** attached to a string, with which to mark your ballot. One ballot of the set will have on it all the names of all the candidates for all the offices to be filled, the other will have certain questions to be voted yes or no.

The first office to be filled on the ballot of the candidates will be the governor of the state. Under the word "Governor (vote for one)" will be all the candidates for governor of all the political parties. Each name will have a party emblem on one side and the name of the party of which it is a candidate on the other. To vote for a candidate you mark an ☒ in the box beside the name of the candidate with **BLACK LEAD PENCIL**, not ink. If the cross extends beyond the box, or if the word "yes" or "no" is written, or

if the ballot is erased or torn or in any way defaced, it will be thrown out at the count as void. If you spoil a ballot you should ask for another one, and you can even have a third one.

It is not possible, with the ballot that is used now, to vote a **STRAIGHT TICKET** by making a cross at the head of a column, but you have to mark separately the name of each official for whom you wish to vote.

All the candidates of all the parties for each office to be filled are grouped together. After the names of the candidates for Governor, will come those for Lieutenant-Governor, then those for Secretary of State, and so on down the line.

You need not vote for every office on the ballot, but if you vote for more than one man for any one office your ballot will be thrown out at the count.

After you have finished marking your ballot, you fold it and come out of the booth and hand it to the inspector who will tear off the stub which has the number on it, and drop the stub in one box and the ballot, unopened, into the ballot box.

HOW DID THE NAMES OF THE CANDIDATES GET ON THE BALLOT

Each political party nominates certain candidates for each office. This is done at a direct **PRIMARY ELECTION**, which is an election inside the party by party members. The **PRIMARY ELECTION** to nominate candidates is held on the 7th Tuesday before election and only the members of each political party are permitted to vote in the primary of their chosen party. At these primaries each party member is given a ballot with the name of several candidates for each office to be filled and he or she may vote

for his or her choice at the regular election. The men who receive the highest number of votes at the party primary become the candidates of that political party at the general election.

The **LEADERS OF THE PARTIES** for the coming year are also elected at these primaries.

MEN enrolled when they registered last fall, and next fall women who register will also be given an opportunity to enroll. Because women were not voters so did not register last fall when the men did, **A SPECIAL ENROLLMENT** day for women was set this year for May 25th. On that day any woman wishing to join a political party could enroll in order to vote at the party primary in September and help select the candidates of that party for all offices to be filled.

When you enroll, (that is join a political party) you do not **PLEDGE** yourself to vote for the candidates of the party with which you enroll but you are still at liberty to vote for any one you choose. The statement which you sign is as follows:—"I am in general sympathy with the principles of the party—I have not enrolled with, or participated in any primary election of any other party since the first day of last January."

Use your own judgment about enrolling. Do not let any one tell you that you **MUST ENROLL** or tell you which party to choose. It is your own business whether you enroll or not, and it is your privilege to choose your own party.

Choose for yourself whether or not you will enroll in May but **DO NOT FORGET TO REGISTER IN OCTOBER**, and **ESPECIALLY DO NOT NEGLECT TO VOTE ON NOVEMBER 5th**.

Prepared by the
WOMAN VOTERS COUNCIL
WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY
3 East 38th Street

(Copyrighted by the Press Publishing Co.)



LESSON THREE

To the Two Million New Women Voters—This Means You

YOUR PART IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE

YOU MAY VOTE THIS FALL for the most important man in the **State**:

THE GOVERNOR—He is elected for two years and gets \$10,000 a year salary.

He is General Manager of the State.

He signs or vetoes every law passed by the legislature.

He is Commander in Chief of the State Militia.

He has power to grant pardons.

Choose a **WISE, INTELLIGENT** and **PUBLIC SPIRITED** man for Governor. He has also, with the consent of the Senate, the appointment of most of the men at the heads of the various departments of the State's business which concern you as follows:

The amount of car fare you pay in a street car, the cost of a telephone call or a telegram, the price of gas, and electricity are in the hands of two **PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS**, ten men who get \$15,000 a year each.

If you want to get a state position and take a Civil Service Examination, you do it under the direction of the **CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION**. This consists of three men at \$5,000 a year each.

When you pay taxes it is under the direction of the **STATE TAX COMMISSIONERS**. These are three men at \$6,000 a year each.

All the insane of the State are under the **STATE HOSPITAL COMMISSION IN LUNACY**. These are three men appointed for six years at \$7,500 a year each.

All the inmates of the prisons of the State are under the **STATE PRISON COMMISSION**. This consists of seven men who are paid \$10 a day each for each day of

service. The **STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PRISONS** gets \$6,000 a year.

The destitute and dependents who are in the charitable institutions receiving funds from the State, are under the care of the **STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES**. These are twelve men who are paid \$10 a day each for service.

If you work for wages, the inspection of conditions under which you work, Workmen's Compensation and many things concerning your welfare and work come under the direction of the **STATE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR**.

Efforts to improve your health and that of all the people in the State are made by the **STATE HEALTH COMMISSIONER**, who is appointed for four years at \$5,000 a year.

The protection of the public forests and of fish and game is in the hands of the **CONSERVATION COMMISSIONER**, whose term is four years, and salary \$10,000 a year.

The regulation of the sale of liquor in the State, and the collection of excise taxes is in the hands of the **STATE EXCISE COMMISSIONER**, who is appointed for five years, and gets \$7,000 a year.

The development of the Agricultural interests of the State are in the hands of the **COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE**, who is appointed for three years, and gets \$3,000 a year.

The management of banks, trust companies, and building and loan associations is in the hands of the **SUPERINTENDENT OF BANKS**, who is appointed for three years, and gets \$10,000 a year.

Insurance companies are under the control of the **STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF INSURANCE**, whose term is three years, and his salary \$10,000 a year.

State Roads are in charge of the **STATE COMMISSIONER OF HIGHWAYS**, whose term is two years, and salary is \$12,000 a year. Your education and that of all the children of the State is under the general supervision of

the **STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION**, who gets \$10,000 a year. These men are all appointed by the Governor and the Senate.

You may vote this fall also for your personal representatives in the **LEGISLATURE**. The laws under which you live, which protect you in your life and property, and which you have to obey are mostly State laws, made by the State Legislature and enforced by the Courts of the State.

The **LEGISLATURE** consists of a **SENATE** and an **ASSEMBLY**.

YOUR SENATOR is one of 51 men in the Senate, elected for two years.

YOUR ASSEMBLYMAN is one of 150 men in the Assembly, elected for one year. Both get \$1,500 a year.

Your Representatives want to please you.

You give them their jobs.

Why shouldn't they want to please you?

Write to them.

Telegraph to them.

Tell them what you want them to do.

YOU HAVE MUCH POWER IN MAKING THE LAWS.

If you want to get a law passed

1. Get it written in proper form by the bill drafting bureau in Albany.
2. Get your Senator or Assemblyman, or both, to introduce it for you.
3. Get people to write in favor of it to the Senators and Assemblymen.

If you want a law not to pass

Write to your Senators and Assemblymen.

Tell them to work and vote against it.

Get everybody else to do the same.

YOU MAY VOTE FOR SIX OTHER IMPORTANT STATE OFFICIALS:

1. **LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.**

Salary, \$5,000 a year.

Takes place of Governor in case of absence or death.

Presides over Senate.

2. **SECRETARY OF STATE.**

Salary, \$6,000 a year.

Charge of public documents and State records.

Publishes laws, dates of elections, and election returns.

3. **COMPTROLLER.**

Salary, \$6,000 a year.

Collects revenues and State taxes.

Keeps accounts.

4. **TREASURER.**

Salary, \$8,000 a year.

Holds State funds and pays them out on proper orders.

5. **ATTORNEY-GENERAL.**

Salary, \$10,000 a year.

Legal adviser of the State.

6. **STATE ENGINEER AND SURVEYOR.**

Salary, \$10,000 a year.

Charge of public land and canals.

You may also vote in November for your **CONGRESSMAN**, the man who goes to Washington to represent you in the National Government.

CONGRESS makes laws concerning the management of the war. Federal laws have to do with affairs which concern all the States in common.

You want to send as **YOUR REPRESENTATIVE** to Congress a man of **PROVEN LOYALTY**, of **BROAD MIND** and **CLEAR VISION**.

Your vote next fall is of grave importance both to you and to the Nation.

DO NOT NEGLECT TO VOTE.

LEARN ALL YOU CAN ABOUT CANDIDATES.

THEN VOTE FEARLESSLY ACCORDING TO YOUR BEST INTELLIGENCE.

Prepared by the
WOMAN VOTERS COUNCIL
WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY
3 East 38th Street

(Copyrighted by the Press Publishing Co.)



LESSON FOUR

To the Two Million New Women Voters—This Means You

WHAT NEW YORK CITY DOES FOR YOU AND WHAT IT COULD DO FOR YOU

THE GOVERNMENT of a **BIG CITY** AFFECTS very **INTIMATELY** the **LIVES** of the people who live in the city.

Did you ever stop to think what the government of your city does for you, and how much your comfort and welfare depend on it? These are some of the things that depend, to a very large extent on the city government:

YOUR HOME. Does sunshine come into your home?

Are there windows in your rooms, letting in good air and light? Sunshine and air are the best disinfectants in the world. Air and light are as necessary for human beings as for plants.

An airshaft of a certain size, letting in a minimum amount of light and air, is required by State law in every building used as a living place. The way that law is enforced depends on the **TENEMENT HOUSE DEPARTMENT**.

Are sanitary conditions good in the building where you live? This depends also on the inspectors of the **TENEMENT HOUSE DEPARTMENT**.

Is the building where you live secure against fire? This depends on the city **FIRE DEPARTMENT**.

Are fire-escapes clear? This depends on the **POLICE DEPARTMENT**.

YOUR EDUCATION: Did your school give you an education that prepared you for life after you left school? Was your school so interesting that you loved to go there? Did it help you to choose the occupation for which you are best fitted? Did you have vocational

training to help fit you to your job, and your job to you? All this depends on the city **BOARD OF EDUCATION**.

YOUR HEALTH: Were you examined every year you were in school by a physician? Did they watch over you to see that defective teeth were cared for, that adenoids and diseased tonsils were removed? The State law requires that every child in school shall be examined by a competent doctor once a year.

Whether this is done depends on the city **HEALTH DEPARTMENT**, and on the **APPROPRIATIONS** made by the city to that department. The prevalence of typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and other contagious diseases depend on the vigilance of the city Health Department. The lives of many babies have been saved by the help and wise care of the bureaus of the Health Department. The death rate of the city has been greatly lowered by the work of the various City Departments.

THE COST OF LIVING is dependent on a measure in the city government. It is greatly increased if the authorities have not met the requirements of proper distribution of food supplies over the great city as it has grown. The cost of food is often more than doubled after it reaches the city by the expense of carting it back up town to the merchant and of its passing through many hands.

THE CLEANNESS OF YOUR HOME as well as the health of your children, depends in some measure on the **STREET CLEANING DEPARTMENT**. Are dust and dirt blown in at your windows? Are the streets clean where your children play or are they littered with papers and debris? The City Ordinances forbid throwing things into the streets. Whether these are enforced or not depends on the **POLICE DEPARTMENT**.

PLAY PLACES FOR CHILDREN: Is there a Vacation School or any proper playground for children in your

neighborhood, or are the streets the only place in which the children can play?

This depends on the appropriations which the city makes for this purpose. Are the roofs of buildings or the many back yards of the city used for playgrounds? The city government could open them up for the children.

RECREATION FOR YOUNG PEOPLE: Amusement is as much a need of human beings as food or drink. Does the city make proper provision for this? Do you know of public dance halls where it is nice for a respectable girl to go, where no liquor is sold? Do you know of many places where a nice girl can go with her young man or where she can meet other respectable young men and get acquainted with them in a proper way?

THE CITY GOVERNMENT CAN DO ALL THESE THINGS FOR YOU. It does do some of them now, a few of them are done well. How well they are all done, and the degree in which the city serves you depends on the government of the city.

YOU ARE A VOTER NOW, if you are a citizen, and at least 21 years of age. It is part of your business to see that the city government does these things for you and your family and friends.

The responsibility for the government of the city rests on **THE MAYOR**. He is responsible for all the Departments of the city government. He appoints the men at the head of the Tenement House Department, the Health Department, the Police Department, the Fire Department, the Street Cleaning Department and all the other city departments. He is also a powerful member of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment who make the appropriations for all the business of the city.

The Mayor is elected for four years, and is paid \$15,000 a year.

THE COMPTROLLER manages the finances of the City, and is also a powerful member of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. He is elected by the voters for four years, and gets \$15,000 a year.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN is the head of the Board which makes all the ordinances governing the city. He is elected for four years, and gets \$7,500 a year.

THE BOROUGH PRESIDENT OF YOUR BOROUGH is responsible for local affairs. He has general charge of streets, bridges, sewers and buildings in the borough. He is elected for four years and gets from \$5,000 to \$7,500 a year.

YOUR ALDERMAN is your personal representative on the Board of Aldermen. This board makes the ordinances for the government of the city. He is elected for two years, and gets \$2,000 a year.

CITY ORDINANCES are local laws which regulate city departments like the police, fire, building, health, and parks, public markets, streets and docks, which provide for the inspection of weight and measures, determine the height of buildings, regulate places of amusement and provide for the suppression of vice.

For State Laws (See Lesson Three).

YOU WILL HELP ELECT city officials at the next general city election, which does not come until 1921, except your alderman whom you will elect in November 1919. The Mayor, the Comptroller, the President of the Board of Aldermen and the Borough Presidents were elected last fall, 1917, and will serve four years. The aldermen two years. Write your Alderman about any conditions in your district which need improving. If you don't know who he is, apply to the

Woman Suffrage Party, at 3 East 38th Street, and they will tell you.

MEANWHILE DON'T FORGET THAT YOU ARE A VOTER NOW, AND THAT THESE OFFICIALS ARE RESPONSIBLE TO YOU.

BECAUSE YOU ARE A VOTER—YOU WILL BE LISTENED TO.

Prepared by the
WOMAN VOTERS COUNCIL
WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY
3 East 38th Street

(Copyrighted by the Press Publishing Co.)



[Jan 14, 1918]

JUST PUBLISHED

The most vitally interesting as it is the most timely book for American women organizing for War Service.

WOMEN^{AND} WAR WORK



HELEN FRASER

12mo.

16 Illustrations

\$1.50

Foreword (see inside) by President MacCracken of Vassar

The author is an official of the British Treasury now lecturing at the women's colleges and for the Council of National Defense. She has been continuously engaged in War Work since August, 1914, and has organized no less than 109 of the 1,500 Local Committees for the National War Savings Committee.

HEAR HER LECTURE.

BUY HER BOOK.

Use Order Form on Last Page.

PRESIDENT MAC CRACKEN'S FOREWORD TO MISS FRASER'S WOMEN AND WAR WORK



OUR War Loan from England"—That is the heading under which were grouped the nine lectures given by Miss Helen Fraser at Vassar College. England has borrowed a billion or so of dollars from us, but the obligation is not all her way. The moral strength of our cause is immeasurably increased by her alliance, and the spectacle of a great democracy organizing itself for complete unity in a world crisis is worth an incalculable amount to us. Such a vision Miss Fraser has brought to her wider public among the women of America in this notable book. Of her personal influence let me quote again from the Vassar students' newspaper:

"Miss Fraser, here's to you! We don't need to say that we liked Miss Fraser and everything she had to tell us. The way we followed her around, and packed every room in which she spoke, out to the doors and sometimes up to the ceiling, is proof enough of that. And even the fact that it was Sunday could not check our outburst of song in the Soap Palace as Miss Fraser departed. Her gracious speech of appreciation left with us the question not phrased by her before, but certainly in the minds of every one of us who had been hearing her: 'What are we going to do?'"

An unsolicited testimonial, this, of the most genuine kind. The College students of today are not easily coaxed into lecture rooms outside of their own classes.

I believe that Miss Fraser's book will be read with the same eager attention that followed her first speeches in this country as she began her work of educating American women to a sense of what the mobilization of the entire citizen army of a democracy must mean.

Nor will her influence cease there. Miss Fraser's book is a piece of history; and history is action. The wonderful work of the women of England is already emulated by the splendid efforts along many lines of the women in our country. The new lessons of co-operation and of selfless devotion learned from this book will, I confidently predict, within a few months be translated into action by the Women's War Service Committees in every state of our land.

And the greatest lesson of all is that women and men must work together in this new world. I count it an honor—being a man—to be asked to introduce Miss Fraser in this way to the American public. For my part I would have no separate women's division, except such as concerns the tasks exclusively for women. I would have women side by side with men in every division of labor, working out the task with equal fidelity, equal authority, and equal rewards. One of the results of this amazing age is going to be the new comprehension, understanding, and sympathy of the one sex for the other.

H. N. MACCRACKEN.

Vassar College,
Poughkeepsie, New York.
January 11, 1918.

Chapter heads indicating that Miss Fraser's book is the most useful war book for women.

The Spirit of Women
Organization and Its Pitfalls
Hospitals—Red Cross—The V. A. D.
Bringing Blighty to the Soldiers—Huts, Comforts,
etc.
Woman-power for Man-power
Women in Munitions
The Protection of Women in Industry
"The Women's Land Army"
War Savings—The Money Behind the Guns
Food Production and Conservation
The W. A. A. C.'s
War and Morals
What the War Has Done for Women
Reconstruction—War Finance and Peace Finance

ORDER FORM

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUB. CO.,
171 Madison Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Sirs:

Please send.....cop....of "Women and War
Work" by Helen Fraser and

for which I enclose \$.....
charge the same to my account

Yours very truly,

Name

Address

.....

Date

[April, 1918]

Facts and Dates to Remember

The Extent of Equal Suffrage All Over the World

WOMEN HAVE FULL SUFFRAGE

| Place | Date | Place | Date |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| BRITISH EMPIRE: | | UNITED STATES: | |
| Isle of Man..... | 1881 | Wyoming..... | 1869 |
| New Zealand..... | 1893 | Colorado..... | 1893 |
| Australian Federation..... | 1902 | Idaho..... | 1896 |
| Manitoba..... | 1916 | Utah..... | 1896 |
| Alberta..... | 1916 | Washington..... | 1910 |
| Saskatchewan..... | 1916 | California..... | 1911 |
| British Columbia..... | 1916 | Arizona..... | 1912 |
| Ontario..... | 1917 | Kansas..... | 1912 |
| Great Britain..... | 1918 | Oregon..... | 1912 |
| <i>Nova Scotia</i> | <i>1918</i> | Alaska..... | 1913 |
| SCANDINAVIA: | | Montana..... | 1914 |
| Finland..... | 1906 | Nevada..... | 1914 |
| Norway..... | 1907 | New York..... | 1917 |
| Iceland..... | 1913 | <i>Ohio, S. D. & Idaho</i> | <i>1918</i> |
| Denmark..... | 1915 | RUSSIA | 1917 |

WOMEN HAVE A LARGE DEGREE OF SUFFRAGE

| Place | Date | Place | Date |
|--|-------------------|---------------------------------|------|
| BRITISH EMPIRE: | | UNITED STATES: | |
| Canada ¹ | 1917 ⁸ | Illinois ³ | 1913 |
| New Brunswick ² | 1886 | North Dakota ³ | 1917 |
| Nova Scotia ² | 1887 | Nebraska ³ | 1917 |
| Prince Edward Island ² | 1888 | Indiana ⁴ | 1917 |
| Quebec ² | 1892 | Rhode Island ⁴ | 1917 |
| Union of South Africa ² | 1915 | Michigan ⁴ | 1917 |
| SCANDINAVIA: | | Arkansas ⁵ | 1917 |
| Sweden..... | 1862 | Vermont ⁵ | 1917 |
| | | Texas ⁵ | 1918 |

WOMEN HAVE SCHOOL OR TAX SUFFRAGE

| | | | |
|------------------------------|------|-------------------------|------|
| UNITED STATES: | | Iowa ⁶ | 1894 |
| Kentucky..... | 1838 | New Jersey..... | 1887 |
| Michigan..... | 1875 | South Dakota..... | 1887 |
| Minnesota..... | 1875 | Oklahoma..... | 1890 |
| New Hampshire..... | 1878 | Connecticut..... | 1893 |
| Massachusetts..... | 1879 | Ohio..... | 1894 |
| Mississippi..... | 1880 | Delaware..... | 1898 |
| Vermont..... | 1880 | Wisconsin..... | 1900 |
| Louisiana ⁶ | 1898 | New Mexico..... | 1910 |

Footnotes:—

- ¹ Parliamentary Suffrage for close relatives of soldiers in all Canadian Provinces.
- ² Municipal Suffrage.
- ³ Presidential and Local.
- ⁴ Presidential.
- ⁵ Primary.
- ⁶ Tax.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue

Printed April 1918



New York City

(From Bemidji Pioneer, May 30,
1918.)

PRESIDENT IS POWERLESS IN BOOZE REIGN, SAYS HOBSON

**Merrimac Hero Declares Arm
of Nation's Head Paralyzed
by Liquor's Clutch.**

**CITES MILLIONS NEEDED
CARS HAULING BOOZE**

**Small Fraction Rules Nation;
Asks If This a Democracy;
Novel Viewpoint Taken.**

The government would take a long stride forward toward winning the war if it would use the thousands upon thousands of cars for hauling

coal and food stuffs instead of letting the brewers and distillers have the precious cars for shipping beer and booze.

Fuel could be shipped to points where badly needed if the cars were used for that purpose and not allowed to be used for carrying beer and other brewery products throughout the country.

The food problem would be nearer solution if the cars were used for shipping grain and other food products instead of being loaded with products of breweries, the grain needed by the people being used to debauch the morals and bodies of the youth of the nation and manhood in general.

Ships that are said to be so vitally needed for sending supplies to the American fighters in Europe would be more available for that purpose, but instead are being used to send huge cargoes of liquor to England and France.

Liquor Hinders Nation.

These were but few instances which Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson, hero of the Merrimac incident in the Spanish-American war, cited last night in his address at the Methodist church in support of the national constitutional amendment abolishing liquor manufacture and traffic during the war, and he gave startling figures as to the number of cars used in this nefarious business when the country is crying for cars and the government excusing lack of facilities on the grounds of car shortage. And the same goes for shipping.

President Powerless.

Declaring that the arm of the president was "paralyzed by the power of the liquor interests of the nation," Captain Hobson showed the hand of the liquor interests clutching the very throat of the nation. He asserted that only one-third of one per cent of the country controlled the liquor interests and in turn had the arm of the government paralyzed.

"And they call this a democracy," ejaculated Captain Hobson.

Takes New Viewpoint.

The speaker took the liquor question from an entirely new and novel viewpoint. He is a scientific and technical man and he analyzed the effects of liquor on a human and then took into consideration the millions affected by its use. He spoke of what goes with the liquor game and cited statistical figures of the shocking number of infected, and recalled the startling facts of thousands upon thousands of soldiers affected in England at the outset of the great war. He told of the effect upon the human family and its dire results on offspring of this horde and its effect upon recurrent generations.

Education Not Effective.

"No nation ruled by liquor ever survived," declared Captain Hobson. "No nation however educated survived. Education is not the mark of permanency. Rome was the best educated center in the world. Yet it fell by the curse of liquor."

The speaker also cited the rise and the cause of the fall of the ancients, recorded in historic annals, and in each instance history records the reign of Bacchus as the cause of their overthrow. And he pleaded for the people to rise and take control of their own nation and free it from the domination of the liquor interests.

Audience Follows Closely.

The large audience sat in silence and followed closely every word of the speaker. At times spontaneous applause burst forth in volume. It was an address that weighed heavily upon the hearers. It was not the usual scolding address, it was an education and the analysis was clear to all, being substantiated by the highest scientific authorities and the records of the government as to the hugeness of the liquor traffic and its throttling grasp upon the helpless people.

Pledges for Work.

J. J. Opsahl presided and introduced the speaker. At the close, Captain Hobson received pledges for support of the Anti-Saloon league in its war on liquor. A committee of three, consisting of A. L. Molander, A. T. Carlson and F. T. Beaver, was named to draft resolutions urging the passage of the national amendment to be sent to the congressman of the Sixth district and the senators from Minnesota. The committee was named at the request of Captain Hobson.

[Oct. 21, 1918]

ELECT

Hilding A. Swanson

Vote For the Man Who votes For the People

Record of L. D. Brown, his opponent, by Lynn Haines, during the session of 1909-1911:

"L. D. Brown, Little Falls. A new member and not very active. Did not vote on the rules reform; was for direct legislation, but otherwise with the pool, except on the J. N. Johnson stock regulation bill.

"L. D. Brown, Little Falls. One of the Speaker's leading lieutenants; was chairman of the Committee on Elections and did more than almost any other member to block progressive legislation; opposed both direct legislation bills and was reactionary on all other vital issues; voted twice against the recall and opposed the Stone corrupt practices act; invariably voted with the liquor interests; was against the tonnage tax, but supported the distance tariff."

Record of L. D. Brown by C. J. Buell, during the session of 1917:

"Mr. Brown voted "No" on all the following questions:

"Equal suffrage; the four main temperance bills; Constitutional Prohibition; Statutory Prohibition; Cummings blind pig bill; Captions for Constitutional Dry Amendment. Mr. Brown voted "Yes" on the Repeal of the Minneapolis Civil Service law, and Odland's party Convention bill, (which was to repeal the primary)."

Mr. Swanson voted just the opposite of Mr. Brown in all the measures set forth in the session of 1917, above set forth. Mr. Swanson introduced 34 bills, that is, was author or co-author of that many bills, 13 were carried, the average being two per member. Mr. Brown was author or co-author of 7 bills.

Dated October 21st, 1918.

Prepared and circulated by Minnesota Women's Suffrage Ass'n.



Please give A Mollenda

[post-Oct. 1918]

The Connecticut Idea

by

KATHARINE LUDINGTON

President, Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association

and

NANCY M. SCHOONMAKER

Executive Secretary, Department of Citizenship
55 Pratt Street, Hartford, Conn.



Published by
NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY
171 Madison Avenue
New York



WHAT IS IT?

1. To educate women for citizenship, in advance of full enfranchisement.
2. To train as well as instruct them systematically by the development of a complete Department of Citizenship.
3. To develop them, in co-operation with the political parties, by self-activity in practical issues. In short, to Americanize American women.

WHY?

Facing a world at war, the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, in the spring of 1918, formulated the following principles:

We believe that of all governments a Democracy stands most in need of an intelligent electorate;

That it rests with the people, through their vote and their legislation, to crystalize and secure the principles of democracy for which our soldiers have been fighting;

That with the spread of democracy all over the world, resulting in the enfranchisement of women in every continent, the women of Connecticut may hope to have this new badge of service very soon conferred upon them also.

It seems, therefore, wise and important to begin our political and civic education and activity now, before the vote is won. This, we believe, will serve a double purpose:

1. It will give proof of our ability and will allay the fears of those conservatives who honestly believe that women are too ignorant for political activity.
2. It will, by placing accurate information in the hands of women, prepare them to take, immediately after the vote is granted, an intelligent part in their government.

To accomplish these ends the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association in February, 1918, added to its work a *Department of Citizenship* and brought into the state a salaried worker to develop and conduct the Department.

The Suffrage leagues in Bridgeport and in some other of the larger cities had already been giving short series of lectures, delivered by departmental officials or professional men, and some of the leagues had also carried on study classes in governmental subjects, but, though valuable in itself, this work was recognized as unorganized and by no means adequate for our purpose. What we wanted was a Citizenship Department that should set for itself the very high goal of giving to every woman in the state a larger understanding of herself as a vital factor in the good government of her community, of the state, the nation, the world. We knew that we had as a basis of our plans that most essential characteristic of woman, her impulse to be of service, that quality which her motherhood has given her and which coined into civic activities and used for the betterment of the state would be of inestimable value to the world. The strenuous days we were living through; the new social awareness and sense of responsibility which the noble purposes of the war had developed in all of us; the realization that never again could the work of the world, in war or in peace, be carried on without women; and most of all the need for women in the new world coming through travail to its fulfilment in the days of reconstruction—all this would, we knew, make a favorable setting for our undertaking. But many a good social impulse has been lost because of the lack of the first essential to efficient social work, a bare knowledge of the machinery of government, the prescribed processes by which the laws are made and carried out and necessary changes brought about. Our first work, therefore, must be to give this specific information to our women. First

*Our
First
Step*

of all, we must have classes in the machinery of our own government.

We were confronted at this point by the fact that no adequate text on the government of Connecticut had ever been published. This information that we wished to spread had first to be gathered, sifted, arranged. Several months of the early life of the Citizenship Department had, therefore, to be given to this work which was made more difficult by the fact that the Constitution and many of the charters of the state are very old and complicated with many amendments; and also that the General Statutes were at the time in process of revision and full of inaccuracies and errors.

The first form in which our material was issued was a set of six pamphlets for immediate use in the classes.

Since then, it has been elaborated and published as a text book, called *The Actual Government of Connecticut*, suitable for use in High Schools, Colleges, Clubs, Libraries, anywhere that such facts are needed.

*Our
Book*

The Classes were arranged first through the Suffrage Leagues, each one of which was asked to appoint a Citizenship Chairman. We recognized that, inevitably, when the vote is won, it is to the suffrage organizations that other women turn for information and guidance. To Americanize American women first, was our plan. Later we would extend this work to foreign women and co-operate with the organizations already started for Americanization. We circularized the leagues, calling their attention to our plans, presenting the matter to them personally wherever possible, and succeeded very quickly in imparting some of our enthusiasm to them. The classes were arranged in near-by places and the Lecturer made the circuit once a week for six weeks.

*The
Classes*

An effort was made to link up this instruction with the first essential for civic activity in Connecticut, that of

having the women "made voters" in order that they might exercise their school franchise. This work was done largely through the local Citizenship Chairmen. They were also urged to secure a larger attendance of women at town meetings.

After this first work among Suffrage Leagues, the Department has reached out and availed itself of all manner of state and local organizations whose co-operation we could secure. The lectures have been given before schools, colleges, clubs, and associations of all sorts, thus enlarging our sphere of action and making more generally understood the purpose and character of our Association.

We have placed the financial side of the work frankly on a shifting basis, charging such fees as the individual groups could pay, offering it to Suffrage Leagues for the expenses of the lecturer but charging a sufficiently large fee to other groups, colleges, etc., and for individual lectures to cover the expense to the Association. It has been found advisable, however, to ask that the groups issue class tickets for which some charge, large or small, is made, in order to give to the student a sense that it is a course of study and not merely a series of entertainments.

As we have widened our work to other than suffrage groups, the question has come up as to just what relationship this Citizenship work should have with suffrage propaganda. And our decision has been to keep the two entirely separate. We have let it be clearly understood that it is carried on by the Suffrage Association but we have made the course what it professes to be, a straight course in Citizenship. With this policy we have been able to take the instruction to groups before which we would otherwise not have been admitted.

The spring and summer of 1918 were given to developing these Citizenship Courses. With the coming of fall, various causes led us to branch out into a new line of education by co-operation with the two major political parties.

With a view to arousing in women a realization of their impending political importance and the accompanying responsibility, and of awakening the state parties to the fact that women have arrived politically, and must be "placed" in the general scheme of party organization and activity, the following proposition was made in October, 1918, to the Republican and Democratic State Central Committees:

Plan for Co-operation Between Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association and the Political Parties.

"The Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association is non-partisan and will remain so during this campaign. We will not, as an organization, work for the candidates on the ticket of either party. (With the exception of candidates for Senate and House, where we favor the man who favors us, if he is a desirable representative of his district.)

"On the other hand, we will not tell our members, as individuals, *not* to work for any candidate, but on the contrary, will urge them to get into the campaign as actively as possible, using their own judgment as to parties. We will issue instructions to this effect.

"We suggest to the Democratic and Republican Parties that they issue leaflets stating their special claims to the support of the women, i. e.,

"Attitude toward the War

"Attitude toward Woman Suffrage

"Attitude toward state matters and special reforms proposed.

"We will circularize our members with these leaflets, assuming all the expense of addressing, postage, etc.

"We also suggest that the Parties get the widest newspaper publicity on these appeals. We will also make a public statement of our position and a public appeal to women to be active in the campaign this year.

"We also suggest public meetings, at which speakers

*Our
Co-operation
with the
Political
Parties*

*This was during war
How now?*

from the Parties make their appeal to the women, and we shall be glad to get up such meetings, if desired.

"We will endeavor to secure statements from the nominees of both Parties as to their stand on Suffrage and will give them wide circulation."

The minority party, the Democratic, gave us full and hearty co-operation in these plans, issuing special leaflets with which we circularized our membership, stating the grounds of the party's appeal for the support of women, making this same appeal through the press, putting suffrage speakers into all the campaign rallies, etc.

This party also has the distinction of being the first in Connecticut to organize the women and prepare them to take their place in the party activities after the vote is won.

The Republican State Central Committee, not aware, apparently, that women are already a political factor, declined to consider our proposition; but the Republican National Committee interested itself in the plan and furnished us with leaflets which were distributed, as the Democrats ones were, to our entire membership list. Our speakers were also admitted to some of the Republican rallies.

In pursuance of this plan of political education, the Connecticut Republican and Democratic National Committeemen were invited to present the party issues to our annual state convention and representative Republican and Democratic women also spoke.

We are co-operating with both parties in the party organization of women, and hope later to have Open Forum Meetings at which other parties and independent groups will be given an opportunity to present their views.

In regard to party alignment, our idea is that women will be most effective politically if they work through the parties but we hope to educate them to form such intelligent judgments that they will be ready to take an independent stand if a straight moral or good government issue

should arise. And we hope that after the vote is won, a non-partisan Woman Voters' Council may be formed which will furnish the necessary information and guidance for such independent action.

Encouraged by this first year of work in which the women have proven themselves so splendidly awake to their larger social responsibilities, the Citizenship Department has now embarked upon still wider plans for the women of Connecticut as they become socially self-conscious and informed.

The Department has now been developed into:

1. A Division of Civic and Political Education to be continued along much the same line as that we have followed, seeking always larger groups, adding lectures on Connecticut Political History and other special subjects such as "The Educational System," "The Offender, the Court and the Punishment," "What Women Can Do for the Dependent Child," etc., etc.

2. A Division of Research, Data and Publicity through which will be made a survey of other state and local organizations that might wish to co-operate with us; in which will be kept the reports upon local officials and representatives made by local women and a record of votes and other action taken by members of the Legislature and state officials. All this information, a record of both men and measures, will be held for the use of women all over the state and will be given such publicity as occasion requires. A weekly Legislative Bulletin is also issued by this Division, giving timely information as to the matter before the General Assembly.

3. A Division of Civic and Political Activity, looking to the political and civic education of our women through the actual handling of civic matter and to the more active participation of the women in political parties as the machinery through which civic life actually func-

*Our
New
Plans*

✓ tions. It is our purpose to study local needs and conditions and to attempt to organize the women to take an active part in their own local affairs, even in advance of the vote. In this way, they will be able to make a very real contribution to their own communities and share in the building of a better world.

So far as we know, Connecticut is the first state to undertake in so deliberate and comprehensive a manner the education of the women before they had been given the franchise. Other states have, before winning the vote, carried on some of this work, but the developing of an entire department, the employing of a salaried worker who gives her entire time to Citizenship and the co-operation we have been able to secure from the political parties gives our work, we believe, an especial interest and justifies us in coming to the public-spirited citizens of Connecticut with a confident appeal for moral and financial support.



[ca. 1919]

E

Massachusetts, Pennsylvania New
Jersey and West Virginia have
passed the woman suffrage amend-
ment which goes to the people.

LET THE PUBLIC DECIDE

Legislators Asked to Allow Voters to Vote on Woman's Suffrage.

The men and women of Minnesota are again awaiting to see whether the legislature is to allow the voters of this state to express their views on the question of woman suffrage.

It should be remembered that the issue before the legislature is not whether the women of Minnesota shall have the ballot, but whether the men of Minnesota shall vote on whether they shall have it. The men who vote for the suffrage bill will not commit the state to anything; they will not give women more power; they will not decide whether Minnesota will have women suffrage; they will simply give legally to the voters of Minnesota a privilege which is their inalienable right, to express themselves on a question which it is admitted is of vital interest to the nation as well as the state. This being a democracy, how can any legislature withhold the right of voters to decide any question?

The men and women of Minnesota have asked for this right for years and now it is up to the men we have sent to the legislature to grant their request.

Whether we are for or against woman suffrage we cannot deny the justice of this. If the majority of the voters of Minnesota do not think it wise for women to vote in this state, women will not be given the ballot, but there seems no logical reason why less than 200 men should be able to withhold from the three hundred thousand voters of the state the rights of their citizenship.—Austin Daily Herald.

Minnesota

OTHER NATIONS — DID IT —

| | |
|---|------|
| New Zealand . . . | 1893 |
| Australia . . . | 1902 |
| Finland . . . | 1906 |
| Norway . . . | 1907 |
| Iceland . . . | 1913 |
| Denmark . . . | 1915 |
| Great Britain <i>for</i> England Scotland Ireland Wales . . . | 1918 |
| Canada . . . | 1918 |
| Sweden . . . | 1918 |
| Germany . . . | 1919 |
| Holland . . . | 1919 |

*what IS the matter with
the United States ?*

[1919]

Here's to the women all over the land,
Who rose to answer their country's command,
Men's places to fill without asking where,
To free more soldiers to fight "over there."
They plowed and harrowed, the rough soil they tilled,
That the hungering hosts of the world might be filled.
They forged mighty shells, they made T. N. T.
In munitions and factories, they worked steadily.
For Red Cross, for War Loans, United Campaigns,
They gave of their wit, and they gave of their brains.
Since they're able, it seems, these burdens to tote,
Why can't men see that they're able to vote?

[1919]

Suffrage Headquarters, Telephone Main 698-699

A Great and Perhaps Last
Opportunity
for Every Suffragist
Enrolled or Not Enrolled
to Help Win a
Victory

Every member of a legislature who votes against Woman Suffrage gives the excuse that women do not want the vote. Show THAT MOST WOMEN DO.

Few men will vote against Woman Suffrage if they know that the voters in their district want it. SHOW THAT THEY DO.

HOW THIS CAN BE SHOWN

By sending the next Legislature a petition for ratification of the Federal Amendment signed by an enormous number of voters and of the women who would be voters.

Can this be done? Yes, New York did it. In New York the number of registered voters was approximately 1,800,000, necessary majority, 900,000 plus. Their petition numbered 1,030,000! To do this, the work must be conducted systematically and no haphazard efforts made to secure signatures. Most states are to take weeks for this. Minneapolis will follow the Minneapolis plan made famous in Liberty Loan campaigns. We shall have a Suffrage Week and do it then.

Suffrage Week, September 16-23, will show that equal suffrage is a war measure.

Four answers to the question, "Why Suffrage Now?"

BECAUSE

1st.—The Federal Suffrage Amendment is now before the Senate. In the natural course of events it will soon come before the Minnesota Legislature for ratification. If women do not make known to the Legislature their wish for enfranchisement, the Amendment may not be ratified. A failure in Minnesota may actually postpone national suffrage.

2nd.—The electorate here at home is being drained of the pick of its young manhood for service over seas. The vote of women will counteract that loss. This is why Canada first extended the franchise to wives and mothers of men who have been sent over seas, then passed a complete equal suffrage act.

3rd.—When we are making every sacrifice, including the supreme sacrifice, to safeguard the principle of democracy abroad, we cannot do less than demand from our government a complete democracy at home.

4th.—It is essential to the American war policy that no conspicuously democratic movement shall be defeated in the United States while the eyes of the world are upon us testing our sincerity. President Wilson, in response to a direct question from a senator wrote: "I do earnestly believe that our action upon this matter will have an important and immediate influence upon the atmosphere and morale of the nations engaged in the war."

TO CHAIRMEN

Make the Drive fast and furious. Not a steady pull but a dash. Get a multitude of workers. This will make light work, increase enthusiasm, and add to public interest.

The Saturday before the drive have small boys or girls cover your district with liter-

ature and "We Shall Call" leaflets. Tell the children to ring the bell and present one of each kind.

Have a headquarters in your own district, decorate it and meet there once a day. Encourage your workers to compare experiences and discuss methods of approach. They should learn from one another.

See that each worker has—
Literature.

Maps or descriptions of districts. (Maps must be turned in to headquarters after the drive.)

Buttons and ribbons.

Petition blanks.

Pencils.

Allotment of minimum number of signatures.

TO WORKERS

Make your visits early in the morning and after six o'clock at night in order to secure men and women at once. Do not take signatures except at the home.

Call again upon those not at home on the first visit.

Do not present a blank sheet to doubtful signers; start with a few signatures of those you know to be Suffragists.

Try to have your twenty-five signatures for every petition sheet. One petition sheet completely filled in is much more effective than two sheets half filled.

The quota given to the precinct leaders is a minimum. Try to double it.

\$50 Prize Offered

A prize of \$50 in Thrift Stamps, to be divided among block workers, has been offered to the Precinct Leader who comes nearest to doubling her quota, providing the total is more than half again the size of the quota.

Take care that each signature is legible, that each name is signed in full, that the ad-

dress is clearly written, that names are not signed on the back of the petition, that a person who hesitates or refuses to sign is given educational literature, that each person signs only one petition, that each signer is of age (21 years) and an American citizen. (A woman is a citizen if she was born or naturalized in the United States or if she is the wife of a naturalized American or the unmarried daughter of a naturalized father.) When the blanks are filled they should be signed by the canvassers who are thus made responsible for the authenticity of the lists. Petitions should then be returned to ward chairman and by them to Suffrage Headquarters, 311 Meyers Arcade.

Cheerfully take for granted the signature. Don't begin with apology or argument. Don't be a bore or a grouch. Don't spend too much time on a confirmed opponent.

On the other hand, this is your opportunity to reach people who do not go to meetings nor read the papers. Make the most of it. The canvasser is the great educator. No service is comparable to hers in value.

If you are taxed with the picketing or other militancy explain that the National American Woman Suffrage Association for which you are canvassing, disapproves of the Woman's Party policy and has repudiated it publicly.

COURAGE, CHAIRMAN!

"Captain, do not falter, nor lose courage. If our boys must risk their lives and lose them that the world may be 'made safe for Democracy,' you should not shrink from the fatigue nor be afraid of the petty criticism which may be yours when you, too, fight for Democracy in your Election District. Your conscience will give you applause all the remainder of your life. Make Victory in the world war certain by making it certain in your State, and make it certain in your State by making it certain in your Election District."

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, *President*

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, *Chairman*

National Headquarters, 171 Madison Avenue, New York

CHAIRMEN ENFRANCHISED STATES

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

CHAIRMEN PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE STATES

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

C O U P O N

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

..... (Name)

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

..... (State)

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

Are You Keeping Up with the Times?

This table has changed since you saw it last!

Where Women Vote

ABROAD

Women were granted full suffrage

| <i>in</i> | <i>in</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| Australia | 1902 |
| Austria | 1918 |
| Canada | 1918 |
| Czecho-Slovakia | 1918 |
| Denmark | 1915 |
| England | 1918 |
| Finland | 1906 |
| Germany | 1918 |
| Holland† | 1919 |
| Hungary | 1918 |
| Iceland | 1913 |
| Ireland | 1918 |
| Isle of Man | 1881 |
| New Zealand | 1893 |
| Norway | 1907 |
| Poland | 1918 |
| Russia | 1917 |
| Scotland | 1918 |
| Sweden | 1919 |
| Wales | 1918 |

Twenty countries in all!

† According to word from the president of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht.

Municipal Suffrage

| <i>in</i> | <i>in</i> |
|--------------------|-----------|
| South Africa | 1915 |

IN THE UNITED STATES

Women Were Granted Full Suffrage

| <i>in</i> | <i>in</i> |
|--------------------|-----------|
| Wyoming | 1869 |
| Colorado | 1893 |
| Idaho | 1896 |
| Utah | 1896 |
| Washington | 1910 |
| California | 1911 |
| Arizona | 1912 |
| Kansas | 1912 |
| Oregon | 1912 |
| Alaska | 1913 |
| Montana | 1914 |
| Nevada | 1914 |
| New York | 1917 |
| Oklahoma | 1918 |
| Michigan | 1918 |
| South Dakota | 1918 |

**Women Were Granted Presidential and
Municipal Suffrage**

| <i>in</i> | <i>in</i> |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Illinois | 1913 |
| North Dakota | 1917 |
| Nebraska | 1917 |
| Vermont | |
| Municipal | 1917 |
| Presidential | 1919 |

Presidential Suffrage

| <i>in</i> | <i>in</i> |
|------------------------|-----------|
| Rhode Island | 1917 |
| Indiana | 1919 |
| Wisconsin | 1919 |

Primary Suffrage

| <i>in</i> | <i>in</i> |
|----------------|-----------|
| Arkansas | 1917 |
| Texas | 1918 |

School or Tax Suffrage

| <i>in</i> | <i>in</i> |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Kentucky | 1838 |
| Minnesota | 1875 |
| New Hampshire | 1878 |
| Massachusetts | 1879 |
| Mississippi | 1880 |
| New Jersey | 1887 |
| Connecticut | 1893 |
| Iowa | 1894 |
| Ohio | 1894 |
| Delaware | 1898 |
| Louisiana | 1898 |
| Wisconsin | 1900 |
| New Mexico | 1910 |

Women Voters of the World!

There are approximately one hundred million women voters in the world today. Twelve and a half million of them, in twenty-four states will be entitled to vote for the next President of the United States.

Handwritten note: The Federal Equal Suffrage Bill for Women - State President Mr. E. F. L. ...

Handwritten note: The American League respectfully ...

Inaugural Message

—OF—

Gov. J. A. A. Burnquist

—TO THE—

Legislature of Minnesota

1919

Inaugural Message

—OF—

Gov. J. A. A. Burnquist

—TO THE—

Legislature of Minnesota

1919

Inaugural Message

—OF—

Gov. J. A. A. Burnquist

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Since the last Legislative Session our Commonwealth has shared in the world's baptism of blood. We have seen the eyes of our people, although fired with a righteous determination to win, dimmed with tears of sorrow and pride as their boys have marched away to do and to die. During the past two years many of Minnesota's sons and daughters have lost their lives in their country's service. Others injured upon fields of battle will remain crippled and maimed for life. Nobly and heroically they have played their part in the great war tragedy which has required the sacrifice of millions of lives and unspeakable agony that the ambitious, arrogant and merciless military leaders, bent upon world dominion, might be overcome.

In a soil so stained with blood and tears there must now be planted the seed of a better world, or the sacrifices of those who have so suffered and died will, in a large measure, have been of no avail. The issues for which they fought, have, through a glorious victory, been transferred from the scenes of war to a council of peace, where adequate means should be devised for the just punishment of those responsible for this, the most monumental crime of history and where such international measures should be adopted as will forever hereafter prevent the shameless and barbaric violation of human rights by a few militarists, who ought never to be clothed with the power to declare war.

Our nation entered the conflict with the high purpose of assisting in putting an end to the horrible European slaughter and if possible to all future wars of a similar nature. Now that the war

is won we should not lose sight of this purpose, but should advocate and actively favor the adoption of some practical plan intended to make international struggles between civilized and orderly governments hereafter impossible. We of this generation owe it to the countless dead, to the peoples now living, to our children and children's children not to let the present situation go by without attempting in good faith to establish among those nations that will tolerate neither Kaiserism nor Bolshevism such a form of international court and police power as will have for its purpose the ringing out of an age of war and the ringing in of an age of peace.

In the name, therefore, of present and future civilizations, this legislature and every legislature throughout the land ought, at the earliest possible moment, to go on record, in a memorial to Congress, demanding in unmistakable terms that all men in positions of responsibility should encourage the American representatives at the world's peace table to do everything within their power to secure the establishment of an international tribunal of justice and the elimination to the greatest extent possible of the causes for and the danger of future wars.

ACTIVITIES DURING THE WAR.

Before making certain legislative recommendations, I wish to give you a short resume of some of the activities of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, which was created by the last legislature. The members of this Commission have been in session one hundred days since it was organized. It has adopted forty-nine orders pertaining to many different subjects and appointed directors in all the counties of the state. Each county has been organized under such directors, with representatives in each township. Nearly 4,000 such appointees have represented the Commission in the different sections and localities of the state.

Women's Department.

There was also organized, under said Commission, a Women's Department with approximately 1,200 members. This last named organization has done a vast amount of important work in arousing the interest of women in their war duties. Under the efficient leadership of its director, many lines of activity have been followed through the co-operation of numerous women's organizations throughout the state. The Commission has also assisted in pro-

curing a survey of the number of women in our different industries and the kinds of employment in which they are now engaged.

Payments to Soldiers.

The amount of money appropriated to the Commission to be expended under its supervision was the sum of one million dollars. As directed by the legislature, one-half of this amount was paid to Minnesota soldiers who had served at the Mexican border. About \$240,000 remain unexpended. A portion of the Commission's funds were voted for the men on the battleship Minnesota, and the four regiments of Minnesota's National Guard. Provision was also made to assist dependents upon the filing of proper application. Several orders have been adopted giving Minnesota soldiers an opportunity to vote at both the primary and final elections. The camps at which our men were located have been investigated and, since the return of our soldiers, the Commission, through its Bureau of Labor, has located permanent positions for a large number.

Publicity.

Soon after its organization the Commission saw the need of the mobilization of public opinion. It made arrangements for a weekly publication to give its directors throughout the state and citizens generally information with respect to needed activities in connection with the war. Much patriotic and informative literature, published in many different languages, has been circulated throughout the state. A speakers' bureau was early established to assist in the assignment of speakers to various localities.

Home Guard.

Under the order adopted April 28, 1917, with comparatively little expense to the state, there has been maintained a home guard of 334 officers and 7,373 enlisted men. The compensation, after five days service, was made \$1.00 a day for the men and \$2.00 a day for the officers. Loyal citizens from every section of the state have joined this organization. They have shown their willingness to serve in so many ways and have done so much work in such an able manner that they are entitled to the gratitude of the whole state.

Peace Officers.

The appointment of peace officers without uniform was also authorized. These men have been of much assistance in securing

evidence of disloyalty and have voluntarily made investigations as to such charges. Six hundred have been appointed since the organization of the Commission.

Motor Corps.

One of the best institutions organized under the Safety Commission is what is known as the Minnesota Motor Corps. Our state is the only state in the country that has a uniformed, armed and organized military body of this kind. It is composed of 124 officers and 2,450 enlisted men. Nearly all of them are professional and business men, who have unselfishly given their time and the use of their cars without expense to the state. They have furnished their own uniforms and equipment. The services performed by these officers and men at the time of the Tyler tornado and during the recent forest fires are well known. The war has not developed in Minnesota a more useful body of men for all emergencies than the Motor Corps.

Police Regulations.

On testimony and recommendations of police officials and on voluminous evidence procured through commissions appointed for that purpose the Safety Commission has from time to time adopted police regulations with reference to the liquor traffic. Shipments into dry territory have been ordered stopped and saloons closed throughout the state from 10 p. m. to 8 a. m. Regulations of public dance halls, billiard and pool halls have also been adopted.

Forestry Orders.

The Safety Commission has at various times granted requests of the forestry department and voted the expenditure through said department of commission funds intended to prevent forest fires. In May 1917 the Commission prohibited the kindling of fires, except under certain conditions, in 11 northern counties. On August 14, 1917, a similar order was extended to 27 counties. On April 9, 1918, 29 counties were included in another order of the same nature which was in effect at the time of the recent forest fires. The Fire Relief Commission appointed by the Governor has been made the agent of the Safety Commission, which assisted in raising several hundred thousand dollars for temporary relief.

Orders Pertaining to Aliens.

The registration of aliens has been required by the Commission, through the office of the State Auditor. Two hundred thousand such persons have registered. A permanent file of this information has been made up and lists have been sent to each county auditor. Illegal voting and illegal holding of lands were thereby detected. One result of the passage of such order is the promotion of the naturalization of a large number of citizens who, through negligence had failed to become naturalized. Any person not a citizen of the United States has, through the action of the Commission, been prohibited from teaching in a public, private or parochial school, or in any normal school of the state. By complying with certain requirements, those who have declared their intention to become citizens can be granted a permit.

Labor Bureau Established.

A labor bureau was early established to assist in solving the question of farm help during the busy seasons. Twenty-five thousand men have been placed through the service of this bureau, and more than 6,000 of these on farms. Members of the Commission have been active in securing adequate prices for grain and a modification of the present grain grades. The taking of a farm labor and crop census at a very little cost to the state has been of much value in showing the labor needs of the agricultural districts and in supplying useful agricultural statistics. The Commission has voted funds to assist in the eradication of black rust which threatened the destruction of the wheat crop in some sections of the state. An order providing that every male person should be engaged in some useful occupation was adopted increasing thereby the supply of labor.

Lockouts and Strikes.

The Commission has been opposed to both lockouts and strikes during the war. In accordance with an agreement, entered into between representatives of labor and employers organizations, an order was adopted for the settlement of disputes through the submission of matters in controversy to the State Arbitration Board. Between 30 and 40 disputes were satisfactorily settled by this board under said order. The Commission very early took steps to rid the state of certain anarchistic agitators by requesting cities and villages of the state to define such persons as vagrants and providing for their suitable punishment. Such ordinances, where enacted, have had the

desired effect. The Commission having acquired information with reference to disloyal activities of such professional revolutionists sent its attorney to Washington to communicate the facts in its possession to the legal department of the Federal Government, requesting the Federal Government to take action against this lawless and anarchistic element.

Food Regulations.

Food regulation was early taken over by the Federal Government. Prior to that time the Minnesota Commission made the so-called bread and milk investigations, reducing the price of each to the lowest reasonable figure. In co-operation with the state timber department and different counties and villages, steps have been taken to make available for fuel the great supply of fire-wood on state lands. A potato market was established in the Twin Cities under the supervision of one of the Commission's agents. A marketing committee was appointed to assist the rural districts in securing cars and in other ways to facilitate the marketing of products. The board of control and the game and fish commission were appointed agents to supply state fish to state institutions and to the public at a reasonable rate. Under this arrangement about 1,500,000 pounds of fish have been caught and the business thus conducted, although no profit was intended, has netted the state about \$25,000, and reduced the price of fish to consumers in this state about 50 per cent. In August 1917, when it appeared that there was a great shortage of coal, the Commission secured for Minnesota an adequate supply.

Other Activities.

Among other activities that have been carried on under the direction of the Safety Commission, or in co-operation with it, are some of those of the Americanization Commission, the Federal Fuel and Food Administrations, the Training Camps Association, the War Industries Board, the War Records Commission, the Highway Transport Committee and the Child Welfare Commission.

Termination of Commission.

In regard to the continuation of the Commission I would say that the Council of National Defense, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy have requested the continuance of state councils of defense during the demobilization period. Of the many de-

partments established and orders adopted by the Commission, there are some which the legislature should make permanent. The termination of the Commission as a legal body would make inoperative all these orders and proceedings. As soon as the legislature has acted upon the proposed permanent establishment of certain required departments and upon the suggested enactment into law of certain necessary orders and the Federal officers no longer require their services, the members of the Commission desire to be relieved of their duties.

GENERAL WORK.

As the war work has been uppermost in the minds of the people and public officials for the past two years there has largely been a cessation in state building, public improvements and general state development. The reports of the different state departments and commissions show to what extent they have been able to be active along other lines during the war period. It is neither advisable, nor possible, for me to go into a detailed discussion here of all the information and recommendations given by the numerous state boards and officials, but I trust that each member of the Legislature will give to them the greatest possible consideration.

NATIONAL AMENDMENTS.

There are, however, certain legislative matters to which I wish at this time to call your special attention. The National Congress has, since the last session of our Legislature, passed a joint resolution referring to the states the question of amending the Federal Constitution so as to prohibit the manufacture or sale of intoxicants in the United States. I urge this Legislature to ratify this amendment by proper resolution at the earliest date possible. I recommend the immediate adoption of a resolution memorializing Congress to submit the Women Suffrage amendment to the states, and its ratification by this Legislature when so submitted.

LAND SETTLEMENT POLICY.

A communication from the Secretary of the Interior, pertaining to land settlement for soldiers, requests the Governor to make a recommendation that a proposed bill, of which he sends a copy, be passed by this Legislature. It is questionable as to whether the state of Minnesota can, under our constitution, transact all of the business which would be required by the passage of such a bill. It

will, however, be transmitted to the Legislature with the request that it be referred to the proper committees of the house and senate and with the hope that amendments can be prepared in such a way as to result in the desired co-operation between the Federal and State governments in this matter. The returning soldiers and industrial workers should be given every opportunity to acquire farm homes on the best terms possible. Some weeks ago a commission on land settlement for returning soldiers and industrial workers was appointed to devise in their behalf a land settlement plan for this state. Many valuable suggestions have been made in the Commission's report, a copy of which is hereto attached.

AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION.

All of our institutions should be built upon a sound, economic basis. With the same amount of ability, investment and hard work, farming should be made as profitable as any other business or occupation. The farmers, in the same manner as business men and laboring men, have a right to and should unite for the purpose of doing everything possible to bring this about and to improve conditions generally in connection with their occupation. To obtain that to which they are entitled, co-operation on their part is necessary. Artificial agencies which are not useful or economically advisable in the distribution of farm products, unnecessary and harmful speculation, unnatural price control, unjustifiable profits and all other practices which are claimed to be injurious to the farmer should be carefully investigated and studied with a view to the elimination of those found to be detrimental. All middlemen who perform a needed service should receive fair profits, but monopolistic control of the market so as to result unfairly in the lowest price to the producer and the highest price to the consumer should not be tolerated.

CO-OPERATION OF FARMERS.

Laws should be enacted which will enable farmers to co-operate in an efficient and just manner. Such co-operation should be based on a spirit of justice and not on that of class hatred. Farm ownership is necessary to secure the highest development of our lands, but land tenantry has been rapidly increasing. Laws providing for the establishment of land credit systems, to enable tenants to buy lands and make the necessary investments for proper equipment, are extremely desirable. Farmers should be encouraged in their right

to form co-operative enterprises for the purpose of competing with any institutions that are detrimental to their interests. The law, however, should provide greater protection against attempts on the part of others to organize farmers for the purpose of taking advantage of certain alleged situations for selfish or fraudulent purposes. In their endeavors to co-operate, no class of people are more entitled to the freedom of speech and the press than the farmers, who must so largely depend upon the mails for information. This Legislature should, therefore, devise some plan to aid in preventing the abuse of that freedom by enacting laws which, if possible, will secure for the farmer the truth instead of falsehood. A step in the right direction is to make the punishment for attempting the destruction of the reputation of persons more severe than the penalty for the stealing of their property.

RURAL SCHOOLS.

More attention should be paid to the rural schools of our state. Distribution of state aid has been made in such a manner that the farmer has paid for this purpose more than his proportionate share. Schools, especially in the poorer districts of our commonwealth, should receive your most earnest consideration. The children who reside in them are as much entitled to an education as any in the state. Any method of distributing school funds, which makes it possible for one district in the state to receive \$40 to \$50 per pupil and another district \$2 to \$3 per pupil is wrong. Children themselves are not to be blamed for their location. They should not be punished for the failure of some school board to comply with the rules now in vogue. What is necessary is a readjustment of the state aid to our public schools, both rural and city, in order that all of our children, insofar as it is possible to do so, shall be given by their state equal opportunities in the obtaining of educational advantages.

SICKNESS IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

The Legislature should also devise some plan for taking care of the rural health situation, especially in certain portions of this state, where there is a lack of medical aid. The same fight against preventable diseases that is made in cities should be made in the rural districts. More health inspectors should be provided for the country and in communities where hospital facilities are needed they ought to be provided by the state to a greater extent than heretofore.

ISOLATED COMMUNITIES.

If settlements are to be promoted by the state, such settlements should be made on a group basis, enabling a larger number of people to be located in the same community. If the state government doesn't have sufficient power now to deal effectively with its own lands in this manner, a constitutional amendment should be submitted so as to acquire that authority. It is a shortsighted policy to urge citizens to locate in communities that are not accessible by reason of the lack of roads, where medical treatment cannot be obtained and there to endanger their lives and to spend a lifetime in the clearing up of a small portion of land, when the state should, through proper legislation, provide a plan whereby settlers could be enabled to procure machinery, hire men and do this work on a larger scale, in a short time, and at a comparatively small expense.

INVENTORY AND SURVEY.

The state needs an inventory of its lands and a soil survey so it will be in a position to give people who desire land, reliable information. Private enterprises should not be permitted to represent that conditions are different from what they really are. The returning soldiers should not be deceived as to land conditions in our state, but should be given accurate information and assistance which will enable them to locate on farms if they desire to do so. Industrial workers should also be encouraged to settle on lands, but we cannot expect either of these classes to take a greater interest in farm life now than heretofore unless farm life is made more attractive to them.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

In order that the state may devote a greater amount of study to agricultural problems, take more interest in matters pertaining to the rural communities and land settlement and pay more attention to grievances of those engaged in the farming occupation, a department should be established by the legislature to assist in securing for the farmers of Minnesota the largest amount of benefits possible and consistent with that which is just. If our citizens are to live on farms, especially in new communities, and not be compelled to suffer the drudgery that so many must now endure, it is necessary that something be done for their relief. Much assistance could be procured from a department of agriculture established to look

into rural conditions, investigate the marketing situation, the grading and inspection of grain and assist farmers in their co-operative and other enterprises. Such a board should have the power to superintend and procure, in connection with other departments, the soil survey hereinabove recommended and such additional information as will be of real advantage to prospective settlers. The supervision of the licensing of land companies could be left with such a department, which ought to co-operate with them in securing group settlement of the undeveloped sections of the state. It should also co-operate with federal, financial and other agencies, created to assist the farmer, returning soldiers and the workers in our industries. A department of this kind should be composed of no less than five non-salaried members with a salaried executive secretary. It should largely have the same relationship to the state that the federal agricultural department has to the nation. Instead of creating an additional department, the immigration board should be abolished and the duties of that board and the proposed land settlement board should be assigned to the suggested department of agriculture. If necessary it could be divided into bureaus as the work requires.

GOOD ROADS.

The foundation, however, of state development, proper land settlement, incentive to consolidation of rural schools, advancement of community life in the country and the delivery of products to markets is the construction of good roads. If the roads to be constructed are properly located, millions of dollars will be saved to the farmers in the marketing of products. We have here an agricultural state and owe it to both the producers and consumers to establish the best transportation facilities possible for the delivery of the farmers' products to market.

The loss entailed on motor vehicles by the wear and tear caused by bad roads amounts to millions of dollars annually. As this would be largely eliminated by the construction of permanent highways machine owners could well afford to have their taxes increased for this purpose. The state as a whole, with its many lakes and wonderful opportunities for outings, will draw to itself tourists from all over the country. This will mean the expenditure of millions of dollars in Minnesota and increase by so much the business of all living therein.

Future generations will be benefited by permanent construction and ought to pay a portion of the cost thereof. The consti-

tution should, therefore, at the earliest opportunity, be so amended as to permit the bonding of the state for a sufficient sum with which to begin the construction of this much needed improvement. This course is being followed by the most progressive states. The well considered plan, proposed by the state highway commissioner, should receive the earnest consideration of every member of the legislature. Prompt action is necessary for the traffic is becoming too great for the type of road now in use. Further delay will only mean poor highways and the waste of millions for their maintenance.

DRAINAGE.

Drainage is a state matter in somewhat the same manner as the building of roads. In road building we have a central authority, the highway commissioner. In drainage matters we should also have a centralized authority. The legislature enacted a measure at its last session intended to bring this about to a greater degree than heretofore, but no money appropriation was made to carry out the provisions of that measure. Such appropriation ought to be made by this body, during the present session, and in addition there should be enacted a law abolishing the drainage commission as now constituted. The powers of the present drainage commission should be vested in a state drainage engineer. If, in connection with this official, it is desired that an advisory board be appointed, the members of said board ought to be engineers familiar with drainage matters and serve without compensation. Said state engineer should be authorized to take more interest than heretofore has been taken in topographical and hydrographical surveys and to expend larger sums for said purposes. If that were done, much larger appropriations could be expected from the federal government. Minnesota cannot be among the leading states in this great development work, unless the state drainage administration is reorganized and provided with that additional authority which is necessary for work of this nature.

DRAINAGE VETO.

In this connection, I wish to refer to the drainage vetoes at the close of last session. I was of the opinion at that time that the veto of the drainage appropriations would be the best method of calling the state's attention to the fact that Minnesota has permitted too much draining of its lands in certain localities. It is a

well known fact that the drying up of the peat bogs through excessive drainage has increased the fire risk in some sections of northern Minnesota. In certain localities the destruction of forests by fire is attributed to drainage, needless when made. When we take into consideration the fact that it is estimated that there are in Minnesota nearly 7,000,000,000 tons of merchantable peat, which is valued at \$3.00 per ton, the destruction of the peat itself would cause an enormous loss to the state. Another reason for vetoing said drainage items is the failure on the part of the state to protect itself against the possibility of unjust assessments of state lands. If the policy of permitting state assessments, in the construction of county and judicial ditches, is to continue as heretofore without any appropriation of money by the legislature before the work is authorized, the law ought to be so amended as to provide for service of notice on the state auditor in order that the state might protect its interests. Before drainage assessments on state lands are paid the legislature ought to investigate the situation and make provision for a safe-guarding of the rights of the state in the future.

FOREST FIRES.

The greatest calamity that has befallen the state in its history was the forest fires which raged in northern Minnesota, in the month of October, 1918, in which more than 500 lives were lost and \$20,000,000 worth of property was destroyed. Shortly after the occurrence of said fire a commission was appointed to investigate the causes thereof and to make recommendations for legislative action. The report and the recommendations of said commission are attached to this message. Everything that the state can do toward the rehabilitation of this devastated country, the restoration of lost homes and above all the future prevention of the loss of lives of our settlers ought to be done by the legislature. The relief commission appointed at the time of the fire has also made a thorough study of the whole situation and is planning to make recommendations to the legislature, as soon as the data it is collecting are available for that purpose.

PROTECTION OF STATE'S PROPERTY.

The state itself lost very little of its own properties through the recent forest fires. It has, however, lost a large amount through fires in the past. In many other ways the state has, from time to time, failed to take proper care of its resources. There has frequently

been mismanagement or lack of co-operation on the part of the different departments of the state government. At the last session of the legislature an interim commission recommended certain measures for the co-ordination of departments. The governor recommended the passage of these or some other measures which would secure greater co-operation on the part of all those handling the state properties. I wish to renew such recommendation by suggesting that a law be passed requiring the active agents or heads of different departments managing state property to meet at least monthly as a council of Public domain for the purpose of conferring with reference to the protection of state resources and the devising of proper methods for the safeguarding and disposition thereof. An emergency fund ought to be appropriated by the legislature to be used by such a council whenever a majority of all those composing it or such number as the legislature might determine should vote to expend money for any emergency that might arise. The use of this money could be further safe-guarded by providing that the expenditures so authorized by the said council should be approved by the state calamity board or any other board or officer designated for that purpose.

COUNCIL OF PUBLIC DOMAIN.

The proposed council of public domain should consist of the executive secretary of the proposed agricultural department, the superintendent of the timber and land departments, the state forester, the state highway commissioner, the state drainage engineer, the superintendent of mines, the state game and fish commissioner and the chairman of the land improvement board. It is not suggested that the heads of these different departments should surrender any of their powers as managers of their respective bureaus, but in order to secure, without creating any new offices, proper co-operation and co-ordination between the different departments in their work of a similar nature, to work out the best methods for the caring for and the development of state properties and to have a qualified board to pass upon the necessity of providing state funds to protect the state's resources against any emergency which might arise when the legislature is not in session would, in my opinion, be a great step in advance of our present unorganized system. These men should be required by law to meet upon the first working day of each month and at such other times as they may be called together by the chairman that they should have the power to select.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

The duties of the present high school board and the library board should be combined in a state board of education consisting of five non-salaried members. The last named board should be authorized to make a thorough study of school aid systems and make recommendations as to the proper method of distributing state aid. In the distribution of millions of dollars of state money, the superintendent of education should have the assistance of a state board of that nature. In order to secure closer co-operation between the university, normal schools and the state educational department, the superintendent of education should be ex-officio chairman of a state council of education to consist of the members of the board of regents of the state university, of the normal school board and of the proposed state board of education. The powers of the said council should only be of an advisory nature and the meetings should be called by the superintendent of education for the purpose of acquiring a better understanding among the different boards and of the school situation throughout the state.

CONSOLIDATION OF OFFICES.

In making appointments last year, several offices were consolidated by appointing the same person to more than one office, with the understanding that only one salary should be paid. The insurance commissioner, for example, was appointed fire marshal and also asked to superintend the boiler inspection department. The dairy and food commissioner was appointed chief state inspector of oils and the inspectors of both of these departments have co-operated with the hotel inspector in the inspection of hotels and restaurants. The surveyors general were appointed from among employes in the forestry department, thus uniting these departments as far as that could be legally done. The law pertaining to the appointment of surveyors general should be modified as the work can be handled by one man. The law now provides for appointments in districts where there is no further need for such an office. The office of state oil inspector and that of the fire marshal should be abolished and the duties of these two positions transferred respectively to the state dairy and food commissioner and the insurance commissioner.

OIL INSPECTION.

The present system of oil inspection should also be modified. The law should provide for a proper testing method and for the in-

spection of oil at the place where it is sold to the consumer. If this is not done, the department should be abolished for it is absurd to retain such a system for the sole purpose of creating public positions without giving adequate protection to the public. The oil inspection department can be and ought to be made of much use to the public, but as it is now operated it is of exceedingly small value. In enacting legislation upon this subject, the legislature must follow the principles laid down in the decision of the supreme court rendered last month in the case of Pure Oil Company vs. Minnesota, where the court holds that "if the inspection charge should be obviously and largely in excess of the cost of inspection, the act will be declared void."

PUBLIC HEALTH BOARDS.

In the matter of public health administration, there should also be further consolidation. It was suggested to the last legislature that the powers and duties of the state advisory commission should be placed in a new division under the state board of health. The measure thus recommended was passed by both houses of the legislature, but died in a conference committee. Past friction between these bodies has been detrimental to the administration of both departments. The law should be so changed as to abolish the advisory commission and transfer its activities to a separate department directly under the state board of health.

SOCIAL HYGIENE.

By reason of the war, state authorities in 1917 created a department for the handling of venereal diseases. A division for this work was established under the state board of health. This legislature should provide ample appropriations to permit the continuance of the department so established. A recent communication from the secretary of the navy calls attention to the urgent need of securing united action between the state and federal governments in this matter. "To end the wastage of human life," through these diseases, he suggests, "each state will need to take such action as will protect its civilian population as the army and navy have sought to protect the men under arms." After this year the federal appropriations, of which Minnesota's share is now more than \$20,000, will be available only to those states which have appropriated a like or larger amounts for this important protection of human resources.

PARTY PROVISIONS.

Opportunity should be given by law for political parties to legally assemble by selecting delegates at primary elections to attend conventions to discuss party principles and adopt platforms advocating measures pertaining to the welfare of the state and through joint party action endeavor to secure the enactment thereof. For the state to do this in a way which will accomplish the best results, the legislature should be put on a party basis. To go back to the old convention system is unthinkable, but the primary laws should be so amended as to prevent, if possible, minority nominations and enable the members of political parties to adopt platforms so as to create party rather than personal issues in the conduct of campaigns.

VAGRANCY LAW.

It is apparent that professional agitators, frequently and for their own benefit, mislead groups of laboring men most often composed of foreigners unable to speak the English language and unfamiliar with our institutions. We have a labor department in Minnesota, whose duty it is to investigate labor conditions within our state. If enough is not done along that line by this department, it should be enlarged and required by law to do more, but misrepresentations and malicious practices of agitators, which are intended to create class feeling, disturbances of the peace and industrial unrest, are extremely detrimental to the laboring men themselves and to the public. Such activities should be made a crime and adequate punishment provided by law. This can be done by the enactment of a vagrancy statute similar to the safety commission's vagrancy ordinance heretofore referred to. Men, who have no other vocation than that of maliciously creating strike and fomenting trouble, should not be permitted to be at large.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

We all desire for laboring men an adequate reward for services rendered. We are anxious to secure for them the best possible working conditions. They have the unquestioned right to organize but for the benefit of labor itself the form of organization ought to be such as to carry with it proper responsibility. This could be procured by incorporation under the laws of the state enabling the labor corporation so formed to provide adequate guarantees for the

performance of obligations assumed. Without some such provision, the cause of unionism is weakened and the dignity of organized labor is lowered. Legislation which will protect both employees and employers in the carrying out of their contracts would be for their mutual benefit and for the stability of the industry in which they are both engaged.

This legislature should provide methods whereby persons injured and maimed can be properly trained for some particular trade. A commission appointed to make recommendations for this purpose, has made a preliminary report as to the best methods to be pursued. A copy of that report is attached to this message. The collection of wages should be made less difficult through the establishment of additional conciliation courts in large centers of population. State supervision over employment bureaus should be extended and further provision should be made to enable the laboring men to secure work, especially in periods of industrial depression. At such time the proposed council of public domain should be authorized to employ labor in state construction work, such as development of state lands, building of highways, clearing of the forest districts, or in connection with some other public improvements, take advantage of the situation as the needs of labor require. Some fear that, with the return of the soldiers from Europe, the supply of labor may exceed the demand. Giving to such a board the authority to construct public works under such an emergency would greatly assist the returning soldiers and improve labor conditions generally.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

The workman is entitled to laws which will furnish him certain and prompt payment of claims arising under the state compensation act. Employers should be compelled to insure in companies approved and regulated by state authority or furnish sufficient bonds to secure the payment of the compensation to which employees are entitled under the law. Self insurance, on the part of employers, should be permitted only under safe guarantees. The state can best protect its wage-earners through proper regulation of employers and those who insure them. In this matter as in all other legislative matters, I am in favor of the application of that principle of legislation which will not destroy the free and fair exercise of individual initiative in any enterprise that can be as well or better conducted by private management.

LAWS FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Child labor laws should be made more stringent and should be more strictly enforced. Children until properly developed and educated belong in school and not in our industries. Women should, I believe, be kept out of factories to the greatest extent possible, but when obliged to work therein the laws should give them proper and ample protection. The experience of different industries has shown that as a rule an eight-hour day produces the most satisfactory results. In the employment of laborers by the state, the eight-hour day should obtain.

RED FLAG MENACE.

Practically all of our laboring people are patriotic and law abiding, but we find some among them and among others with revolutionary tendencies, who prefer the emblem of anarchy to the symbol of America. The red flag has no place in this land where liberty and justice are maintained through law. Advocating the application of force for the purpose of destroying our free government, its citizens and their property should not be tolerated under the guise of freedom of speech or liberty of the press. A law should, therefore, be enacted which will prevent the display of the red flag in parade or otherwise, on any street or highway or in any public place, or from any building or premises or in any other manner in public within the state of Minnesota, and which will more clearly define the law as to illegal assemblies and prevent the holding of any meetings advocating revolutionary destruction of our governmental institutions through force.

HOME GUARD AND STATE MOTOR CORPS.

The recent red flag demonstrations, where threatened destruction of life made it necessary to call out members of the Home Guard and Motor Corps, but especially the services of these men at the time of the Tyler tornado and the forest fires of northern Minnesota, have taught us the necessity for the permanent maintenance of these organizations. It is impossible to know when catastrophes of the kind above named, or of other kinds, may occur, or when further red flag demonstrations, riots, or disorder may be attempted. These voluntary organizations, consisting of mature, level-headed and patriotic men, who have no other purpose in view than to see order and justice prevail, should be authorized by the state.

DISLOYALTY.

As a whole, our people, during the past two years, have shown remarkable self-sacrifice and patriotism. The loyalty of laboring men, farmers, business men and of all classes of citizens cannot be too highly commended. The amount of patriotic work that they have done and the enthusiasm with which it was done have been marvelous. We have all been amazed at what our people have shown they can accomplish when they set their minds to the performance of a particular task, but the attitude pursued by some shows that there is need of a state law defining more clearly the meaning of sedition and disloyalty and providing a more adequate punishment therefor. No one, disloyal to this government, should be permitted to hold property or any office within our state. The recent decision of our supreme court, holding that the present laws are insufficient to permit the removal of a judicial officer who is in sympathy with the warring enemies of this country, should at once be corrected by this legislature so as to make it impossible for such a situation to exist hereafter.

PROPER EDUCATIONAL TRAINING.

It is to our schools that we must mostly look for the future planting and propagation of those ideas which will result in a greater appreciation of our country and a better understanding of its ideals. Through them, all of our citizens of tomorrow should be taught to willingly serve the state and the nation. They must be made to realize more fully that they cannot expect the state or the nation to do everything for them and that they do nothing in return. To secure the best results, the regular instruction in public and private schools should be given in our own language and in no other. Foreign languages should be permitted as cultural studies, but not otherwise. Section 2796 of Minnesota statutes of 1913, our present law upon this subject, should be modified and so extended as to be made to apply not only to public schools, but also to all educational institutions within the state.

EDUCATION OF FOREIGN ADULTS.

A large portion of the men who were selected for military service did not, at the time of entering it, have a sufficient amount of education or knowledge of our language to understand the orders given to them by their commanding officers. Statistics show that as a group, the men with the best education easily lead the rest in our

training camps. From every standpoint it is apparent that the strength of our republic must be in the proper education of our citizens. Our laws pertaining to the compulsory education of our native born should be strengthened. The work of our evening schools, in educating those of foreign birth, should be greatly extended. There were in Minnesota, according to the last federal census, 49,336 illiterates. Many of our citizens cannot speak the English tongue. By careful tutoring, North Carolina, it is said, redeemed 10,000 illiterates in one month. Proper legislation giving to a state board of education sufficient authority to handle this matter will banish illiteracy from our state in a comparatively short period. The learning of our own language should be made compulsory within a specified length of time. No one should have a right to make a living in this country, or exercise the electoral franchise in this state, unless he is willing to learn its language.

SCHOOL AID DEFICIT.

The legislature should pass laws granting generous aid to the schools if the money so appropriated will be distributed in a proper, fair, and just manner. Because I felt that the school aid was not distributed on such a basis, I vetoed the item of \$1,070,193 of the more than \$6,000,000 appropriation for school aid made by the last legislature. The amount appropriated was about \$2,500,000 more than that appropriated for a like purpose by any previous legislature. It was my belief at the time of the veto and as held by the attorney general that the \$1,070,193 school aid deficit could be paid out of the more than \$5,000,000 appropriation available in August, 1917, which, notwithstanding my veto, was nearly a million and a half more than was ever before appropriated for a like period. As a majority of the supreme court reversed the attorney general, I recommend that this legislature make an appropriation for the payment of the said deficit. The districts meeting in good faith, the conditions prescribed by the superintendent of education and the high school board under chapter 296, G. L. 1915, should receive that which they were led to believe they would get. The state aid laws should be so amended that the school districts may hereafter know definitely in advance what they are to receive. The state appropriation is more than a year behind. The same should be brought up to date. If the proposed board of education which I have heretofore recommended is created, it should be given authority to study the state aid situation, to make early recommendations, and to estab-

lish rules within the limits prescribed by the legislature. When such legislation is enacted, the state aid should be put on a millage tax basis providing for as large an amount as the legislature deems advisable.

LARGER SALARIES FOR SCHOOL TEACHERS.

One feature to be recognized in the giving of state aid is the fact that the salaries of school teachers of our state, although larger than in many states, are entirely too low. Men and women who have spent a large portion of their lives in order to become efficient teachers get proportionately much smaller pay than those in other lines of work. Some are paid such ridiculously low salaries that they are continually worrying about their living so that they are unable to give to the state the service that they could otherwise give. The salaries of all those in the teaching profession should be put on such a basis that the teachers can give to the state and nation the best that there is in them.

PHYSICAL TRAINING.

Our schools should also be required to pay more attention to the physical training of the individual. More than one-third of those who were examined for the army were unable to qualify by reason of physical disabilities. This situation can be remedied in a large measure through our schools by proper medical inspection and physical training which would result in much benefit to the state and country by producing for the future a strong and virile citizenry.

SPECIAL TRADES.

Every student should learn some trade or vocation whether he follows it or not. The time may come when this knowledge may be of much benefit to his state, especially in time of war or to himself in time of peace. Requiring young women of school age to take a special course in some vocation as a part of their school work will be of much help to them in their homes and, when necessary, in the making of a livelihood. Provisions should be made through our schools or in some other manner for the special training of those who have become crippled so as to prepare them for that occupation for which they are best fitted.

CONCLUSION.

Thus let us together endeavor, in harmony and in good will, to build up in this state a future citizenry that shall be typically American. In the words of that loyal citizen, whose burial services are being held during this hour, "There must be no sagging back in the fight for Americanism because the war is over." May we so educate our people that all Minnesotans shall be heart and soul for the American Republic; that they shall ever appreciate and take advantage of the opportunities under our state and nation; that they shall always realize the sacredness of agreements and be made to feel that the honest accumulation of property is not a crime, but something that should be encouraged in order that every citizen may strive to acquire a home and make adequate provision for himself and those dependent upon him and thus help to strengthen the very foundation upon which a true civilization must be built.

Proper schooling and the right kind of an education will make the large majority of our citizens understand that the common ownership of all property, depriving the individual of the right to honestly achieve and advance through hard work, cannot be established without at the same time destroying that individual initiative which, if properly encouraged and controlled, will tend to the advancement of all. It is not for those who live under the protection of the free institutions of Minnesota and the American Republic to believe that because some fail to acquire property it is justifiable for them to advocate the using of force to destroy it for the purpose of putting the whole of society on a basis that would mean anarchy and ruin for all.

Adequate publicity and sufficient information are the real remedy necessary to off-set the radical theories and indefinite propaganda, advocated by a few socialistically and anarchistically inclined, who, for years, by means of inflammatory speeches and false literature, have been misleading the discontented and poisoning the minds of many of our good citizens through the advocacy of principles which can never be put into practice and others which, if tried, would cause industrial stagnation and the death of individual enterprise.

The radical among the apostles of such doctrines advocate the destruction of private ownership through force. Such tactics by anarchists and their mislead associates would only mean a class war, which, if our people are properly informed, can never be successful. The more conservative among them advocate the elimination of pri-

vate ownership through the government's ultimate taking over of all private property in a peaceful manner. Such governmental action would make it necessary to have at the head of our government a dictating political authority to assign duties and occupations to all of our citizens, creating a situation which would finally result in a slavery that would be infinitely worse than the conditions against which such unbalanced minds are today protesting.

Recognizing the fact that the rights of humanity have a greater claim upon us than the rights of property, but that the privilege to acquire private property is one of the greatest incentives to human development, the only intelligent course for all of us to pursue is to strive through harmonious and sensible co-operation to secure as far as possible equal opportunities for every citizen for we are not living under a government of classes, but in a state where order, individual freedom and justice must prevail and where it is incumbent upon us, as representatives of all of our people, to do our duty as God has given us the power to see it.

APPENDIX

REPORT OF MINNESOTA COMMITTEE ON LAND SETTLEMENT FOR
RETURNING SOLDIERS AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS.

St. Paul, Minn., December 27, 1918.

Honorable J. A. A. Burnquist, Governor of Minnesota.

Your Excellency: Having been requested by you (the Northern Minnesota Development Association, the Red River Valley Development Association, the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, the Association of Commerce, St. Paul, and the Commercial Club of Duluth, joining in such request):

First: To investigate the proposed plans under consideration by the Government of the United States to provide FARM HOMES for returning soldiers, sailors and industrial workers, and formulate a method by which Minnesota may effectively co-operate in such government program;

Second: To study the methods of land settlement and development now in practice in this state and formulate definite proposals for a Minnesota land settlement policy which shall, so far as possible, conform to the most economic proven land colonization settlement and development policies now practiced, your appointed committee begs leave to submit the following report:

Minnesota Committee on Land Settlement for Returning Soldiers and Industrial Workers: D. A. Wallace, chairman; Chas. P. Craig, C. G. Selvig, C. R. Middleton, E. F. Farmer.

The limited time at the disposal of the committee has prevented an exhaustive analysis of the subjects assigned as their very great importance to the state warrants.

If co-ordination with federal plans are deemed desirable, prompt action is necessary. It may be noted that the individual members of the committee have for a long time been familiar with state and other agencies for land settlement in Minnesota and their practices. The committee has, however, made a fairly careful survey of the proven modern land settlement and development laws and practices of other states and nations and, based upon such survey, feels justified in making certain definite recommendations.

CO-OPERATION WITH FEDERAL PROGRAM.

Highly desirable as it would be from the standpoint of both the soldier and the state to attract a maximum number of returning soldiers to the rich agricultural possibilities of our unoccupied prairies and cut-over lands, the committee finds conditions and constitutional limitations preventing this state from availing itself of effective co-ordination or co-operation. All suggested government programs proceed upon the assumption either that the state owns or will acquire the land as its part in the co-operation; that such land shall lie in compact tracts not remote from transportation or other settlement, etc. None of the state-owned land is likely, in the judgment of the committee, to answer these requirements and our constitution would not permit of the state acquiring such lands by purchase or appraisal or entering upon any program of internal improvement.

The committee, while unanimous in the belief that an amendment to the constitution permitting the state to enter upon the scientific development and settlement of the unoccupied lands of the state would be desirable, yet is not advised whether there is a sufficiently awakened public interest and sentiment in the subjects of the welfare of the settler, the desirability of aiding the soldier and the advantages to accrue to the state, to make the affirmative proposal at this time, and will, therefore, confine its recommendations to private and corporate co-operation under state supervision and control.

A MINNESOTA LAND SETTLEMENT POLICY.

Our efforts at settlement and development of our public and unoccupied lands suffer severely by comparison with those of other countries and indeed other states of the Union. In the now well defined sense of the term Minnesota has no land settlement policy. The procuring of settlers has been left to unrelated, unregulated private enterprise and exploitation of the settler. The same policy has been pursued by the state with respect to the public domain. We have been offering to the man seeking a farm home a temptation instead of an opportunity, with the result that development and utilization of our idle land has been retarded rather than hastened.

From a study of land settlement policies in this and other countries, your committee finds that there are certain fundamental principles that must be considered in any constructive plan of effort. These principles are briefly stated in the following paragraphs. In addition to this statement of principles, you will find attached a general explanation of such proven economic land settlement policies and practices as we believe apply to existing conditions in Minnesota.

State Regulation: The securing of favorable conditions for the land seeker involves regulation by the state of colonizing activities. This regulation should include all phases of immigration work as at present conducted, but, in addition, the securing of proper safeguards for the settler in real estate transactions and such advantages as might be secured by a properly constituted state body. Your committee therefore recommends the passage of legislation creating

A LAND SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD

composed of five appointed members; which board shall employ an executive secretary to carry out the work as directed by the board. The members of the board are to receive merely a per diem and expenses for their services to the state. The executive secretary to be a salaried official. In creating this land settlement and development board due regard should be given to plans proposed by the federal officials creating the necessary machinery for carrying out the plans for settlement of lands by returning soldiers and sailors. This board should properly take over the functions of the present immigration commission and immigration commissioner and supervise and carry out all of the relations of the state toward the government and toward the settler.

It should very properly take over the duties of any other state boards, commissions, or officers, charged with duties naturally functioning with this board, it being the thought of the committee to consolidate in this board all of the present and proposed activities of the state in the matter of land colonization, settlement and development.

Supervised Colonization: Successful private colonization must first protect the land owner; that is, afford a reasonable profit to those who sell the land and undertake to finance the settlement. Second, protect the settler by giving him and his family an opportunity to work on the land; give him a livelihood while working to make his farm, and acquire ownership in a reasonable time. Third, each colony must advance the interests of society.

It is highly desirable therefore that lands such as we have in Minnesota should be settled by communities under leadership embracing the economic and social aspects. Such advantages are impossible if settlement is left entirely to private endeavor, which always results in sporadic settlement. There should, therefore, be a well-defined relation between the State Land Settlement and Development Board and all private companies dealing with the land seeker. Since most of the land available for settlement in Minnesota is now owned by private corporations or individuals and since there can be no group settlement of lands except through co-operative effort, your committee would offer the following suggestions:

That suitable legislation be initiated providing for the incorporation of colonization companies and land-holding companies to be under the supervision of the Land Settlement and Development Board under which private ownerships could pool their land interests, work in the fullest co-operation with and under the control of the State Land Settlement and Development Board and effect in the highest degree the advantages of group settlement. It could be a condition precedent to incorporating under the act that their plans be submitted to and approved by the Land Settlement and Development Board before allowing them to engage in business. It is believed that the confidence which would be inspired in the public, and especially the prospective settler, through knowledge of the fact that the corporation with which he was dealing was accredited by the state, its work supervised, to assure him a square deal, would make the procuring of settlers so much easier that owners would be induced to avail themselves of incorporation under this act.

GOVERNMENT AND STATE CO-OPERATION—FINANCIAL.

The Federal Farm Loan Bank, an already organized institution of the government, will afford great assistance in the work of modern supervised group settlers; but its resources only become available, under the provisions of the act, at an advanced stage of the colonization work.

As applied to the returning soldiers, sailors and industrial workers, the proposal of the secretary of interior, Franklin K. Lane, offers liberal financial provisions wherever states are permitted by their constitutions to enter into full co-operation, or where by enactment of laws the state can provide for colonization, or holding companies so regulated by the state as to bring them within the government requirements. We are advised that organizations such as are suggested herein would meet those requirements.

These two financial resources being available under certain conditions and in behalf of certain classes of settlers only, your commission believes there should be a still further provision in our laws applying to all classes of settlers and available under all conditions and to every individual owner, private corporation, or quasi-public corporation, and to supply this need we recommend legislation providing for the incorporation of LAND MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION, modeled after the law now in force in the neighboring state of Wisconsin.

THE SETTLER AND THE GOVERNMENT.

National and state prosperity depend to such a marked degree on the number of people living in content and prosperity on the land, that land settlement is a matter of public, rather than private concern. Whoever makes the attempt is entitled to all the consideration the state can safely extend. In the absence of power of the state, through constitutional limitation, or otherwise, to itself extend the service, state regulation of private colonization work becomes the FIRST essential.

Supervised settlement with enlarged opportunity for both the land owner and the land purchaser is the SECOND requirement;

While proper credit facilities for the settler and the colonizing company, to the end that the settler's earned capital may not be unduly impaired and his labor be capitalized in the making of his farm, is the THIRD requirement.

Economic success depends upon the proper combination of the three elements: LABOR, LAND, CAPITAL. They will make possible the development of such of our idle land as is suitable for profitable agriculture.

Very respectfully submitted,

D. A. WALLACE,
Chairman.

REPORT OF FOREST FIRE INVESTIGATION COMMISSION.

To His Excellency, The Honorable J. A. A. Burnquist, Governor of Minnesota.
Sir: The undersigned appointed by you as commissioners to investigate the facts with reference to the recent conflagration in northern Minnesota and make recommendations for the future, beg leave to report that at the call of the Chairman we met at the City of Duluth at 9:00 A. M. on November 14th. Commissioner Dittenhoffer, of St. Paul, has not participated in the work of the commission, explaining his inability to do so because engaged in Red Cross work and work pertaining to the public health. Mr. George D. Dayton, of Minneapolis, declined to accept the appointment upon the commission on account of other public work occupying so great a part of his time.

We have had hearings and taken much evidence in Duluth, Moose Lake and Cloquet. We have driven through large areas of the burned districts by various roads. Parts of the commission and individual members have pursued lines of inquiry and investigation, examined persons and made report thereof. We have expended but little money. Most of the stenographic work has been contributed. The commission is under obligations to Mr. John G. Williams and Sheriff John R. Meining for the free use of automobiles. We had an evening session with the Minnesota Reclamation Committee of which Mr. D. A. Wallace is chairman. We also acknowledge assistance from Mr. W. T. Cox, State Forester; Colonel H. V. Eva, vice chairman and general manager of the Minnesota Forest Fires Relief Commission, and generally we have met with cheerful assistance. We have not been compelled to subpoena any persons whose attendance before the commission was requested. We did not pursue the policy of requiring persons, even those who were definitely examined, to be sworn, believing that we were securing information more freely by less formality.

We have not conceived it to be the purpose of our appointment to gather statistics concerning the fire nor to pursue the inquiry to the end of securing evidence upon which to found legal proceedings unless a state of facts should develop disclosing a criminal intent, but rather to pursue the investigation in the broader way of ascertaining the causes of this disastrous conflagration and great public calamity, the magnitude of which has not been appreciated by the general public because of attention being centered upon the great events happening with rapid sequence, in connection with the world war in which our nation has been involved.

Exact data will not be available for some time, but generally we may say that territory aggregating not less than 300,000 acres has been burned over; personal property and buildings destroyed of about \$20,000,000 in value; upwards of five hundred lives have been lost by the most horrible of deaths, to escape which some perished by drowning; a multitude of people have been rendered homeless, the country defaced and its beauty marred.

THE FIRES AND THE CAUSES.

This conflagration was not one fire. This work of destruction did not have a single origin. A map furnished us by the relief commission is herewith transmitted on which the burned districts of irregular form are represented in red. These will be distinguished from the small red squares diffused over the whole map which designate certain land ownerships on the map which was used to mark the burned districts. This map is not claimed to be accurate as there are some burned areas not shown at all, some that are shown are in fact larger than the map would indicate, and in much of the burned territories as designated on the map the fire by aid of its ally the wind committed many pranks, leaving streaks, islands and irregular shaped considerable areas unburned. In time the forest service will have definite and more accurate maps of the burned areas completed. However, this map is sufficiently conformatory to the facts as to have been

of great use to the commission, and will be appreciated by those whose duty requires them to read this report and consider its contents.

The season was exceedingly dry, being we are advised, fully eleven inches short of normal rainfall up to the time of the fire.

There has been a vast amount of drainage of bogs and wet lands carried on in northern Minnesota in the past few years and this has increased the fire risk, operating to render the soil itself in many such places burnable. There has been a considerable increase in the settlement of this northern country and the work of clearing lands has materially increased. Fire is the means that is used and must be used in the process of clearing and there has been much burning not only of brush and stumps and other debris but also of meadows and muskeg swamps. Under such conditions the greatest care should be exercised in setting out fires. The evidence shows, however, a vast number of fires to have been in existence—the number of them the commission does not pretend to say, but doubtless there were hundreds of them. There were many of them started by railway operation and many more from clearing up lands and from burning meadows and bogs. This had been the case for a considerable time prior to the big fire, and some of the fires that were in existence on October 11th and 12th had been burning for days, and some of them in the bogs and swamps, especially where there had been drainage inaugurated, and also in stumps and logs had been burning more or less for weeks.

This commission has no hesitancy in saying that negligence in starting fires, in failing to control them, and in failing to notify the forestry service of them until they got beyond control, has been of common occurrence. There have been a good many fires started along the railroads now under government operation. On some of the roads there have been patrols kept adequately either to put them out or keep them under control, and there has for the most part been good co-operation between the forestry service and the operating servants of the railroads. There was considerable evidence before the commission tending to show that along the Soo Line which runs through Moose Lake and northwesterly to Bemidji there had been many fires started partly due to the style of locomotives used, and very little attempt made to care for them, and little if any patrol work done even where a request or order had been made by the forestry service therefor. So that throughout this burned district there were on October 12th many fires burning.

On that day a high wind arose and increased in volume and velocity until it was little less than a tornado and whipped all these numerous fires into a great conflagration. The wind did not die down until far into the night. Burning embers of great size were carried for long distances and many more fires were thus kindled and the whole country became a veritable inferno. The fire carried everything before it, and buildings once lighted burned with great rapidity. Roads became choked with flames and smoke and flying embers; travelers and refugees could not escape, and many lives were lost. The results are most appalling. Cloquet, a city of upwards of 10,000 people, and a number of villages were in a short while after the flames attacked them in ashes with scarcely a building of any kind left. In country districts swept by the fire, here and there and everywhere, the roads are lined by small piles of rocks or brick and the charred remnants of metal utensils to make the spot where there had been comfortable homes. That which remains is remarkably small. Ashes and many particles that usually mark the place of a fire were blown away. It must also be said that remains of the skeletons of the former occupants in some cases were by the rescue workers found in the cellars. Strange pranks were sometimes played and a building left standing by the side of the burned embers of another which had stood nearby. Sometimes a building standing alone was burned and the country immediately about it not, and in some places a building escaped, although almost everything nearby was burned. The strong and shifting winds driving the flames to or away from combustible material alone can account for some of these. The wind is conceded to have reached a velocity of sixty miles an hour or more.

The fire in the Millward or Arthyde district on the Soo Line southwest of Moose Lake so far as our evidence shows started in at least two places some distance apart from clearing fires and a bog fire burning near the railroad, and all burned together. There were also fires of uncertain origin in the ditched peat bog lands in the heart of this burned district that had been burning more or less since September.

The fires that burned Kettle River and Moose Lake the evidence points had been burning for several days along the Soo Line on both sides of the track, originating on October 3d, about one and one-half miles northwest of the village of Kettle River on the railway right-of-way. Frank Ronkainen, resident near the village, a farmer and sawmill operator, had been asked by the ranger to go and fight the fire, summon aid and take charge of it while he went to look after other fires. He did so with the help of citizens whom he had summoned to his aid, increasing the number as the work became greater. He continued to fight it until all had to flee for their lives, many of whom never escaped. Some fifteen or twenty whom he had pressed into service lost their lives, being cut off from escape. Ronkainen lost his home and all his valuable papers, including his money and liberty bonds. The work of this man was so heroic and the statement he made of his experience so vivid and straightforward that the commission voted unanimously to make special mention of him in this report. It should be said, however, that many other cases of heroic self-sacrificing conduct and harrowing experiences have come to the attention of the commission. There were also fires burning to the south and southwesterly from Kettle River some distance further away.

The fire that burned Lawler apparently came from further up the line, originating near Mile Post 263, and had been burning for a long time. The fires north of Tamarack, Wright and Cromwell had been burning for some time, and much work had been done by the ranger of this district in subduing and controlling them.

At least three fires seem to have contributed to the burning of Brookston, one known as the Poupore fire originating by burning off the right-of-way, by the contractor, of the Brookston road, which burning had been going on for a long time, the same at times being under control, at other times getting beyond control and at times seemingly wholly neglected; another a fire along the Great Northern Railroad originating near Mile Post 62, apparently from train operation, and the third one, known as the Big Fire, north of the St. Louis River, burning for some time in the peat bogs.

The burning of Cloquet seems to be due to a number of fires started in land clearing work to the west and southwest, and the fire from Brookston came down from the northwest, all joined together and wrought quick destruction of the city. Thence the fire swept eastward and all the other fires being stimulated into activity by the wind, the burned area eastward is well nigh continuous to and into the eastern and northeastern suburbs of Duluth. In this territory there were many independent fires, as for instance one at Sunset Lake, a short distance southeast of Burnett Station, which, starting on the land of one of the cottagers, had been burning several days and had been fought with more or less success, but augmented by the wind destroyed most of the cottages at the lake, hay, timber and other property. There were also other fires about Grand Lake, and many fires in the territory eastward, and in the holocaust fires became united and the whole country became on fire. Some of this territory burned earlier than the city of Cloquet.

We do not find evidence of any willful setting of fires for the purpose of intentionally burning any city, town, village or habitation, but negligence under the conditions existing is all too evident.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

We are asked to make recommendations. Some we are quite willing to make:

(a) That there must be an increased effort in the way of educating the people who undertake to do the noble work of clearing up the cut over lands in the northern part of this state and rendering them productive that

simply because they own the lands does not give them the right to set fires which they cannot control. They must be made to realize that care must be taken as to the time and conditions when they shall use the necessary means of fire in the work, and that it is their duty to keep fires under control. The existing laws seem plain and quite sufficient to point out their duty, but few read the law or appreciate its obligations, although all are presumed to know it.

(b) That the forest service should be increased so that the rangers shall have smaller territory and that there shall be patrolmen enough to discover and give attention to fires while they may still be put out or controlled. This commission is firmly of the opinion that an increase in the forestry service is the most effective prevention of a recurrence of such conflagrations. The ranger of the district in which Moose Lake is located has 160 townships in his district and two regular patrolmen. While many men in this district were pressed into service in fighting fires, the extent and character of the country are such that unless fires were promptly reported they could easily burn beyond control before discovery. There should be more rangers with smaller districts and many more regular patrolmen with definite smaller patrol sub-districts. We do not say what the size of these patrol sub-districts should be, but there was respectable evidence that would indicate from five to eight townships to be large enough. This is a case too where we think investment in a few light automobiles would be wise.

(c) There seems for the most part to have been willing response on the part of citizens to the calls of the officers of the forest service in fighting fires, but there has in some sections been complaint of lack of payment for work done, and some unwillingness to respond on that account. It seems a wide discretion has been exercised by the state forester in granting or withholding payment upon the reports of rangers sending in service time slips, and where those so engaged were fighting fires to protect their own property or community, by reason of inadequate funds at his disposal he has not paid them.

This commission is in doubt whether, except in case of hiring men to go and assist in the work of fire control or protection work, compensation should be allowed at all. We are disposed to believe that all residents should be required as one of their obligations to the community to respond to the calls of the officers invested by law with the authority to call them out and help to fight the elements of destruction, without hope or expectation of compensation. This duty enforced might have a tendency to make men less careless in setting out fires which the law already forbids them to do. This does not suggest a very wide modification of the present law. See particularly sections 3794, 3799 and 3800, General Statutes of 1913.

(d) It has been urged before the commission that prosecutions before justices of the peace for unlawfully setting or neglecting fires are quite generally mere farces. That convictions are seldom obtained unless a plea of guilty is entered by the accused, and that the penalty is too small. It has been urged that some different kind of a court should be established for such prosecutions more nearly conforming to a court martial. This commission is unwilling to recommend such a change even if it should be held constitutional. We are willing to suggest that sufficient changes be made in the law so as to increase the penalties for wrong doing, and perhaps certain facts, as for instance, the existence of a fire upon one's lands or in proximity to the place where he was working might be made to constitute prima facie evidence of having started it and of negligence in so doing. Prosecutions could be conducted in the courts of competent jurisdiction now existing. Under Order 29 of the safety commission fires were prohibited except under permits. This order although generally posted was not universally heeded. As one witness puts it, "they will start fires and burn—law or no law—permit or no permit." There is evidence, however, tending to show that in one district only one fire out of fifty where permits were given got beyond control, so that the order did produce some beneficial results. Permits when given required the licensee to keep the fires under control and to exercise care in setting them.

(e) This commission is of one mind that the carrying on of drainage enterprises on a large scale indiscriminately is of doubtful benefit, if not a positive injury to the public interests. Not every swamp or bog or tract of low land is fitted for cultivation or other beneficial use by drainage. The drainage of tracts ought not to be undertaken simply or largely because drainage contractors want to have the same inaugurated. The fiction of benefits to the public health might at least be applied with some discrimination as to whether the general interests are really to be conserved. We do not wish to be recorded as opposed to the improvement of the millions of acres constituting such a large part of this state which are classed as forest lands, now mainly cut over, nor of swamp lands in the entirety, but the question of conserving the streams and lakes of the state and to a proper extent the sources of their supply and the consequent atmospheric conditions is one of vital importance to the public—paramount to the beneficial results to be obtained from rendering usable some particular parcel of land or furthering some real estate enterprise. Drainage dries out the soil and increases the fire menace for it clearly appears that when fire gets into one of these drained muskeg swamps it is scarcely possible to put it out until it is extinguished by rainfall or frozen to death. The evidence shows that they will burn for weeks. That the soil burns sometimes to a depth of two feet or more. That the fire will creep under ground for long distances and break out to the surface—sometimes even through a covering of snow. This commission doubts whether the public health requires the drainage of such territory and suggests that the tendency to excessive drainage might at least profitably be thoughtfully arrested.

(f) One of the principal items on which it seems some expression of the commission should not be withheld is the menace caused by the partially burned timber and the debris left on the lands and also by the combustible material that will grow in the burned over lands. Much of the timber and small stuff in the burned over territory was blown over and is now piled in charred masses on the land, and much other will blow down. It has been earnestly asserted that when this season is cut the fire menace will be greater within two years than it was before, and in the next fire that which burned this time will burn again and much more with it.

The question is a grave one and in some form should be dealt with. Various suggestions have been made before us and some of them were interestingly and earnestly discussed at the meeting attended by this commission mentioned earlier in this report. That this vast territory in northern Minnesota constituting nearly one-third the area of the state should be utilized and settled and made productive in the manner for which it is fitted and that the work should go forward should need no argument.

The state has not power under its constitution itself to engage in the acquisition and improvement of these lands as is now being done by the state of California. It has been suggested that the police power of the state could be invoked and under it the clearing up of these lands be carried on on a large scale and thus done more cheaply, and the cost thereof charged as a benefit against the land, and spread over a long period of years at a low rate of interest and collected in installments with other taxes. That such work be undertaken in districts marked out for each proceeding and either done by the state direct or by counties authorized thereto by the legislature, and that the lands so cleared to the stump be seeded down as a part of the work. The plan suggests some legal questions which the commission does not undertake to solve nor yet to suggest that they are insurmountable. It has merit, but unless cleared tracts were followed by speedy settlement and either cultivation or pasturing, a fire menace would grow in the form of grass and weeds and brush. If such a plan should be undertaken it might be done in sections at first where the menace is greatest, and if settlement and use stimulated by the efforts of the people and landowners and by the public immigration officials should follow, the experiment might be extended. Many are looking toward this section in which to establish stock growing, and it has been generally claimed that the region presents many advantages for such industry.

Our attention has also been called to the flood control act passed by the last legislature, chapter 442, General Laws of 1917, and it has been suggested that a similar law could be enacted with reference to fire control and founded on the same principle.

We might be warranted in suggesting that not all of the land is fitted for any one purpose. Some of it is probably valuable for no other purpose than reforestry, and it has been claimed before us that reforestry of parts of tracts by occupants could be inaugurated by planting or tree protection, and that while the ultimate crop of trees could not be harvested in the lifetime of such occupants, nevertheless an accretion of value would be realized from year to year. This all suggests the wisdom of the serious consideration of a soil survey or land classification.

We submit these suggestions for the consideration of your excellency and your official legal advisers and for such consideration by the legislature as you may invoke or the interest of members in the public welfare inspire. Whatever course is pursued, it should be with as little delay as possible.

(g) The existing laws put certain obligations upon cities, towns and villages in the way of creating fire breaks by clearing and plowing about the same, and providing thereby a means of back firing. See section 3801, General Statutes 1913. We doubt if this requirement is generally, certainly not universally obeyed. This would not have stayed such a fire as this one was but under ordinary conditions much protection might be thus afforded. There are obligations put upon city, town, village and township officers also with respect to fires under the provision of the statute relating to protection against fire, etc., chapter 36. Sections 5129 et seq. General Statutes 1913, especially see section 5134. We scarcely believe these are universally obeyed. Under provisions of law already referred to the officers of the forest service may call upon the town, village and township officers. We do not say that these provisions need any amendment, although some of them might have been couched in more positive language, but we do recommend that all these officers annually, or oftener, be advised by the governor of the state in some manner, perhaps by proclamation published throughout the state by the newspapers, concerning their duties and the performance thereof enjoined. It has been suggested that it might be wise for the governor to appoint in each county or each township some representative citizen whose duty it should be to notify the forest service of fires or to take timely steps for the control of fires and to have them put out. The selection of a citizen for such service by reason of his fitness and dignifying him by appointment by the governor, might bring more diligent co-operation with the forestry service and produce better results.

(h) What shall be done for the fire sufferers by the state? We do not know whether this is within the scope of our duty to deal with or not. There are citizens who have been engaged in relief work and whose human sympathies have been stirred by the suffering and devastation they have witnessed, and there are also those whose political or economical views accord therewith, who declare that the state should make the financial losses of these sufferers good. Such a course would be fraught with many difficulties and would either invoke a payment of money where not needed in some cases or involve discrimination and class distinction along arbitrary lines and be wanting, we are constrained to believe, in any sound foundation principle. This, however, does not prevent the state, acting through its legislature, from appropriating some reasonable amount for the aid of those who have severely suffered and who need help to get upon their feet. That the state may always do to relieve its citizens from distress resulting from public or widespread calamity. A great and generous work has already been inaugurated and ably conducted for the immediate relief of the sufferers and the stricken communities. This is being done by the judicious use of funds contributed by the people, amounting in the aggregate to the princely sum of more than \$800,000, which sum is practically exhausted by expenditures and contracts already made. We are also advised that the calamity

board has appropriated \$300,000 more which has not yet been drawn from. Whether the state funds should be added to the funds available for the commission which is now in charge of this work or made available through other channels is a matter for the legislature to determine. Many have begun the work of reconstruction without aid. As a good way to help people is to help them to help themselves, a principle which it is alleged the Divine Authority follows, it might be well to make some provision for loans to be made to those whose homes and property have been burned, at a reasonable rate of interest and with liberal time and terms of repayment, and provide a fund for that purpose, or make available for such loans funds of the state which are required to be loaned and enact a measure if necessary to render that possible. We cannot say what this sum should be, but might be justified in venturing upon an estimate of not less than three millions of dollars. The Federal Loan Bank, we believe, has been arranging to be of material assistance, but it can hardly be expected to cope with the whole matter. Within all proper limitations we hope these people who have suffered both physically and financially will have no reason to feel that either the state or its more fortunate citizens are unmindful of their misfortune and that consistent and generous efforts by and within our own commonwealth will result in this people renewing their energies and that in these regions now marked by desolation the work of subduing, cultivating and pasturing these lands will go forward with greater rapidity and the country rise from the ashes of this great conflagration better, safer and more prosperous than ever before.

Respectfully submitted,

J. S. WASHBURN,
J. P. WREILLING,
ANDREW R. JACKSON,
L. C. PEDERSEN,
A. J. MCGUIRE,
S. SWANSON,
MARTIN COLE,
Commissioners.

Dated November 26, 1918.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON REHABILITATION OF INDUSTRIAL CRIPPLES.

St. Paul, December 23, 1918.

To His Excellency, J. A. A. Burnquist, Governor of Minnesota.

Sir: Your commission appointed to inquire into the problems connected with the rehabilitation of industrial cripples and to suggest desirable legislation along this line submits herewith a preliminary report.

1. As to the number of persons affected, the commission has adopted the figures indicated by the population co-efficient which was worked out very carefully from the only adequate American data in existence by Mr. T. Norman Dean, statistician of the Workmen's Compensation Board of Ontario. This places the number of persons in Minnesota who require rehabilitation as a result of accidents, both industrial and non-industrial, at from 950 to 1,025 each year. The result agrees closely with an independent estimate of 1,000 reached by a study of all existing Minnesota accident and fatality statistics.

2. As to a system for the re-education and placement of cripples, the commission found the general lines that such a system should take pretty well indicated by the provisions of the Smith-Bankhead bill; Senate 4922, House of Representatives 12880, which was introduced in Congress at about the time this commission was appointed. The measure parallels very closely the provisions of the Smith-Hughes vocational education act. The plan is for the federal government to duplicate within certain limits whatever money is spent in a state for the re-education and placement of "persons disabled in industry or otherwise." Minnesota could get about \$17,000 in federal aid in the fiscal year beginning August 1, 1919, and \$22,650 in each succeeding fiscal year. Supervision of the work is required to be in the hands of the state board for vocational education, and the agency administering the workmen's compensation law must enter into a plan of co-operation with such board.

Your commission made a thorough study of the Smith-Bankhead bill and came to the conclusion that it probably covered the subject in the best possible way from the national viewpoint, and that the state organization which it required was perhaps the best plan in any event. We have, therefore, on the assumption that the federal bill would pass, drafted a bill accepting its provisions for Minnesota, empowering the state board for vocational education to take charge of the work, and making an appropriation sufficient to secure the maximum federal aid. In the event the Smith-Bankhead bill does not become a law the commission favors the passage of a bill which will permit the state board for vocational education to undertake this work anyhow, both re-education and placement, and will carry the same appropriation. Of course, without the federal aid the work could only be done on one-half the scale. It is the idea of the commission that the state board would have to establish the re-education work directly in the three large cities, meeting nearly all of the expense. In all other communities which desired such work it could be established by the state if sufficient need were shown, or could be merely subsidized in part. The chief reason the commission has not filed its final report by this time is that it is endeavoring to ascertain what the prospects are for early action by Congress. If the prospects are not good the commission may make two bills out of the one drafted, the first to be offered at once, establishing the state system of rehabilitation, and the second, to be offered when the Smith-Bankhead bill passes, merely accepting the terms of that act.

3. Your commission believes that a law is needed to prevent discrimination in workmen's compensation insurance rates against the employ-

ment of handicapped persons. Insurance underwriters deny that there is any discrimination at present, but the impression is so widespread among employers that their insurance rates will be raised if they employ cripples, that it would seem there must be some foundation in fact. In any event the number of handicapped persons will be increased appreciably by the war and there will be a greater tendency to consider them in fixing rates, hence the law is desirable even as a precaution. There is no reason why the increased risk from the presence of cripples should not be spread over the entire industrial group.

4. The commission also took under consideration a number of passages in the workmen's compensation law, discussing their bearing upon the problem of the cripple. It was found, however, that the Department of Labor and Industries had already made recommendations on these matters, hence the commission decided not to offer any bills covering them. The commission contented itself with adopting resolutions strongly urging two changes in particular:

(a) That the medical section of the act be revised so that the employer would be required to furnish working prostheses to the employee suffering a permanent partial injury, that to insure adequate care the present time and money limits be extended, and that supervisory power be given some central agency.

(b) That some plan be adopted by which persons who are made permanent total cripples as a result of a second injury shall receive from a special fund the difference between the permanent partial compensation law allowed by the law and the compensation fixed for total permanent injury. This will affect the returning soldiers as well as the men in industry. To illustrate, as the law is at present a soldier who had lost one eye in the service of his country, would if he lost the other eye in industry on his return, receive compensation for only one hundred weeks, the indemnity for the loss of one eye, instead of 550 weeks, the total permanent indemnity. The New York plan of creating a special fund for paying the difference by levying a charge against every fatal case where there are no dependents illustrates one solution.

We hope to have our final report in readiness within a few weeks.

Respectfully submitted,

OSCAR M. SULLIVAN,
Chairman.

PRINCIPLES and POLICY

OF THE

NATIONAL LEAGUE

— OF —

WOMEN VOTERS

VALUE OF THE WOMAN VOTE The League of Women Voters believes that the enfranchisement of women should bring into the electorate a fresh and vivifying element with a characteristic woman's point of view as its contribution to American public life. It believes that we should study public questions, not as good citizens only, but as WOMEN citizens; that there are matters for which women are peculiarly responsible, and that organization of women is necessary in order to give these matters the emphasis in government that their importance demands.

This does not imply that the woman voter is expected to function only through the League. She will act through her political party and through civic and social service organizations where men and women work together; but the League exists to give women a common meeting ground for discussion, removed from party bias or organization precedent, and an agency through which they can act with other women voters for those things which women feel and see the need of more clearly than men.

REASON FOR ORGANIZATION The League of Women Voters came into being in response to this belief and to the realization on the part of women that the mere possession of a vote is not enough. Women must utilize their votes for the public good as well as for the protection of their own rights, and to this end knowledge of government and present day questions is necessary.

PURPOSE The purpose of the League of Women Voters is to develop the woman citizen into an intelligent and self-directing voter and to turn her vote toward constructive social ends.

PLAN OF WORK

To put this purpose into effect the League has established three principal departments of work: (1) Citizenship; (2) Legislation; and (3) Efficiency in Government.

DEPARTMENTS—

1. **CITIZENSHIP**—The League of Women Voters believes in an informed electorate. It also believes that instruction in the duties of citizenship and the principles and machinery of government will eventually be accepted as a function of public education for both men and women. Until, however, this instruction is a recognized part of our educational system, it must be carried on by private agencies. Many institutions and organizations are working along these lines, but in order that there may be instruction of women voters on a nation-wide scale, the League is developing a general scheme for citizenship education including the machinery and principles of government, the history and institutions of the United States and the problems which the voter has to face, emphasizing especially the programs developed under its Departments of Legislation and Efficiency in Government.

2. **LEGISLATION**—The League provides means by which women voters, irrespective of party affiliation, can bring their united influence to bear toward the passage of legislation which embodies the woman's point of view. The function of the League is primarily the welding together of a distinct force in the electorate—its woman power—but this force must not only be awakened, it must be directed toward the accomplishment of definite results.

In order to establish a set of standards and a goal, the League endorses a general legislative program. The program, recommended by the National Standing Committees after a careful survey of conditions, should be discussed by the membership at large and adopted by the National Convention. It is then necessary to concentrate on the passage of such bills as are selected for immediate action.

In adjusting its legislative program to secure the support of a large membership, the League seeks to avoid the evils which have accompanied the efforts of the political parties to gain votes by emasculating their platforms to please all points of view. This danger will be avoided if the League platform is short, vital and develops as the natural outgrowth of the awakened conscience of the woman voter.

3. **EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT**—The League of Women Voters believes that American public life has suffered through the increasing unresponsiveness of governmental agencies to public opinion, the gradual decadence of the old American

habit of local discussion of public questions, and the change in the character of political parties which has made them aggregates of centralized power rather than instruments for the expression of public opinion. It is evident that the machinery of government must be altered so that it cannot be controlled by powerful and selfish minorities. The League believes that the methods of taking votes, nominating candidates, writing platforms, securing legislation, and administering government, must be improved to make them more responsive and responsible to public opinion. This is a prime concern of the League of Women Voters because **no other group of women is organized for this purpose**, and because, since women are newly enfranchised and bound by no entanglements of political precedent or mental habit, they can approach the subject freely and fairly. In working for greater efficiency in governmental structure and administration and also for stricter law enforcement, women can render invaluable public service. Therefore a Department of Efficiency in Government has been organized to devote itself to such subjects.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF CITIZENSHIP TRAINING AND LEGISLATIVE AND CIVIC WORK These lines of work are not distinct but interdependent. The purpose of the League's citizenship work is not only to train women for the use of the vote but to get them to use it. One of the surest means of doing this is to awaken a demand for some needed social reform—and for the legislation required for its accomplishment. Legislative work thus becomes a means of awakening civic conscience in women, and civic conscience leads them inevitably to feel the need for education as voters.

On the other hand passage of social legislation requires an informed public opinion and a strong voting power. A large membership educated in citizenship affairs constitutes such a voting power.

The League believes that legislation should be the result of a demand that is genuine and widespread, a demand that has crystallized into a conviction after hearing all sides of the question and has therefore the determination to persevere until the object is gained.

Thus, practical experience demonstrates that the different lines of work are really parts of an organic whole.

RELATION TO THE POLITICAL PARTIES

The League believes that women are a distinct element in the electorate, but does not believe in a separate woman's political party, but

that women and men have a common stake in civilization, a common interest in good government, and should form co-operating parts of the body politic.

The League of Women Voters has, from its inception, urged its members to enroll in political parties. The average citizen can best function through a party and, since ours is a party form of government, women as well as men should assume the responsibility of party activity.

The League holds, however, that a citizen's duty is to country first, and to party second; that a party is only a means to an end, and that the end should be kept constantly in view. The women of the League do not believe in giving their consciences into the keeping of a political party, but rather that they owe it to the party to help it keep abreast of enlightened public opinion. In carrying their best intelligence into the party councils, they aim to make the party of their choice a more efficient organ of government.

The League believes that the activities of the parties do not cover the whole field of civic duty, but that there is a distinct field for other than party organizations whose members will work together, irrespective of party, for certain public objects. It is in the category of such civic organizations that the League of Women Voters belongs. If it meets its responsibilities and accomplishes its purpose, it will be a strong reinforcing power to all efforts for human betterment.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Congressional Headquarters

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK, PRES.
918 MUNSEY BLDG., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Organization Headquarters

MRS. RICHARD EDWARDS, 1ST VICE PRES.
25 TRACTION BLDG., PERU, IND.

Department of Efficiency in Government

MISS BELLE SHERWIN, 2ND VICE PRES.
2728 EUCLID AVE., CLEVELAND, OHIO

(Send to Organization Headquarters,
Peru, Ind., for additional copies of this
leaflet—\$1.00 per 100, postage included)



35¢ per doz. - \$2.75 per 100 - \$10.00 per 500

[February, 1919]

14 Points

Fourteen Points on the National American Woman Suffrage Association

1. *What is the National American Woman Suffrage Association?*

A federation of all suffrage organizations in the United States except the Woman's Party.

2. *When was it organized?*

In 1869 the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association were organized; these twenty years later united under the name National American Woman Suffrage Association.

3. *What is its membership?*

About two million.

4. *How does it work?*

Through education of public sentiment, the press, literature, public meetings and house to house visits.

5. *Do its members "picket" the White House, burn the President's speeches, use offensive banners or fight any political party?*

No, its methods are always constructive—The militant tactics are used by an impatient group of young women who think the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been needlessly slow in its accomplishments.

6. *What has the National American Woman Suffrage Association accomplished for woman suffrage?*

Through its affiliated branches it has secured the complete enfranchisement of women in 15 states; the right of women to vote for Presidential Electors in 7 additional states; full suffrage at Primary Elections in two; county, municipal, school and other forms of partial suffrage in 17; resolutions from a large number of Legislatures calling upon the United States Senate to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

7. *Who first had the Federal Suffrage Amendment introduced in Congress?*

The National Woman Suffrage Association in 1878. This Association has had it introduced in every succeeding Congress and its representatives have spoken in its behalf before committees of every Congress.

8. *What is the general policy of this association?*

It is and always has been strictly non-partisan, non-sectarian and non-militant.

9. *Has it ever taken part in election campaigns?*

A State branch has done so occasionally under special provocation in State elections. As a national body it never has taken any part until the congressional campaign of 1918, when an effort was made to prevent the election of two U. S. Senators and the re-election of two, who were opposed to the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

A Democrat and a Republican were defeated for election and the majorities of the other two were greatly reduced.

10. *What is the object of the National American Woman Suffrage Association?*

Article II of its constitution says: "The object of this association shall be to secure protection in their right to vote to the women citizens of the United States by appropriate national and state legislation."

Although this is now its sole object, in the early years of its existence it devoted its energies also to amending the laws which denied married women the right to control their own property, collect their wages, have equal guardianship with the father over their children, etc. It has helped every effort toward the establishment of high schools for girls and colleges for women. Indeed the fair status of women under the law in many States is due principally to the activities of this association.

11. *What did the National American Woman Suffrage Association do to support the war?*

At a specially called National Executive meeting held at Washington, February 1917, the services and machinery of its organization were placed at the disposition of the

government, if the country should enter the war, and this offer was officially accepted by the Secretary of War. Each member of the elected Board of eighteen officers engaged in some kind of war service. Three served on the Woman's Committee Council of National Defense, one on the National Board of the Woman's Land Army, one on the National Woman's Committee of the Liberty Loan and resigned in order to work in France, one served in France without resignation and one served on the State Food Administration of New York.

Many state suffrage presidents served on state committees and thousands of its members served in active capacity in every variety of civilian service, from ambulance drivers to writers and lecturers on war education, from munition workers to the secret service.

Not content with these services, the National American Woman Suffrage Association maintained three hospital units in France, a refugee hospital, a gas treatment hospital, and a military unit directly under the French Government.

12. *Where are the Headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association?*

The National maintains Headquarters at 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, and at 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, D. C.

13. *What is the organ of the National?*

The Woman Citizen a weekly magazine, devoted to the advancement of suffrage and other phases of the woman movement, published at 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, New York.

14. Finally: The National American Woman Suffrage Association stands pledged to a continuance of the work, devoting resources and energy until all women of the United States are enfranchised.

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

354 a doz - \$2.75 per 100 - \$10.00 for 500.

[February 1919]

SOCIALISM
BOLSHEVISM
FEMINISM
NEGRO RULE
and STATES RIGHTS

*Which Party Gave New York Women
the Franchise?*

IN November 1917, in New York State 703,129 men voted for suffrage.

The suffrage amendment in New York City polled 37,144 more affirmative votes than did Mayor Hylan, the successful candidate in the mayoralty election. It polled 205,672 more votes than did the Socialist candidate for mayor of New York, Morris Hillquit. The suffrage amendment polled more yes votes than did any man or measure at the 1917 State election.

The highest recorded Socialist figures for that year are, for the State, 169,364 for Block, for Attorney-General.

If every man who voted for Block also voted for the suffrage amendment there would still remain 533,765 Republicans and Democrats, with Progressives and Prohibitionists who voted for suffrage.

In New York City that same year suffrage polled over 351,000 votes, Socialism polled 145,328.

The soldier vote was very small for Socialism. It was 2 to 1 in favor of woman suffrage.

*To Which Party Have New York
Women Voters Rallied?*

The exact figures of the distribution of the new women electors by parties as reported in January 1919, by the New York City Board of Election (State figures being not yet available) are as follows:

Of the 1,015,148 voters enrolled in the Greater City 408,671 are women. Note that this is over 40% of the total.

The women enrolled as follows:

| | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| Democrats | 222,293 |
| Republicans | 131,246 |
| Socialists | 22,225 |
| Prohibitionists | 4,437 |

The remainder in independent groups.

There was a heavy loss in the male enrollment for each party, due to the war.

Of the 408,671 women voters in New York City, 5% enrolled with the Socialist Party; 32% enrolled with the Republicans; 54% with the Democrats; 1% with the Prohibitionists; the remaining 8% being independent.

The Socialist vote of New York State has fluctuated widely; in 1917—men only voting—it was 169,364. In 1918, men and women voting, it was 123,071.

The Socialist vote of New York City in 1913—men only voting—was 32,057 (mayoralty vote); in 1916—men only voting—it was 38,518 (gubernatorial vote); in 1917—men only voting—it was 145,328 (mayoralty vote); in 1918—men and women voting—it was 85,552 (gubernatorial vote).

The entire state Socialist vote for Governor in 1918, *with women voting*, was 123,071—21,257 less than the city Socialist vote for Mayor Hillquit in 1917 with men only voting. It was actually less, by more than 46,000, than the state vote for Block in 1917, men only voting. That vote was 165,650. (Block was a candidate for the attorney-generalship.)

DO YOU BELIEVE IT?

NO Prussian propaganda was ever more insidiously or extensively spread than the utterly unscrupulous appeals to deepest and most ignorant prejudice made by the Opposition to Woman Suffrage.

A FEW LEADING QUESTIONS

Has the Opposition given you *one* logical reason why women should not vote? Has it claimed women to be unqualified, incompetent?

No; it dare not do this, for you would see through the deception.

Has it given you evidence to prove that woman suffrage in practice over half the territory of the United States has been a failure in any respect?

No, fifteen states would rise en masse to call the lie.

If there is cause why woman suffrage should not be extended to other states, would it not show itself in evidence of failure and opposition within the states where women vote?

Of course; that is obvious. Yet despite the thorough search of the Opposition to find such evidence, it has had none to give you.

What then can the Opposition do?

It can postpone the final coming of suffrage by arousing your fears. It has no other recourse. In the boldest type in the print shop it has told you hysterically that Socialism and Bolshevism will travel fast when women vote.

Does it say that these extreme theories have increased in suffrage states and because women vote?

No, they dare not; these menaces have come when men's governments have broken down. They have not happened in woman suffrage states. They merely tell you that which never has happened will happen if and when the vote is extended to more women.

Do you really think that radicalism is innate in the majority of women and that it will burst forth when they are given the privilege of having their opinions counted?

Feminism, too, says the Opposition, is coming when women vote.

What is feminism? The Opposition has given a meaning to the word which is not found in the dictionary. It declares that it means social immorality.

Does it say that social immorality has increased *where* women vote?

O, no, they do not dare say that; they only say it *will* increase *when more* women are given the vote!

Do you really think that the virtues of women cannot withstand the freedom which permits their prayers to be counted at the polls?

They tell you that negroes will rule your state when women vote. Do you believe it?

Then it is obvious that the white race in your state is a puny, pusillanimous and degenerate one. Is it? That race will continue supreme which is supreme. If your race is superior, what do you fear? Merely a phantom.

A FEW COMMENTS

States' Rights! States' Rights! strange twisted logic!

States, southern and Democratic, made the "supreme renunciation" of this creed when by vote of Congress and the ratification of their Legislatures they made the nation dry. If States' Rights like a garment, may be laid aside whenever men find it convenient, and put on whenever they wish to hide reasons too untenable to bear the light of day, then neither this nor other generations will regard it as a sincere belief.

The World's War lifted the question of woman suffrage from a plane of educational evolution where it was jogging forward by slow degrees, to certain and final triumph, to one so closely connected with the fundamental aims of the war that other nations have recognized the inconsistency of treating it on the old plane. Women of conservative Great Britain and of revolutionary Germany have voted for their national parliaments within a few weeks while in this Republic delayed action has amazed the world.

History is being made all the world around in 1919. Shall it be said that the only nation which failed to honor its women with political freedom was the one which professed to have gone to war for Democracy? That great men grew pale with fear under a wide spread circulation, a la Prussian, that to do justice to the womanhood of America would institute Bolshevism, social immorality and negro rule?

Isn't woman suffrage in all our country inevitable? Where women vote in half the territory of a country like ours, isn't it inevitable that they will vote in the other half?

Does the nation gain anything, does any state gain anything, does any man gain anything, by delay?

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

171 Madison Avenue, New York

MINNESOTA IN THE WAR

Official Bulletin of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety

SPECIAL EDITION FOR THE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE

VOL. II, No. 18

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

FEBRUARY 15, 1919



Mrs. C. A. Severance, 1st Vice-Chairman



Mrs. T. G. Winter, State Director



Mrs. W. T. Coë, 2nd Vice-Chairman

From the Inaugural Message of Gov. J. A. A. Burnquist

There was also organized under the Commission of Public Safety a Women's Department with approximately 12,000 members. This last named organization has done a vast amount of important work in arousing the interest of women in their war duties. Under the efficient leadership of its director, many lines of activity have been followed through the cooperation of numerous women's organizations throughout the state. The Commission has also assisted in procuring a survey of the number of women in our different industries and the kinds of employment in which they are now engaged.

Minnesota in the War

Official Bulletin of Minnesota Commission of Public Safety

Vol. 2, No. 18 ST. PAUL, MINN. February 15, 1919

J. A. A. BURNQUIST,
Governor, Ex-officio Chairman
C. H. MARCH, Litchfield, Vice-Chairman
CLIFFORD L. HILTON,
Attorney General, Ex-officio
THOS. E. CASHMAN, Owatonna
JOHN F. McGEE, Minneapolis
A. C. WEISS, Duluth
H. W. LIBBY, Secretary

Minnesota in the War

The Bulletin is intended altogether as a disseminator of public information and is in no sense a newspaper. Through its publication the State Commission of Public Safety seeks to further the organization of the men and materials of the commonwealth on a war basis; to uphold the federal and state governments and generally serve the cause of the nation in its prosecution of the war with Germany.

WOMAN'S COMMITTEE HEADQUARTERS:
2617 Dean Bvd., MINNEAPOLIS

A WORD IN EXPLANATION

Mrs. T. G. Winter.

The Woman's Committee, came into existence in May, 1917, by the appointment of an Executive Committee of sixteen women, with authority to organize the women of the State for all forms of war service. At the same time the same committee was authorized by the National Council of Defense, according to a plan adopted for the entire nation. This meant that the women who were presidents of all organizations having state-wide constituencies should form a "War Council," meeting in executive body once a month, and that in every county and town women chairmen should be appointed who should draw together all the workers of their own communities.

In Minnesota this resulted in the appointment of eighty-six county chairmen and over thirteen hundred town chairmen, who were grouped, again, in congressional districts each with its chairman and vice-chairman, who could be in closer contact with local needs than the state chairman.

Intensive Organization. In more than twenty-five towns and cities there has been an intensive organization, each ward, each precinct and each block having its chairman, so that every family could be reached within 24 hours. Wards have been studied so that the committee knew just the number of families in each, their nationality, the industries, churches, schools, etc., and how much each had contributed to Liberty Loan, War Savings, Red Cross, etc. Through these organizations each "drive" or special campaign was put through with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of waste labor. Altogether nearly 20,000 active women workers have thus been in the Woman's Committee. All work undertaken was in accordance with the directions sent out from Washington by the National Council of Defense, with the idea that uni-



Mrs. C. P. Noyes

formity of effort over the whole United States would be sure to result in much more efficient service.

Food Conservation. The first active work asked by the government was to secure pledges to the so-called "Hoover Pledge," promising family-economy in the matter of fats, sugar, wheat and meat. At the beginning there was little general understanding of the great world shortage and the problems of food distribution, but all over the state the women responded heroically. They canvassed every district. Training classes in war cooking, demonstrations, prizes for the best local receipts, community work in preserving and drying perishable foods, distribution of many thousands of officially-tested receipts, varying as the world situation varied, drove home the lesson the pledge had called attention to. In connection with the food problem, other phases of home economics were emphasized; family income administration, the saving of wool, and the relation of home life to national well-being.

Americanization. The war brought home to us the fact that many millions of our neighbors were either non-naturalized or, even when nominally Americans, had no understanding of the national aims of America or its purposes in entering upon the war. This problem is not to be solved in a year or in several years, but a strong beginning has been made. In 59 out of the 86 counties, chairmen of Americanization have been appointed, and an outline of practical work put in their hands covering Self-training in American ideals, Community Singing and friendly meetings, Cooperation between all social agencies, particularly lodges, churches and libraries, Social Service, Work among foreign women, Night schools, "English First" campaigns, and Training for Citizenship. Particularly in the cities a great deal of excellent work has been started.



Mrs. J. L. Washburn

Child Conservation. A program for a "Children's Year" was made by the U. S. Children's Bureau, such work being considered a War Program on account of the discoveries made in examining men for the draft. Since from 25% to 46% were found unfit for military service, largely on account of defects that might have been remedied in childhood, it was seen that there was a direct relation between child-welfare and military (and therefore peace-time) efficiency. The weighing and measuring of all babies to discover what defects existed and then the setting up of machinery to remedy those defects constitutes, in brief, the program already well carried out through the state. Baby

(Continued on page 7)

"It would be a shame if the work, the activity, the enthusiasm of the American women in the past two years should in the slightest degree be allowed to drop. They have done things which men could not have done. This war has been fought by them, because they have shown to the boy the purpose of this war; they have stimulated his pride, his self-respect, his love of country; and they have done all kinds of work it was believed impossible in the past that American women could do.

I trust that the spirit which has been shown will be maintained and that much of the machinery which has been created will be continued. We in the Council of National Defense have been intimately in touch with all sections of the country, put in touch by you through the organization of the state councils of defense."

Clipped from speech made by Secretary Lane at the annual conference of Governors.



Mrs. Geo. H. Adams

CREATING PUBLIC SENTIMENT

Publicity Chairman,
Mrs. George H. Adams.
Patriotic Education Chairman,
Miss Annie Shelland.
Americanization Chairman,
Mrs. Frances Buell Olson.

Too much credit cannot be given to the newspapers and their staffs all over the state for their generosity and patriotism in giving space for all work and special drives of the Woman's Committee.

The Committee has provided very abundant material for the Sunday papers in the cities concerning the activities of the Council of Defense and has been especially active in forwarding all special drives and campaigns. County Chairmen in nearly all counties put in local news concerning their work and also secure publicity for material sent them from headquarters. Weekly letters to the county committees have been sent. Another source of publicity has been the special woman's page in the weekly bulletin of the State Safety Commission, "Minnesota in the War." From time to time the chairman has furnished news items to the Ready-print company for country papers. The results of the work are manifest in very wide-spread understanding.

"We may naturalize by law, but we cannot Americanize by law. That is a process which may be helped by suitable legislation, but it involves a vast deal of patriotic work by individuals and communities. It is one of the most important duties of the hour."

The present need for National Unity and the security of our future demand that good-will and good understanding be established between all the different peoples of the United States. This is specially true in Minnesota where we

have the largest per cent of foreign born in any state. With the great iron and lumber regions in the north where the schools have as many as 17 different nationalities in classes, where among the Finns and Slavs seditious propaganda has gone on, as well as among agricultural workers in many parts of the state, and with one in five of the inhabitants of our state German, often living in towns where German is the language of the schools and business, we felt at the beginning of our work that Americanization and Patriotic propaganda were the fundamental work and those on which all others depended. The work has been chiefly with the foreign woman in the home—a heretofore neglected factor in our community life—and the main points of contact have been help in meeting the food regulations, the Red Cross, county allowances, the schools, churches, and fraternal lodges.

With the State Chairman of Patriotic Education the Superintendent of Rural Schools, she had an opportunity to do a wonderful work in reaching the foreign mother. Teachers' Patriotic Leagues and Little Citizens' Leagues were organized in nearly every county, who have done much in putting on loyalty meetings in every corner of the state. When the chairman, Miss Shelland, found that rural communities had difficulty in getting material for patriotic programs, she got up a book on "School Patriotism," which was printed by the Department of Education and the Safety Commission so that each of the 20,000 teachers might have a copy.

"Why We Are At War," a leaflet by Mrs. T. G. Winter, was printed in English, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Yiddish, and Polish. 100,000 copies were circulated as well as 6,000 posters printed in English, Swedish and Norwegian.

Attractive posters were made for a bulletin board in the Minneapolis Public Library, which were then sent to the seventeen branches for display. The slogans were published in Minnesota-in-the-War for other libraries and committees to copy. The New England Colony of Women used these same slogans to make posters for the summer hotels and for about 25 libraries in the state.

In Minneapolis, the Americanization Committee is composed of 60 men and women who represent the Board of Education, Public Library, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., foreign-speaking churches and societies, foreign press, labor agencies, Woman's Club, settlements, Associated Charities, University and employers of foreign labor. The Board of Education has a special leader for this work and furnishes paid teachers who hold classes in places frequented by foreigners at suitable times. Many recreational features are included and special neighborhood rallies where local features are emphasized by the foreigners themselves. The meetings for drafted men were particularly fruitful. A guide book which will serve as a text book has been printed and is presented to the men and women in the classes as soon



Mrs. Frances Buell Olson

as they can read them as well as to newly-made citizens.

The settlements have been the best places to reach the women, so simple stories of American history have been written and illustrated with lantern slides, and extensively used. The Woman's Committee made a special study of each ward showing how many foreigners live there, where they are, what are the institutions and schools and industries which has been of the greatest value in this work. So far, the Committee is working with Russians, Poles, Slavs, Italians, Roumanians, Jews, Bohemians, Norwegians, Swedes, Austrians and Germans.

In St. Paul, Americanization has been emphasized among the block workers so that they might have the proper attitude in approaching their territory. At a big pageant on July Fourth, newly-made citizens were the guests of honor and on July 14th (Bastille Day) every nationality was represented in the parade dressed in native costume. The Committee is cooperating with existing agencies such as missions and settlements and the library in maintaining classes for foreigners. Through the visiting house-keeper, women are being taught English at five centers and more classes are being organized in the schools and the St. Paul Institute. A survey has been made of the city to note each house occupied by foreigners, what members attend school and those that do not speak English. Two exhibits of the work of foreign women were held and work is being done among Greeks, Italians, Magyars, Bohemians, Poles, Germans, Armenians, Syrians and Swedes. Huge meetings were held for the Czecho-Slavs and the Italians.

In Duluth, a large general committee of men and women with an executive secretary and offices with the Naturalization Bureau has been doing very effective work. Sub-committees on Finance, Publicity, Cooperation

(Continued on page 8)



Mrs. James G. Swan

MAKING MINNESOTA THINK ABOUT CHILDREN

Chairman of Children's Year

Mrs. James G. Swan

Every town in Minnesota may have an infant welfare clinic free of cost. Dr. E. J. Huenekens, well known baby specialist will conduct the clinic. Upon request, a nurse is sent out to the town to prepare for the clinic making all arrangements before the arrival of the doctor. Clinics were held in 101 towns and many more were arranged but the influenza epidemic put a stop to it. After the first clinic if the community wishes to continue them regularly they must employ a Public Health nurse to carry on the follow-up work. Every effort is made to cooperate with the local doctors and nurses. The creation of the Child Welfare Department in the Minnesota State Board of Health is the most important accomplishment of the Children's Year Committee. It has been recognized all over the United States as one of the most far-reaching benefits.

Up to the time the Children's Bureau in Washington requested the State Councils to organize for the "Children's Year," the Committee had been getting familiar with the child welfare situation in the state. Questionnaires were sent out to find out if there were local agencies in the counties and what they were and what they did. Special investigations were made as to the number of children affected by the war and the effect of milk prices and the possibility of the sale of skimmed milk.

The Committee has cooperated heartily with the State Children's Bureau established by the admirable Children's Code adopted by the Legislature of 1917, and with the State Board of Health, the Minnesota Public Health Association, the University of Minnesota and

the State Department of Education. All these departments touch upon some phase of the work but no one of them had the means or authority to under a definite campaign such as outlined by the Federal Committee.

Since the new law provides for County Child Welfare Boards, the Committee has worked to promote them and the Bureau agreed to appoint the County Chairman of Child Welfare one of the two women members wherever possible. The greatest difficulty to overcome was the feeling that rural communities had no child welfare problem.

The campaign for weighing and measuring was begun May 13 and the Safety Commission agreed to furnish stenographic service, stationery and postage for the work. The Committee has undertaken to organize doctors and nurses and welfare agencies together with the volunteer force and administrative agencies in the counties, with the result that 78 counties are working.

Campaigns were opened in many counties with a special baby week with exhibits in store windows, clinics, with weighing and measuring stations in stores, schools, settlements, and halls, and with lectures by physicians and nurses. The spirit of cooperation shown is one of the finest fruits of this work. The Minnesota Public Health Association, which is primarily interested in doing Anti-Tuberculosis work, has established a Department of Child Welfare.

The State Speakers Bureau was about swamped with requests for speakers on Child Welfare and had arranged for many talks when the meetings had to be called off. The Froebel Society among others has sent out speakers. It has been a keen disappointment to have all this splendid work stopped during the epidemic. The State Safety Commission printed a Children's Year seal which was given to all County Chairmen to sell to raise funds for the work. Since April the Chairman has sent out each week a special publicity letter to County and Town Chairmen on some phase of the care of children and finds it has been very effective in spreading the right kind of information.

Dr. Jessica Peixotte and Mrs. Mary Breckenridge Thompson have given inspiring talks in different parts of the state.

Anoka County holds the banner for having baby week in 20 towns.

Becker County reported in June that the weighing and measuring had been carried on in 22 of the 32 townships.

Carlton County holds second place with baby weeks in 14 towns.

Crow Wing County had one of the first Child Welfare Boards with an appropriation of \$500.00. 7 towns and 3 townships sent in records of 1,635 children.

In Duluth, the Child Welfare Department of the Scottish Rite, which had been doing effective work since 1911 has given hearty cooperation. St. Louis County outside of Duluth, reported 10,663 children weighed and measured, with 1,580 not registered and 2,669 underweight. A county school nurse with 12



Mrs. J. N. Jackson

school nurses in towns and three full-time nurses hired since the work began were working. 82 clinics were held and Chisholm arranged for a full time nurse.

Marshall County had babies weighed in 27 townships and 12 villages.

Morrison County had the first baby clinic in the state outside of the cities.

In Minneapolis, a survey was made before the campaign to enroll every child of pre-school age in the city and 33,000 children were tabulated. Five new recreational centers were opened through the activity of the committee, and 3,500 children were sent with supervisors to parks, with car-fare provided and as many mothers as would go. A clinic was established in one ward that had no settlement house. A group of 60 children from tubercular homes were sent to play-grounds for 6 weeks and fed crackers and milk daily, and it was found that none of them had the influenza.

Olmsted County has had the splendid help of the Mayos in putting on their child welfare program, so much has been accomplished in weighing and measuring, clinics, and supervised recreation.

Renville County was the first to report every child weighed and measured.

St. Paul carried on its campaign in 58 centers and recorded 17,000 babies, with a special chairman in each ward. They were given a course by experts which was financed by the sale of the seals.

Stearns County weighed 3,273 babies and reached many through the county fair. Sauk Center has block-mothers.

Waseca County had successful clinics and did effective work in organized recreation.

Yellow Medicine County reports all babies weighed and a fine exhibit at the county fair with a rest cottage for mothers.

(Continued on Page 8)



Miss Mildred Weigley

HOOVERIZING IN MINNESOTA

Chairman Food—Miss Mildred Weigley.
Chairman Dress—Miss Marion Weller.

A live and interesting exhibit of clothing conservation was made up for the State Fair which drew large crowds. How to make Susie's old coat into a pretty dress for Lucy, how to make father's old suit fit Willie, and how to make two worn sweaters into a good warm sweater suit for the baby was demonstrated. Similar exhibits were arranged for many county fairs and are now being shown in many store windows throughout the state.

In December 1917, a special Committee was appointed who made a study of the textile situation, the dye situation and the industrial situation as related to women's dress. It was decided that it was time to simplify and standardize their dress—to work for less rapid change of style. The committee has centered its interest on the woman who makes her own clothes, that she may have durability and style that will last and be in good taste. Special bulletins on textiles, patterns for the home dress-maker, wool conservation, hat conservation, etc., were published and distributed.

A series of five lectures was given in St. Paul under the Woman's Committee. At the Minneapolis Woman's Club, a meeting on "Dress in War Time" was given with the assistance of the merchants, who very generously loaned the clothes to illustrate both good and bad dressing together with living models.

The Food Conservation Committee has linked the Women's Committee of the Council of Defense organically with the Food Administration by making the County Food Conservation Chairmen members of the County Food Administration, and by making the county

chairman the Home Representative on that committee. The State Chairman was chosen not only because of her official position as Head of the Home Economics Department of the University but also because she had the appointment under the U. S. Food Administration as Director of Home Economics teachers.

The first campaign for the Hoover pledge was very difficult. The Committee was very new and not completely organized, the pledge was an entirely new thing, the situation little understood and there was German propaganda to combat. However, 71,363 cards were signed although Washington only recorded 55,000 since many had neglected to put the name of the state on the card. The fact that the Food Administration could not supply the window cards and pins as promised shook the confidence of many and made trouble for the Women's Committee.

As soon as the campaign was over, the organization was worked out more completely and a central state committee organized to include the Food Administrator, the State Superintendent of Schools, the State University, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, Home Economics teachers and the Chairman of the Woman's Committee. They urged the counties to organize committees including the Woman's Committee Chairman, the County Superintendent and the Director of the Safety Commission.

Food Demonstrations were given in cities and towns and the State and county fairs gave excellent opportunities for carrying the message, every kind of publicity was used including talks and slides at the moving pictures. Experiments with substitutes were constantly made and bulletins and recipes published and distributed. Too much praise cannot be given the newspapers for their cooperation in giving space for this work.

The second Hoover pledge campaign was carried on Nov. 4-11 with the aid of and through the schools and was very successful. This was due to the effective work of the schools, to the better organization of the Woman's Committee and the Food Administration and to the better understanding of the situation by people in general. A house to house canvas was made to distribute pledges all over the state. 138,000 cards were signed this time and over 2,000,000 pieces of literature distributed.

In December, the Government's plan of buying for export 30% of all wheat revolutionized the work of this committee. They began to concentrate on wheat saving by the use of potatoes and barley. Later the 50-50 plan was established and more recipes and bulletins were prepared and distributed. Every effort was made to further the program of the Food Administration.

The libraries in the state gave wonderful help by distributing and often multigraphing literature, by displaying posters and giving publicity. The Federal Food Administration marked the Duluth Library 100a for its work. Herman and Paynesville also did especially effective work.

Potato campaigns and Food Production exhibits were outlined in letters to the county chairmen and material for exhibits sent out.

In the spring, lists were made of women in the counties who had had higher Home Economics training who could help with the demonstrations. Then letters were sent to the Deans of Women in colleges attended by Minnesota girls both in the state and outside asking for lists of girls who had been studying the food conservation problems, so that they might help in the work during their summer vacations at home. Home Economics teachers were asked to give their summer addresses so that they might be put in touch with the Council of Defense Chairmen. Questionnaires were sent out to all rural teachers asking their experience in farm work and their willingness to help the farmer's wife in their community during the



Mrs. George Squires

summer in the interest of increased food production. About 1,200 replies were filed by counties at the Woman's Occupational Bureau and word was sent to each County Chairman, to the County Superintendents and the County Agents and Postmasters. A study of the situation in Minnesota showed that the labor question was not so critical as suggested in the press so that women did not need to work in fields. The real need for help was in the farm kitchen so that the farmer's wife might be freed to do the work for which she is trained in the poultry yard and the dairy and garden. County Chairmen were asked to urge County Fair Committees to give premiums only for articles meeting with conservation requirements.

The summer brought with it the need for increased activity in food conservation because of the fruits and vegetables to be cared for as well as the difficult wheat situation to be met. Lists including 88 Home Economics teachers and 253 college students were compiled and

(Continued on page 6)

LIBERTY LOAN

Chairman 2d and 3d Loans
Mrs F. F. Chamberlain.

4th Loan—Mrs. A. MacLaren.

The Second Liberty Loan was the first time women have ever been asked to take part in financial matters so that it proved to be an educational campaign as well as one for money. The women solicited in many parts of the state covering clubs, churches, lodges, schools, etc., places not reached by the men. The women were credited with \$5,000,000.00 of bonds purchased by women.

The Third Loan found 76 counties and 300 towns organized for work and the women were credited with over \$8,000,000.00 of bonds sold by women. They felt that their work had helped toward the wonderful record made by Minnesota by which nearly every county and town in the state went over its quota.

A new scheme was tried in the Fourth Loan by which the men and women worked together and no separate count kept of the sales. The women were credited with one-fourth of the sales or \$32,844,900.00. Eighty-four of the eighty-six counties were organized. No subscriptions were made through women's organizations. The women gave thousands of talks and did a great part of the volunteer clerical work connected with the campaign.

HOOVERIZING IN MINNESOTA

(Continued from Page 5)

distributed in the counties to help in this busy time. A suggested "Until Harvest" exhibit was sent out to be put up in as many places as possible and material on absolutely wheatless products was sent out with bulletins on "Canning without sugar," and also on canning and drying. In many counties the women made a house to house canvas to find out what difficulties the women were having and to help them. The fact that County Conservation Chairmen reported frequently enabled the State Committee to know the particular problems and to study methods of solution.

Permanent Home Demonstration Agents were placed in: Duluth, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and in Mower, Anoka, St. Louis, Olmsted, Sherburne and rural Hennepin counties, and others have work in special districts doing not only valuable work for food conservation but also spreading loyalty and patriotism and the gospel of child welfare.

Chippewa County sent in a story of how the children helped to bring their mothers into line. One little girl was heard to say: "You must eat your bread crusts and not throw them to the chickens for my teacher says the soldiers can't win the war if we throw bread away." In another home where the mother had continued



Mrs. A. MacLaren

to feed meat to her children every day in the week, the boy took the platter back to the kitchen saying: "This is meatless day and we are going to observe it and help our soldier boys."

Houston County women and girls did their bit in the fields and kitchens.

Kandiyohi County is very proud of her food record for no one has been found hoarding and the grocers all cooperated as well as everyone else.

From Koochiching County the chairman wrote: "If Kaiser Bill could look into the little communities away up here in the woods and see the work, the enthusiasm, the spirit of patriotism, he'd not wonder any longer about democracy not being able to unite her people to win this war. At the North County Fair the Domestic Science teacher and her 10th grade class conducted a school of conservation as good as any at the State Fair. They served bread and coffee and honey. The honey used was made just across the road from the school house and donated by the Rev. Hermanson who owns the bees that made the honey, to save the sugar to feed the boys to win the war for democracy."

Minneapolis and St. Paul have established permanent Demonstration kitchens for the purpose of helping women with the home problems and they are continuing to be highly successful. During the height of the influenza epidemics, they rendered valuable help by making and distributing soup and custards and orange juice into the stricken homes and to the soldiers at the fort.

Mower County had the first permanent Home Demonstration Agent outside the three large cities. The High School girls gave many food demonstrations to help along the work.

Ottertail County had a very active and efficient organization in each of its 71 townships.

Scott County has made a remarkable record for food conservation work. A highly successful county picnic was held to emphasize food conservation with Mr. A. D. Wilson as chief speaker.

St. Louis County made a wheat-saving survey and found that 3,025 families in 3 months saved 24,592 lbs. of wheat flour or an average weekly saving per family of 3.4 lbs. Effective work can only be done among the foreigners by working with small groups of one nationality at a time and combining with food conservation, child welfare and loyalty. Frequently an interpreter had to be used, but when the foreign women understood they were eager to learn and to attempt to carry out the suggestions, especially when the welfare of their children is involved. All organizations and town committees have been most helpful in reaching the foreign mother who has faced such difficult problems as a result of the war and much has been accomplished in helping her to be an American in act, thought, and spirit.

Wilkin County reported Boys and Girls Clubs organized all over the county who raised gardens and pigs. The honor pin is a four-leaf clover which signifies "head, heart, health and hands" which they pledge to help in the world war and for world peace.

Waseca County held a market under the trees on the High School lawn in Waseca every morning where superfluous garden stuff was brought for sale. If donated, it was sold for the benefit of the Woman's Committee fund. In the afternoon canning was directed by a trained worker, and those who wished brought fruits and vegetables to be canned.

FIRE AND "FLU"

Wonderful work has been done by the women all over the state in quiet, efficient service of their communities during the influenza epidemic, which shut off all public meetings for two months. Improvised hospitals in homes and schools and public buildings, the nursing of families who were in need, the cooking of food for the afflicted and a thousand ministrations have been reported to the central office from every direction.

In the north part of the state, equally devoted work has been done for the sufferers from the terrible forest fire that has proved Minnesota's greatest local tragedy. Many of our own representatives are among those who have lost homes and every possession. And others of our chairmen have worked early and late to serve their neighbors and have opened their homes to refugees as destitute as those of Europe.

YOUNG WOMEN'S SAFETY AUXILIARY

Miss Elizabeth Congdon,
Chairman

Girls of all nationalities have joined the Young Women's Safety Auxiliary to do war work for the Red Cross, child welfare, food conservation and canteen work for the soldiers and sailors.

This work is especially well organized in and around St. Cloud and Duluth but Becker county, Stevens and Wright counties have efficient organizations. In Minneapolis, the girls have formed a Junior Auxiliary which parallels the Woman's Committee and provided volunteer workers along all lines where their help was called for. One huge piece of work was the checking and tabulating of the record cards of the 33,000 babies weighed. In St. Paul, four committees provided books and flowers for the Aviation hospital, carried on a War Information Booth, surveyed city gardens and assisted in Child Welfare work.

In Duluth nearly 2,000 young women belong to the Auxiliary through 57 clubs, classes or societies already in existence. The headquarters supplies them with detailed information of the various lines of home and foreign work open to them, provides them with samples of work to be done, sends speakers or instructors, arranges courses in home nursing, first aid, gardening, food conservation, etc. They work in conjunction with all social and war agencies and have done especially helpful work among children in institutions, sending Christmas packages to all children in the St. James and St. Anne's Homes.

In Stearns County, twelve chapters were organized, who started Food Conservation and Red Cross work before the Women's Committees were organized. The Girls made a specialty of giving farewell parties for the drafted men furnishing comfort bags and later Christmas packages for each one. They also did canteen work for the men going through on trains from time to time and brought patriotic moving pictures to their communities.

A WORD IN EXPLANATION

(Continued from page 2)

clinics, more supervised public playgrounds, county and visiting nurses, the establishment of public baths and out-of-door carnivals have been phases of the follow-up work.



Mrs. B. A. Van Campen

Exhibits. In the State Fairs of 1918 and 1917 the State Committee had booths with patriotic exhibits, conducted musical patriotic programs, gave out many hundreds of thousands of patriotic publications and answered innumerable questions. In practically every county the local chairmen had booths at the county fairs at which food demonstrations and exhibits and patriotic programs were conducted.

State Meetings. Besides the regular monthly meetings of the War Council at which the needs of the state were discussed and action decided upon, there have been two State Conferences held in the House of Representatives and attended by District and County Chairmen, Chairmen of Committees and members of the War Council. These have been three day meetings, financed by the Safety Commission, and have considered all forms of women's war work.

Publications and Publicity. Besides the circulars and letters sent out by special chairmen of Food, Child Welfare, etc., and in addition to the printed matter distributed at State and county fairs, the State Office has sent out about 25,000 letters and 12,500 packages of printed matter and received 12,000 letters. Letters have been sent to the counties nearly every week. Wide newspaper publicity for all war service has been obtained, not only in special articles in the press of the cities, which has been more than generous, but also in the material sent to country papers through agencies, and in the cooperation of local editors. The State Committee has printed matter covering all phases of its committee work, to the amount of several hundred thousand articles. It has also acted as the distributing bureau for great quantities of literature sent from Washington.

Red Cross. A representative of the Red Cross has always been a member of the Executive Committee of the Woman's Committee, and warm relations have existed between the two bodies, as for instance, when the Red Cross allowed the use of its local headquarters for the Nurses' drive, and when the machinery of the Woman's Committee has been used for Red Cross drives or publicity. Joint letters on food conservation were signed by the Food Administrator, the Chairman of Red Cross and the Chairman of the Woman's Committee.

Accredited War Organizations. This committee had the special duty of approving war relief associations to which this body should give support and of discouraging such organizations as were un-approved by competent authorities.

War Service Training Courses. In cooperation with the recognized agencies sending women for overseas service, this committee gathered and gave out information through bulletins as to special training courses.

Legislative Committee. With the knowledge of local conditions gathered through their war activities, women are especially interested in legislation concerning women and children.

Liberty Loan. As the Allotment system has prevailed in the later work, the duties of the women have been confined chiefly to publicity and clerical service. Of course Minnesota has gone over the top in all loans.

Speakers Bureau. Besides local Speakers Bureaus in the larger cities, about 100 state speakers have been listed for general work. Dramatic and Musical programs have been provided for patriotic entertainments. A Patriotic-Americanization Pageant is now being prepared by a special committee, with reference to the needs of Minnesota.

Nurses' Drive. In response to the Government request to list young women to take training for nurses, a campaign was carried on through the counties, resulting in 560 applications being sent in to Washington from our state office. Besides these, many applications were sent in direct from local offices.

Young Woman's Auxilliary. They have served to correlate all the younger women's work, for Red Cross, for Hospitals, for Naval Reserve, for services in all "drives" and in the Children's Year.



Miss Aimee Fisher

CREATING PUBLIC SENTIMENT

(Continued from page 3)

with Employers, Educational, Naturalization, Social, are at work and they aim to have on every committee a foreigner to work among his people. Clubs are formed with one of their members as President and it works beautifully. 1,400 foreigners are in the night schools, which give a fine course in citizenship. A survey is now being made of the aliens. Extensive Americanization work is done on the range by the District Naturalization Examiner and by the Home Demonstration Agent and the Women's Food Conservation Committees in the towns, as well as the schools.

In Anoka County, community sings were held, which included the singing of songs from the countries from which the people came and folk dances.

In Becker County, circular letters were sent each month to every school to serve as a guide for patriotic work.

In Big Stone County, every community has been reached with patriotic rallies.

In Blue Earth County, work was planned out with something definite for local committees to do each month, such as listing aliens, arranging community sings, giving publicity through newspapers, sermons in churches and talks in schools.

In Brown County, the foreign women responded splendidly to the call for Red Cross work, working overtime in cold weather so that they can work in the gardens later.

In Carlton County, the chairman gave talks in Swedish localities in the native tongue on patriotism and Red Cross.

In Cook County, a pioneer county without a railroad—the chairman held a patriotic meeting

in Tofte where she and the speaker rode 88 miles by auto stage to find 100 settlers and homesteaders gathered in the log school, many of whom had walked miles through the trackless forest. There were women who had not been to any public gathering for years, and men who had packed their furniture in on their backs. It turned out to be an experience meeting where they told in broken English what America meant to them, signed the Hoover pledge, promised to knit for the Red Cross and gave money to it gladly.

In Cottonwood County, community sings were held on the court-house lawn Saturday nights in connection with the band concerts.

In Crow Wing County, a night school for Finns was established which was described thus: "Mrs. ——— had been to their homes and knew the names of the children, she had been to a socialist meeting and knew who wasn't naturalized and made him feel he wanted to be more than anything else in the world. One of the pupils resigned the chairmanship of some committee of the I. W. W. when his son came home from training camp and told of having advantages he never dreamed of having and how when he comes home from the war, he wants his father and mother to be ready to live the real American life as he will be prepared to do. This work takes insight, foresight, hindsight and all kinds of sight that see with kindness."

In Faribault County, every line of work has been carried on with enthusiasm and success.

In Freeborn County, ten minute loyalty meetings were held at every Red Cross unit meeting.

In Lincoln County, groups of Polish and Danish women were reached through the Red Cross and did splendid work.

In Lyon County, a group of Icelandic women were interested who did some very fine Red Cross work.

Norman County had a school visitation committee consisting of three women and clerk and director of the school board for each school district. They reached every home in the county with messages of patriotism, no matter how remote they are.

In Olmsted County, night schools for foreigners and drafted men were well attended and made rapid progress.

In Rice County, at the Faribault Fair a patriotic pantomime was given twice daily which had been composed by the Town Chairman.

In Sherburne County, the women made a special study of Americanization and during the Farmer's Course held special meetings for farm women.

In Stearns County, a group of foreign women were taught English and promised to do all their shopping in English. Much was done to carry the food conservation message to foreign groups.

In Steele County, as many as 17 patriotic meetings were held in one month and special efforts were made to reach the Farmers Club meetings and to hold community sings.

In Waseca County, every evening at 7:30 "America" was sung in every house and the windows were opened so it might be heard on the street.

With Americanization Chairmen in 5 counties, with the help of the State Americanization Committee appointed by the Government with a special field worker, with a special course on Americanization established at the University of Minnesota, and the increasing interest in this work, the prospects for the future are bright



Mrs. Bertha Dahl Laws

MAKING MINNESOTA THINK ABOUT CHILDREN

(Continued from page 4)

At the time of the last report, Minnesota had: Sixteen counties (exclusive of the 3 cities) with visiting nurses. 29 counties are working for a county nurse and 45 towns report school nurses. 13 rural counties held clinics. 33 counties had exhibits at their fairs. 109 towns had a special baby week. 110 public meetings with lectures have been held. 133 play-grounds are reported and 25 counties have supervised play. 21 counties have had their milk supply supervised. 99,490 babies were reported weighed and measured.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Chairman—Miss Agnes Peterson.

The question of women replacing men in industry led the Committee to decide to make a survey of women employed outside of the home throughout the state for the purpose of learning home conditions. This survey has been made through the cooperation of the State Department of Labor, organized charities and local representatives of the Minnesota Woman's Committee. The Committee is glad to recognize the courtesy and spirit of cooperation shown by employers.

In 1917, the Committee was watching the courts for violations of the laws protecting women and children, reporting them to the Minnesota Woman's Committee for special attention. A questionnaire was sent out to the 700 school districts to find out the effect of the war upon school children as shown by the school census. Suggestions were asked for obtaining better enforcement of laws in regard to working permits, truancy, etc. The results are very valuable. This work was done at the request of the Children's Bureau in Washington.

A special committee of TRAINING FOR WOMEN was appointed to gather material for a pamphlet on "Institutions in Minnesota Training Women for Occupations other than Teaching." It listed "Volunteer Work—Training for War Needs" and Professional or Paid Work. Training for occupations," emphasizing the value of training and listed employment agencies.

The Chairman of Sleepy Eye, Mrs. John Wooldrick, has held classes at her home training 25 stenographers to help meet the great demand for them in Washington. Eighteen of them were given good positions after finishing their courses.

Efforts were made to get the counties to establish Women in Industry Committees, but at first they insisted they had no problem. The Chairman was in one town and made a few investigations, taking some of the local women with her. They were soon convinced that they had a problem. They then made an arrangement with employers by which all cases of married women seeking employment were to be referred to them. A member of the committee sees whether it is advisable for such a woman to go to work, and if she is entitled to help from the Red Cross Home Service or from the County Allowances, the Committee helps her.

The survey was considered the first step in preparation for the work which might be essential in the readjustment of the economic status of women after the war. It was begun in March and closed in December and while it is not absolutely complete, yet it is representative. Seventy-nine counties reported, sending in schedules for 57,607 women and 9,560 industries. It was found that 2,355 women had replaced men. About 8% of women employed in the twin cities in industry were found to be



Miss Agnes Peterson

married with children under 16 years. Follow-up work is now being done because it is felt that such a condition is dangerous both for the health of the mother and for the future of the children. Every effort will be made to enable the mother to remain in the home.

The newly organized Community Labor Boards say that too much cannot be said of the value of this survey in helping to settle the problems referred to them. Every effort has



Mrs. W. R. Mandigo

been made to cooperate with existing agencies and with the new U. S. Employment Service.

Special work has been carried on at the same time with the survey. Miss Alice Henry of Chicago was brought to the twin cities for courses of lectures to groups of people specially

interested in the problems of women in industry. This was done with the endorsement of the State Safety Commission as well as the State Woman's Committee.

An investigation was made of the replacing of men by women in railroad shops in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth and Brainerd. Conditions under which these women are working were found to be good, and most of them were receiving equal pay for equal work. The hours of employment in some of the round-houses were found to be too long. A ruling by the Attorney-General to the effect that a round-house was not a mechanical establishment prevented the enforcement of the law limiting the hours of employment in mechanical establishments to 54 hours a week. A very thorough investigation was made and this ruling was withdrawn so that now certain round-houses can be classed as mechanical establishments and help subject to the regulation limiting hours of employment for women to 9 a day and 54 a week.

The replacement of men by women in saw mills and box factories was investigated and it was found that a wage scale of equal pay for equal work was not always practiced.

Conditions under which women are working as street car conductors in Duluth were investigated. It was found that a large number of them are women with families of small children. Many work long hours and a number made nine-hour runs without toilet facilities, a condition injurious to health.

In Polk County, the Voiceless Speech and pictures of women in war industries were displayed in each town in a store window, showing a different card each day.

In Pope County, after displaying the Voiceless speech all over the county, it is being used by the High School Civics classes.

The State Committee has made a point of giving publicity to Minnesota's Minimum Wage Law (declared valid Nov. 21, 1918) and to state standards for women in industry and also to the standards set up by the Federal Government for war orders. These have been printed on cards with other information and are called "Voiceless Speeches."

REGISTRATION

Chairman—Mrs. W. R. Mandigo.

In a food-producing state like Minnesota, it was best for most women to stay on their jobs, so the registration of women was not compulsory, merely a voluntary one. St. Paul was the only city to make a house-to-house canvas. Minneapolis arranged to have a chairman of workers at headquarters, who should advise volunteer workers where to go and what to do and who should refer all paid workers to the proper agencies. The state headquarters answered many hundreds of letters from all parts of the state advising them as to what to do, and cooperated with the Civil Service Commission.

Community Sings

By STANLEY R. AVERY

President Civic Music League of Minneapolis

As music is a universal language, so it is a universal influence. It is a unifying power; and, as such, of the utmost value as a national asset. It is a means to the expression of those things which are beyond ordinary speech, and one of the greatest of these is patriotism. This land has recently felt powerful unifying influences, and in bringing them into action music has played a most prominent part. It is hardly fifteen years ago that Arthur Farwell and his co-prophets of the Wa Wan Press, adopting the words of one who preceded them, exclaimed as enthusiastic and truly national musicians: "I hear American singing." Then the voices were few and their song wavered; today it is an ocean of music uniting coast with coast. It is a direct expression of American democracy; and, uniting with the other great influences of the day, it is binding soul to soul with true Americanism.

Music has now entered the home in proper guise. The mechanical appliances spread the influence. Caruso sang in the laborer's hut, and then the laborer went to hear Caruso. Prosperity and philanthropy assisted; more people heard music and more music was heard. Then the war—and everything worth-while was requisitioned. Song—in the home, on the platform, in the camp and in the community gathering—has fallen upon good ground, has grown and blossomed, and is bearing rare fruit.

Music is no longer a peculiar possession of the Old World:

America owns it as a national asset. It is developing here in its own way, and it will develop American spirit with it. There is a powerful movement afoot toward American Music; and it lies with the profession and the people alike, and together, to determine what it shall be, how far it shall go, and what it shall do for America. The professionals with their technical training are applying themselves heart and soul, and the people are responding with equal enthusiasm. The old World peoples among us will be especially appealed to by any musical influence that can be exerted over them. The Community Sing or LIBERTY SING is doubtless the most direct in its effect. Liberty Sings should be held often in foreign districts. Up to date National Songs, however popular, should be used, as they are full of Americanism. The finest artists should, and they do, sing upon every appropriate occasion these direct expressions of the American spirit. The development of musical talent among foreign residents must be constantly encouraged. When they know English sufficiently, they must be led to join choirs and choral organizations. Foreigners must be taught "AMERICA" and "THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER" and especially invited to community and neighborhood sings. Singing in English must be emphasized. When our new citizens realize that music has expanded into a national feature and an essential, they will readily respond to its power for Americanization; for they have always loved music.

MINNESOTA WOMAN'S COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Director—Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, 2617 Dean Boulevard, Minneapolis.
First Vice-Chairman—Mrs. Cordenio Severance, Cottage Grove, Minn.
Second Vice-Chairman—Mrs. William T. Coe, Wayzata, Minn.
Mrs. George H. Adams, 2411 West Twenty-first Street, Minneapolis.
Mrs. John N. Jackson, 483 Grand Avenue, St. Paul.
Mrs. Bertha Dahl Laws, Appleton.
Mrs. A. MacLaren, 412 Holly Avenue, St. Paul.
Mrs. W. R. Mandigo, 799 Iglehart Avenue, St. Paul.
Mrs. Charles P. Noyes, 89 Virginia Avenue, St. Paul.
Mrs. Frances Buell Olson, Shubert Building, St. Paul.
Miss Agnes Peterson, Old Capitol, St. Paul.
Miss Annie Shelland, Department of Education—Historical Society Building, St. Paul.
Mrs. George Squires, 21 South St. Albans Street, St. Paul.
Mrs. James G. Swan, 2216 Kenwood Parkway, Minneapolis.
Mrs. Bertha Allen Van Campen, Rochester.
Mrs. J. L. Washburn, Hunter's Park, Duluth.
Miss Mildred Weigley, University Farm, St. Paul.
Secretary, Miss Aimee Fisher, 2617 Dean Boulevard, Minneapolis.

CHAIRMEN OF STANDING COMMITTEES

Americanization—Mrs. Frances Buell Olson, Shubert Building, St. Paul.
Accredited War Organizations—Mrs. George H. Partidge, 1 Groveland Terrace, Minneapolis.
Children's Year—Mrs. James G. Swan, 2216 Kenwood Parkway, Minneapolis.
Committee on War Emergency Training Courses—Miss Merle Higley, 204 Transportation Bldg., Minneapolis.
Dress Conservation—Miss Marion Weller, University Farm, St. Paul.
Food Conservation—Miss Mildred Weigley, University Farm, St. Paul.
Legislative Committee—Mrs. Charles P. Noyes, 89 Virginia Avenue, St. Paul.
Liberty Loan and War Savings Stamps—Mrs. A. MacLaren, 412 Holly Avenue, St. Paul.
Maintaining Existing Social Agencies—Executive Committee.
Patriotic Education—Miss Annie Shelland, Historical Society Building, St. Paul.
Publicity—Mrs. George H. Adams, 2411 West Twenty-first Street, Minneapolis.

Red Cross—Mrs. John N. Jackson, 483 Grand Avenue, St. Paul.
Registration—Mrs. W. R. Mandigo, 799 Iglehart Avenue, St. Paul.
Speakers' Bureau—Mrs. Anna H. Phelan, 612 Tenth Avenue S. E., Minneapolis.
Women in Industry—Miss Agnes Peterson, Old Capitol, St. Paul.
Young Women's Auxiliary—Miss Elisabeth Congdon, 3300 London Road, Duluth.

WAR COUNCIL

Allied Relief—Mrs. C. W. Ames, 501 Grand Avenue, St. Paul.
American Red Cross—Mrs. John N. Jackson, 483 Grand Avenue, St. Paul.
Anti-Suffrage Association—Mrs. J. B. Gilfillan, 222 Clifton Avenue, Minneapolis.
Association of Collegiate Alumnae—Mrs. Jas. Richardson, 3408 Irving Avenue S., Minneapolis.
Audubon Society—Mrs. Phelps Wyman, 5017 3rd Avenue S., Minneapolis.
Big Sisters—Mrs. Robbins Gilman, 917 Andrus Building, Minneapolis.
Children's Protective Work—Mrs. C. M. Ferguson, 124 E. 13th St. Minneapolis.

CHURCHES

Baptist—Mrs. A. F. Gale, 1620 3rd Avenue S., Minneapolis.
Catholic—Mrs. Daniel Coonan, 424 W. Franklin Avenue, Minneapolis.
Christian Woman's Board of Missions—Mrs. W. U. Smith, 1044 Dayton Avenue, St. Paul.
Congregational—Mrs. George B. Drake, 4044 Sheridan Avenue, Minneapolis.
Episcopal—Mrs. H. C. Theopold, Faribault, Minn.
Liberal Union—Mrs. K. E. Mo, 701 15th Avenue S. E., Minneapolis.
Lutheran—Mrs. L. F. Gruber, 1213 Hague Avenue, St. Paul.
Methodist—Mrs. F. F. Lindsay, 25 Seymour Avenue S. E., Minneapolis.
Methodist Home Missionary Society—Mrs. A. J. Matchett, 1416 Capitol Avenue, St. Paul.
National Council of Jewish Women—Mrs. Israel Rypins, 1049 Lincoln Avenue, St. Paul.
Presbyterian—Mrs. Willard Weld, 2428 Bryant Avenue S., Minneapolis.
Colonial Dames—Mrs. Charles Furness, 265 S. Exchange Street, St. Paul.
Council of Defense (St. Paul)—Mrs. J. T. Hale, 1005 Commerce Building, St. Paul.
Daughters of American Revolution—Mrs. James Morris, 2109 Blaisdell Avenue, Minneapolis.
Daughters of Revolution—Mrs. John A. Schlener, 2025 Portland Avenue, Minneapolis.
Daughters of Veterans—Mrs. Clarice Parker, 3109 4th Avenue S., Minneapolis.

EDUCATIONAL

Grade Teachers—Miss Isabelle Williams, 798 Osceola Ave., St. Paul.
High School—Miss Agnes Dougherty, 2078 Summit Avenue, St. Paul.
Kindergarten—Miss Stella L. Wood, 2500 Grand Avenue, Minneapolis.
Home Economics Teachers—Miss Leila Gerry, Girl's Vocational School, Minneapolis.
Vocational Work—Miss Elizabeth Fish, Girl's Vocational School, Minneapolis.
University—Dr. Anna Helmholtz-Phelan, 612 10th Avenue S. E., Minneapolis.
Farm Women's Congress—Mrs. C. C. Neale, 3525 31st Avenue S., Minneapolis.
Florence Crittenden Home—Mrs. Albert Strong, 2324 Pillsbury Avenue, Minneapolis.
Fraternal Orders—Mrs. Sara Mathews, 1620 W. Lake Street, Minneapolis.
Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupation—Mrs. Frank Warren, 3427 Humboldt Avenue S., Minneapolis.
International Federation of Catholic Alumnae—Mrs. John Donohue, 1481 Summit Ave., St. Paul.
King's Daughters—Mrs. G. H. Heidenreich, Waconia, Minn.
Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs—Mrs. George Allen, Rochester, Minn.
Minnesota Medical Women's Association—Dr. Auten Pine, 749 Lowry Building, St. Paul.
Minnesota Garden Flower Society—Mrs. H. B. Tillotson, 1320 5th Street S. E., Minneapolis.
Minnesota Board of Nurse Examiners—Miss Lydia Keller, Old Capitol, St. Paul.
Minnesota State Sunshine Society—Mrs. W. C. Fiske, 3025 Irving Avenue S., Minneapolis.
Minnesota Women's Suffrage Association—Mrs. Andreas Ueland, Calhoun Boulevard, Minneapolis.
Minnesota Graduate Nurses Assn.—Miss Minnie Patterson, 1409 Stevens Avenue, Minneapolis.
Minnesota State League of Nursing Education—Miss Louise Powell, University Hospital, Minneapolis.
Minnesota Scandinavian Woman Suffrage Ass'n—Mrs. Luth Jaeger, 615 James Avenue N., Minneapolis.

MUSICAL WOMEN

Mrs. Carlyle Scott, 3322 Lyndale Avenue S., Minneapolis.
Mrs. Charles Sargent, 1613 Jefferson Ave., Duluth.
National Housewives League—Mrs. V. C. Sherman, 2209 Humboldt Avenue S., Minneapolis.
National League for Women's Service—Mrs. Cordenio Severance, Cottage Grove, Minn. St. Paul Hotel.
Naval Service (Woman's)—Mrs. E. W. Backus, 75 Oak Grove Street, Minneapolis.
Needlework Guild—Mrs. C. G. Bates, 3751 Portland Avenue, Minneapolis.
National Organization for Public Nursing—Miss C. E. Epply, Hopewell Hospital, Minneapolis.
State Library Commission—Miss Clara Baldwin, Historical Society Building, St. Paul.
United Daughters of Confederacy—Mrs. M. B. Harvey, 682 Holly Avenue, St. Paul.
Women's Christian Temperance Union—Miss Rosette Hendrix, 2408 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis.
Women's Peace Party—Miss Hope McDonald, 201 Ridgewood Avenue, Minneapolis.
Woman's Relief Corps—Mrs. M. D. Fritz, Mankato, Minn.
Woman's River and Harbor Congress—Mrs. Della Armstrong, Curtis Court, Minneapolis.
Young Women's Auxiliary—Miss Elisabeth Congdon, 3533 London Road, Duluth.
Young Women's Christian Association—Mrs. Chas. P. Noyes, 89 Virginia Avenue, St. Paul.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OFFICERS

First District—Mrs. Charles H. Mayo, Rochester, Chairman. Mrs. D. O. Irwin, Lake City, Vice-Chairman.
Second District—Mrs. Frank Manson, Worthington, Chairman. Mrs. C. E. Wise, 226 Byron Street, Mankato, Vice-Chairman.
Third District—Mrs. William Duffy, Shakopee, Chairman. Mrs. H. C. Theopold, Faribault, Vice-Chairman.
Fourth District—Mrs. Cordenio Severance, Cottage Grove, Chairman. Mrs. Robert Earl, 745 York Street, St. Paul, Vice-Chairman.
Fifth District—Mrs. A. W. Strong, 1254 McKnight Building, Minneapolis, Chairman. Miss Rosette Hendrix, 2408 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis, Vice-Chairman.
Sixth District—Mrs. W. H. Gemmell, Brainerd, Chairman. Mrs. C. A. Weyerhauser, Little Falls, Vice-Chairman.
Seventh District—Mrs. Frank Murphy, Wheaton, Chairman. Mrs. John Serrin, Glenwood, Vice-Chairman.
Eighth District—Mrs. C. E. Spring, 1622 East Fourth Street, Duluth, Chairman. Mrs. Peter Oleson, Cloquet, Vice-Chairman.
Ninth District—Mrs. C. G. Selvig, Crookston, Chairman. Mrs. H. M. Wheelock, Fergus Falls, Vice-Chairman.
Tenth District—Mrs. T. J. Abbott, Anoka, Chairman. Mrs. Minerva B. Hixon, Cambridge, Vice-Chairman.

CHAIRMEN OF COUNTY WOMEN'S COMMITTEES

County, Chairman and Postoffice—Aitkin—Mrs. F. E. Murphy, Aitkin.
Anoka—Mrs. T. E. Coleman, Anoka.
Becker—Mrs. S. D. Ensign, Detroit.
Beltrami—Mrs. W. Z. Robinson, Bemidji.
Benton—Mrs. J. E. Malloy, Foley.

Big Stone—Mrs. M. S. Stevens, Graceville.
Blue Earth—Mrs. H. C. Hotaling, Mapleton.
Brown—Mrs. Ora Trautman, Comfrey.
Carlton—Mrs. F. R. Walters, Moose Lake.
Carver—Mrs. George Dutoit, Chaska.
Cass—Mrs. C. M. Taylor, Cass Lake.
Chippewa—Mrs. S. G. Eliason, Montevideo.
Chisago—Mrs. Marilla Stone, Rush City.
Clay—Mrs. William Russell, Moorhead.
Clearwater—Mrs. J. A. Cogswell, Bagley.
Cook—Mrs. Jack Scott, Grand Marais.
Cottonwood—Mrs. T. C. Collins, Windom.
Crow Wing—Mrs. L. P. Hall, Deerwood.
Dakota—Mrs. T. A. Brown, Hastings.
Dodge—Mrs. P. J. Schwarg, Dodge Center.
Douglas—Mrs. A. D. Haskell, Alexandria.
Faribault—Mrs. D. L. Morse, Blue Earth.
Fillmore—Mrs. H. M. Smith, Rushford.
Freeborn—Mrs. W. H. Walker, Alden.
Goodhue—Mrs. A. R. Mensing, Cannon Falls.
Grant—Mrs. A. W. Wells, Herman.
Hennepin (rural)—Mrs. J. E. Spencer, Wayzata.
Houston—Mrs. C. W. Belding, Caledonia.
Hubbard—Mrs. M. M. Nygaard, Park Rapids.
Isanti—Mrs. W. L. Moody, Cambridge.
Itasca—Mrs. Otto Bergh, Grand Rapids.
Jackson—Mrs. H. J. Leigh, Lakefield.
Kanabec—Mrs. R. J. Streetly, Mora.
Kandiyohi—Mrs. D. N. Tallman, Willmar.
Kittson—Mrs. Florence Nelson, Hallock.
Koochiching—Mrs. F. C. Correll, International Falls.
Lac Qui Parle—Mrs. Theo. Christianson, Dawson.
Lake—Mrs. H. C. Hanson, Two Harbors.
Le Sueur—Mrs. C. W. Grotfelter, Waterville.
Lincoln—Mrs. R. F. Schultz, Ivanhoe.
Lyon—Mrs. B. B. Gislason, Minneota.
McLeod—Miss Cora Reed, Glencoe.
Mahnomon—Mrs. H. P. Phillips, Mahnomon.
Marshall—Mrs. H. I. Yetter, Stephen.
Martin—Mrs. M. R. Diment, Fairmont.
Meeker—Mrs. Alvah Hunt, Litchfield.
Mille Lacs—Mrs. H. C. Cooney, Princeton.
Morrison—Mrs. L. D. Brown, Little Falls.
Mower—Mrs. A. W. Allen, Austin.
Murray—Miss Jennie Holm, Slayton.
Nicollet—Mrs. Peter Scheweiler, Nicollet.
Nobles—Mrs. Lee Shell, Worthington.
Norman—Mrs. B. F. Tenney, Ada.
Olmsted—Mrs. H. H. Witherstine, Rochester.
Ottertail—Miss Mildred Lowry, Fergus Falls.
*Mrs. Charles R. Wright, Fergus Falls.
(Died November, 1918.)

Pennington—Mrs. J. H. Hardisty, Thief River Falls.
Pine—Mrs. James Slaven, Sandstone.
Pipestone—Mrs. Grace Hanson, Pipestone.
Polk—Mrs. C. Q. Roemer, Crookston.
Pope—Mrs. John Serrin, Glenwood.
Ramsey—Mrs. J. T. Hale, 1st Floor, Athletic Bldg., St. Paul.
Red Lake—Mrs. S. C. Shockley, Red Lake Falls.
Redwood—Mrs. E. A. Pease, Redwood Falls.
Renville—Mrs. M. J. Dowling, Olivia.
Rice—Mrs. H. C. Theopold, Faribault.
Rock—Mrs. A. D. La Due, Luverne.
Roseau—Mrs. George McGillivray, Roseau.
St. Louis—Mrs. Erwin Lerch, Hibbing.
Scott—Mrs. William Duffy, Shakopee.
Sherburne—Mrs. A. Robinson, Elk River.
Sibley—Mrs. Peter Morton, Winthrop.
Stearns—Mrs. H. S. Halvorson, Sauk Center.
Steele—Mrs. M. S. Alexander, Owatonna.
Stevens—Mrs. Frank Hancock, Morris.
Swift—Mrs. Julius Thorson, Benson.
Todd—Mrs. George Christie, Long Prairie.
Traverse—Mrs. Albert Olin, Wheaton.
Wabasha—Mrs. M. J. Nerbovig, Plainview.
Wadena—Mrs. C. W. Miller, Wadena.
Waseca—Mrs. D. W. Cummings, Waseca.
Washington—Mrs. W. G. Masterman, Stillwater.
Watsonwan—Mrs. Will Curtis, St. James.
Wilkin—Mrs. George Mangskau, Breckenridge.
Winona—Mrs. C. H. Robbins, St. Charles.
Wright—Mrs. Charles Hawker, Buffalo.
Yellow Medicine—Mrs. Howard Kerns, Granite Falls.

Message from Mrs. T. G. Winter

"This is probably the last number of Minnesota in the War and therefore is a sort of official farewell from the Woman's Committee.

In this resume of our work certain counties and towns have been mentioned and others not. This is no reflection on the unmentioned ones for with few exceptions, our chairmen have been wonderfully faithful and efficient and their records have appeared in our periodical printed reports. But in this summing up we have had room only for some more notable achievements.

Now as to the future, it is evident that Americanization, Home Economics, Protection of Women in Industry, Child Welfare and general Civic Usefulness are permanent jobs. We have worked for them in the stress of war time. The test of our belief in the republic and in the righteousness of peace comes in seeing whether we can put the same fervor and the same devotion into our peace time service. We know that they are necessary to national efficiency but national efficiency does not come in a year. It is the result of constant effort and constant wisdom on the part of many people WORKING TOGETHER. Do not let the impetus you have given to Minnesota drop and leave no permanent effect. Keep your town wholesome by community councils, by club activity, by Parents and Teachers Associations, by constant watchfulness and cooperation.

The state office will continue for a few months. During that time we shall be glad to emphasize the matter of helping you to get these permanent results in your own community."

MRS. T. G. WINTER, State Director.

Ask National for supply

Your attention is respectfully called to the following editorial printed in the Philadelphia North American, February 21, 1919.

THE NORTH AMERICAN.

WOMAN, BOLSHEVISM AND THE HOME

FOR the second time within five months, and finally for this session of congress, the resolution to submit to the states a woman suffrage amendment has been defeated in the United States senate. On October 1 the vote was 54 to 30 in favor of the measure, the majority being two less than the necessary two-thirds. On February 10 a new member voted in the affirmative, while his predecessor had voted in the negative, making the record 55 to 29, so that the proposition failed by one vote.

The action, due to a combination of southern Democrats and northern Republicans, is not only a denial of justice and of the fulfillment of democracy, but is an incident of peculiar political significance. It shows that the confirmed reactionary co-operates with his kind, regardless of national welfare or party affiliation.

Nothing could emphasize more clearly the absurdity of our party system; the names Republican and Democrat are in no real sense descriptive, and the artificial division disappears whenever an issue touches the interests which appeal alike to the Republican Tory of one section and the Democratic Bourbon of the other. Students of politics have long recognized the need for party names which would clearly express the tendencies and convictions of those wearing them. The United States, like other civilized countries, should have a party standing frankly for liberal, progressive policies, and one candidly supporting policies of conservatism or reaction, and the titles should denote the principles upheld. This was one of the aims of the Progressive party; even tho it might never have elected a president, it undoubtedly would have forced this logical and needed realignment in American political parties.

The enfranchisement of women is likely to hasten the change. Excepting perhaps in the south, where the racial issue will continue to govern, American women will not be guided by blind reverence for party names, but will express thru the ballot their progressive or conservative beliefs.

It is hardly necessary to recite the arguments for equal suffrage, since its early adoption is inevitable. Women are entitled to the ballot, not only as a matter of abstract justice, but because they long ago, and especially during the war, proved their fitness to participate in all the activities of life and public affairs. Until the right is accorded to them this will not be a true democracy, a government of, by and for the people. Beyond this, modern civilization needs the directing influence of women, because of their knowledge and intuition respecting social and industrial conditions, lying at the very heart of the issue which is promoting dangerous discontent and unrest thruout the world.

But at this time there is a new and vitally urgent reason for giving them the vote—women, enfranchised, will constitute the most powerful and most dependable defense of democracy against the threatening tide of Bolshevism. To understand why this is so certain fundamental facts must be borne in mind.

First, Bolshevism must, in the nature of things, spread until it dominates the world, or else disappear. Requiring a complete revolution of the present state of society, the establishment of absolute rule by a class, it cannot exist side by side with democracy. It must expand and conquer, or succumb. "Our revolution," Lenine has written, "must be international; it must pass over all political and racial frontiers and crush opposing economic and social ideas. The revolution cannot exist in isolation. In its own defense it must propagandize and convert, must incite and urge on the masses in all countries."

If it is to become world-wide, commerce, politics and society everywhere must be organized internationally; instincts of race and principles of nationhood must be subordinated to a class solidarity which shall know no frontiers; the sense of nationalism must be destroyed, or overcome to such an extent that the proletariat, as the Bolsheviks term the elements to which they appeal, shall have discarded all sentiments of loyalty to their country and shall follow the dictates of an internationalist class consciousness.

This means that the institutions which promote loyalty, democracy and nationalism must be destroyed. Hence Bolshevism is the implacable foe of the church, that great force of conservatism, order and social coherence. It is at war with all religion. Publicity has recently been given to the fact that many of the leaders of the cult are of Jewish blood. But none of them, it is sure, is of the Jewish faith.

But the church and religion are not the greatest obstacles against which Bolshevism contends. Because its aim is to revolutionize society, it strikes relentlessly at the family, the basic unit of civilization. It seeks to destroy the sacred relation which enlightened mankind has established between husband and wife, between parents and children.

Those who read the other day in this newspaper the decree of the Bolshevik rulers of a Russian community, with its monstrous provisions for obliteration of the family system, the subjugation of women to the uses of a proletarian government and delivery to the state of children resulting from officially regulated promiscuity, may have thought that this was a mere evidence of depravity. On the contrary, it revealed an essential part of the Bolshevik program—destruction of the home, of the institution of the family, which is the very foundation of the social order.

Every instinct and sentiment of normal mankind revolts against the suggestion, of course. Yet Bolshevism spreads, the promotion of this doctrine must logically follow its success everywhere, and its support by a controlling number of male converts is conceivable. But who can bring himself to imagine women consenting to the overthrow of that institution which is the most cherished treasure of their lives, the altar of their supreme devotion?

From the day of mankind's beginnings, woman's instinct for the home and for family life has been the guiding force, the great motive power, of human progress. But for this uplifting and civilizing influence, the races of men would still be a welter of marauding, nomadic tribes, surging to and fro upon the earth. It was woman's desire for a sheltered place in which to rear her children that halted the aimless migrations and inspired the creation of temporary, and then of permanent, places of habitation. From the home grew the village, which increased the common protection, and provided places where the women and children might remain while the men hunted for food. So the household or family, the creation of woman's instinct, was the germ of society, which thru the ages has expanded into the civilization we know today.

It was the maternal passion of woman, her desire to cherish her children and assure to them a better life and wider opportunities than hers, that has been the greatest driving force of human progress. To that, more than anything else, we owe our civilization, which ceaselessly strives to excel itself, to make life brighter and happier for generations to come. And to destroy society as it is constituted, you must first destroy the home.

To the Bolshevik this idea is elementary. And let it be remarked here that, however strong may be the appeal of the cult to the illiterate and to primitive minds, its leaders are men of intellect, vision and audacity. They know that their system cannot prevail, their class despotism cannot be established, until the institutions of the home and family organization are obliterated. Therefore they propagate the hideous doctrine that a woman is the mere chattel of a bestial government, with no voice in her own fate or in her own mating, to be compelled to submit to the promiscuous embraces of the first men who file claim to her, the number being fixed by the arbitrary decree of the soviet. This carries with it the doctrine of state-owned children and the abolition of the fundamental relations of society.

Moreover, there is in their campaign another impelling reason besides those connected with control of the young. Just as the home was derived from man's possession of property and his relation to woman, so it inspired the laws that have developed thru the ages for the protection of property. It is today the primary symbol of individual right and ownership, of exclusive and sacred possession, and must be swept away if the Bolshevik war on property is to prevail.

Bolshevism is, of course, merely a distorted reflection or a radical expansion of the idea underlying Socialism. But the manifestation is too new to be generally understood, as may be observed in its advocacy by half-baked enthusiasts for whom has been coined the derisive term of "parlor Bolsheviks." As its meaning is revealed by events, however, it will become clear that its threat to the institution of property is not to be compared to that which it carries to the very foundation of society, the home.

Against that peril what defense is so logical, so invulnerable, as the idea that burns in the breast of every woman? She might go far to protect her material possessions, to vindicate her rights or privileges as a human being. But let it be understood that her family is to be invaded, her home violated, her children imperiled, and there will be awakened in her a passion which is the heritage of remote ages—she will perish before she will see that sacred threshold crossed by a profaning foot. Give her the ballot, and let Bolshevism rave, for it will be able to do no more!

In voting against the suffrage amendment resolution the Knoxes and the Penroses and their reactionary Democratic allies opposed a measure of justice and a requirement of real democracy. And they had not intelligence enough to see that they also were preventing the erection of the staunchest defense America can have against the destructive, degrading philosophy of Bolshevism.

The University of Minnesota

THE GOAL OF AMERICANIZATION TRAINING



MINNEAPOLIS

Published by the University of Minnesota

March 1919

THE GOAL OF AMERICANIZATION TRAINING

In view of the commonly recognized need for adequately trained Americanization workers, the University of Minnesota has established an Americanization Training Course the object of which will be to afford fundamental, scientific, and practical training for men and women who wish to engage in any phase of the important and developing work of Americanization.

Perhaps the value of this specialized Americanization training may be best summed up if we state the gains to be aimed at for the individual most concerned, namely, the immigrant:

First.—The most important thing the immigrant should get from the trained Americanization worker is the certainty that the worker stands for the best forces in America reaching out in a democratic way to help him in his difficult problems of new-world adjustment. Too often the immigrant is the prey of the evil forces in America. The trained Americanization worker should stand to him for all the good America has to offer.

Second.—The immigrant should feel the certainty that the worker understands him and his racial group; that he knows their peculiar strengths and weaknesses; that he knows the political, industrial, and social conditions under which they lived in their home country, why they came to America, the conditions in which they find themselves in America; that he realizes their problems here, their causes of discontent, and what they need in order to fit themselves happily and successfully into the complex life of America.

Third.—The immigrant from any one of the sixty odd racial groups represented in America should get from the trained worker the special educational, industrial, political, or other guidance which he needs to adjust himself to American life; the needs will vary with each group.

Fourth.—The immigrant should acquire the language of America so far as he is able. But it must be remembered that many immigrants are too old or too much occupied with earning a living to learn the language of America well enough to have it become the language in which they think, and that for some time wise use must be made in Americanization work of the foreign tongue and the foreign press.

Fifth.—The immigrant should get a realization of the real meaning of America—of the ideals of her founders, of her traditions, of her standards, of her institutions, and of her hopes. He should get sane ideas of social and economic adjustments which are truly democratic, and of the best ways for him to help in these adjustments.

Sixth.—The immigrant should get from the worker encouragement to put into America all the talents, crafts, and ideals for good which he brings with him, to develop them in harmony with the best ideals of America, and so make his contribution to enduring American culture. He should be led to prize the things which are his own which make for good in America. On the other hand, he should get clearly a realization that his practices and characteristics which are weaknesses in America should be done away with as quickly and as completely as possible.

Seventh.—The immigrant should get such a sympathetic understanding of the other foreign peoples in America that old-world prejudices will tend to die, and confidence will be established among all groups here so that they may have fair and square dealing with one another.

Eighth.—The immigrant should get from the Americanization worker the definite feeling that the worker stands in a real sense as an advocate of the immigrant against race discriminations and unjust treatment. It is true that as Americans our practices too often lag behind our democratic ideals, but a just and intelligent interpretation of America to the immigrant, and of the immigrant to the quick sense of fair play of the American, will do much to bring about a sense of justice and real democracy toward the foreigner which is the foundation of all true Americanization.

Ninth.—Finally, the immigrant should get as a result of the entire effort of the trained Americanization worker such a fundamental and sympathetic understanding of America that he will necessarily develop a love and loyalty for our country, a desire to remain here, to become an American citizen, and to bear all the citizenship burdens of the Nation in its continuous reconstruction toward a better realization of its democratic ideals.

ALBERT ERNEST JENKS, *Director*

AMERICANIZATION TRAINING COURSE

ORGANIZATION

MARION LEROY BURTON, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., President of the University

JOHN B. JOHNSTON, Ph.D., Dean of the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts

ALBERT ERNEST JENKS, Ph.D., Professor of Anthropology, Director

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ALBERT ERNEST JENKS, Chairman

JOHN B. JOHNSTON, ex-officio

LUTHER L. BERNARD, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology

LOTUS D. COFFMAN, Ph.D., Professor of Education, Dean of the College of Education

WILLARD E. HOTCHKISS, Ph.D., Professor of Economics, Director of Business Education

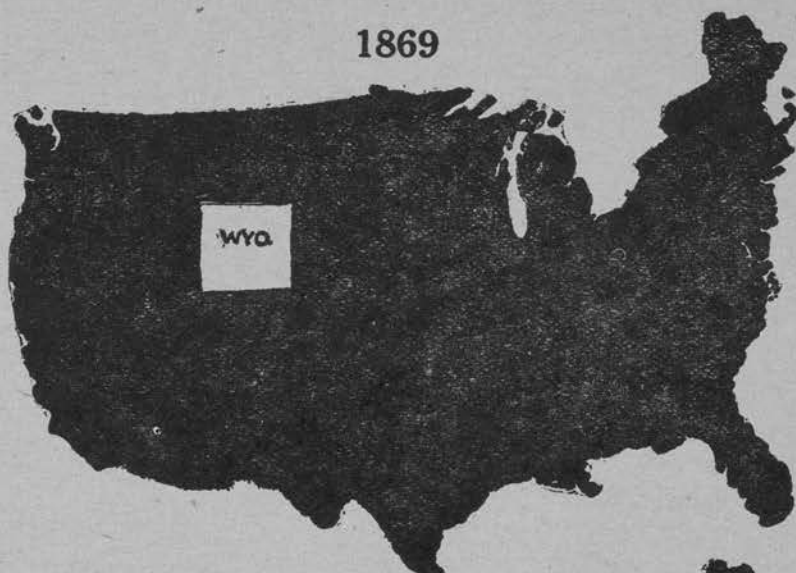
DAVID FERDINAND SWENSON, B.S., Professor of Philosophy

\$1.75 per 500 - \$3.00 per m

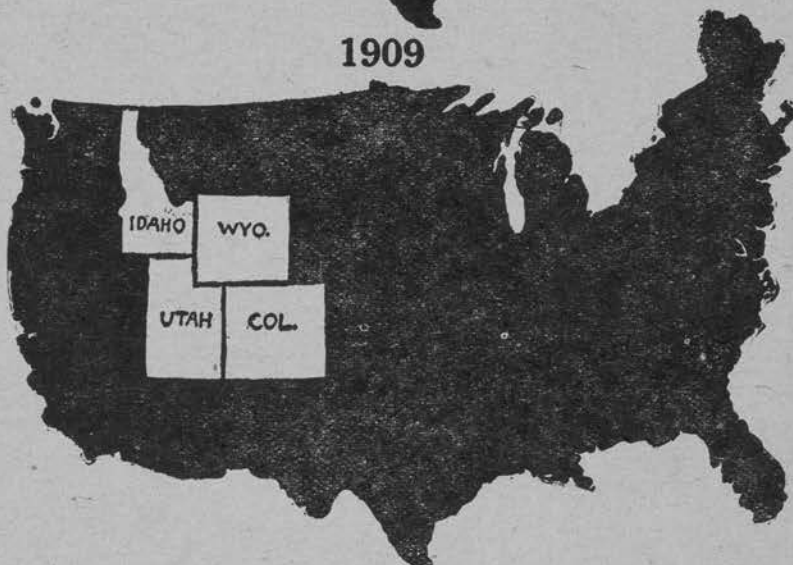
Seeing Is Believing!

1869

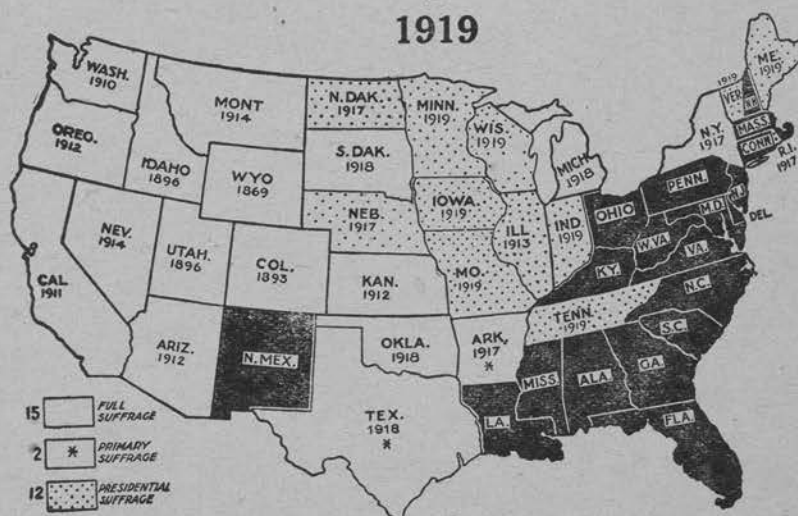
[March, 1919]



1909



1919



FINISH THE FIGHT!

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY

171 Madison Avenue
Printed, March, 1919



New York City

25-4 Ea - \$2.25 per doz. \$15.00 per C.
[March 24, 1919]

1869-1919

The Nation Calls

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

JUBILEE CONVENTION

OF THE

National American Woman Suffrage
Association

By

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

PRESIDENT

St. Louis, Mo. March 24, 1919

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
171 Madison Avenue, New York

Printed March, 1919



The Nation Calls

Every suffragist will hope for a fitting commemoration of this 50th Anniversary of our national organization and the Golden Jubilee of the first grant of full suffrage to women. She will hope for a memorial dedicated to the memory of our brave departed leaders, to the sacrifices they made for our cause, to the scores of victories won.

Memorial

She will not be content with resolutions of self congratulation; with speeches of tribute; nor will any suffragist propose a monument built of marble which only a few would see and fewer comprehend. What then shall it be? I venture to propose a memorial whose benefits will bless our entire nation and bring happiness to the humblest of our citizens.

What vainglorious proposal is this, do you ask? I propose no marvel; merely the most natural, the most appropriate and the most patriotic memorial that could be suggested—a League of Women Voters to "Finish the Fight;" and to aid in the reconstruction of the Nation.

What could be more natural than that women having attained their political independence should desire to give service in token of their gratitude? What could be more appropriate than that such women should do for the coming generation, what those of a preceding period did for them? What could be more patriotic than that these women should use their new freedom to make their nation safer for their children and their children's children? I put the question to you, fellow suffragists; would not such a League express the spirit of our movement and our common feelings of gratitude upon this occasion more clearly than any other form of Memorial?

Let us then raise up a League of Women Voters—the name and form of organization to be determined by the voters themselves; a League that shall be non-partisan and non-sectarian in character and that shall be consecrated to three chief aims.

**League of
Women
Voters**

1. To use its utmost influence to secure the final enfranchisement of the women of every state in our own Republic and to reach out across the seas in aid of the woman's struggle for her own in every land.

Three Aims

2. To remove the remaining legal discriminations against women in the codes and constitutions of the several states in order that the feet of coming women may find these stumbling blocks removed.

3. To make our democracy so safe for the Nation and so safe for the world, that every citizen may feel secure and great men will acknowledge the worthiness of the American Republic to lead.

As Matthew Arnold said, long ago: "Having in mind things true, things elevated, things just, things pure, things amiable, things of good report—having these in mind, studying and loving these, is what saves States." To these "things true" the League should consecrate itself and thus help to save the great Republic from many a disaster which now threatens.

These aims are not so vague and shadowy as may seem at first hearing. Five years should see them all either accomplished or well on their way. Voters should enlist for a five years' service. At the end of that time account should be taken of achievements won and the importance of the unfinished program. A new determination can then be made concerning the advisability of a continuance of the League.

Change of Policy

We departed from a policy rigidly adhered to for fifty years—neutrality toward controversial subjects—when we, as an association, took up departments of war activity. It must be borne in mind that to adopt work for such problems as these now proposed under the banner of our Association, means an even wider departure from this policy. But normal evolution and the quickening influences of war have made a new world for women and that world is calling to women voters to keep pace with the new demands.

Millions of women have been enfranchised. Fifteen states have made them full voters, and nine others have extended so many suffrage rights that they might be called "near voters." Our own Board of Directors represent these changed conditions and ten members are voters and two others "near voters."

We must, therefore, ask ourselves some very frank questions and give to them fearless answers.

For years women have labored to secure the vote as a tool with which to build a better nation. The world expects the millions of women voters and near voters to take their appropriate place in political work, to have opinions on the great questions of the day, and to conduct themselves like "freemen." Will the unenfranchised woman deny the enfranchised one her right to use her new found freedom to its utmost good?

Among the questions which we must ask ourselves in this convention are these:

Has the time come when voters and non-voters should separate, the voters to go forward doing their work as free women in the great world while the unfree woman is left to struggle on alone toward liberty unattained? Or shall voters and non-voters draw closer together, making the demand for the completion of the suffrage struggle stronger and at the same time putting the high ideals of our movement, its conception of justice, its enthusiasms behind the many "things true"? Shall we merely unite for the one purpose of hastening the final day of the century-long struggle for the enfranchisement of women or shall we frankly change our policy, recognizing that in this period more great issues are pressing for attention than at any other period of the world, and therefore unitedly use our votes and our utmost influence to "keep God's truth marching on"?

For example, can we, because some of us are not yet politically free, desert the woman industrial worker in this crucial moment when exploitation and sex conflict threaten her security? Is it not our duty to stand by her and her cause for the sake of all womanhood?

It must be remembered that no League of Woman Voters can be possible on suggested lines, unless the National American Woman Suffrage Association is willing to amend its established policy in response to what seems a new time and new conditions. It must be further remembered that to make this amendment involves the most fundamental changes in our internal policy ever proposed. It will doubtless arouse sharp differences of opinion and action should be taken only after careful and sincere reflection.

Aim I. Suffrage for Women. That this object is necessarily included in the aims of a League of Women Voters is due to the compact of thirty-three men to continue our disfranchisement. Although they were a minority, their position in the United States Senate made their position decisive. Any one of them passing from the minority to the majority could have brought the woman's struggle to an end. The Legislatures of this year were ready and anxious to ratify. By this date, the necessary number of states would have made the amendment an integral part of the constitution. Tonight we would be lowering the curtain upon the last act in the century-long campaign. We would be saying our good-byes to the old battlefields of the past and would be reporting for duty on the next, the battle of the future. But thirty-three called "Halt."

Important Questions

The Federal Amendment

We are like a housewife who had packed all her household goods preparatory to moving into a larger and finer house. Then, when the day set for the removal arrived, it was discovered that the only key to the only door had been lost and one of thirty-three men had hidden it away. So, very wearily, she was forced to unpack her belongings and to set up housekeeping once more in the old quarters which had suddenly grown more cramped and depressing while the atmosphere had taken on a heavy, musty odor of decaying argument.

Meantime, thousands of dollars must be raised and suffrage shoulders must bend to the burden again. Every dollar that you are forced to give, every hour that you are compelled to work, every dreary duty that you are obliged to perform to keep the suffrage campaign going, may be laid at the door of any one of the thirty-three. If you are Republican, you may select any one of twenty-one Democrats, or if you are a Democrat, you may select any one of twelve Republicans, as your particular oppressor. Or, if you are just a suffragist you may divide the responsibility equally among thirty-three oppressors.

If your gratitude for all the wonderful gains made exceeds your resentment because those gains were not more numerous, let your plaudits of praise go forth to two-thirds of the House of Representatives, to sixty-three staunch statesmen in the United States Senate, to the chairmen and the majority of the National Democratic and Republican Committees, to the President of the United States, to the late departed ex-President and great leader of his party, and to the latest convert to our cause, the only living ex-President.

Be of good cheer, the Sixty-sixth Congress has found the key. We shall move out of the House of Prejudice and into the House of Freedom not later than 1921. Two years more should finish the Fight, but the journey will be sweeter, the task easier and the early victory more certain if voters and non-voters stand together by their common cause.

Aim II. Corrections in the Law. Although the civil code in its application to women bears little resemblance to the Common Law in operation at the time our organized movement began and which denied to the married woman the right to collect her wages or control her property, the right to sue or be sued, the right to make a will or give testimony in the courts, the denial to the married mother of any legal rights in her children, yet there are curious relics of that period, little forgotten oversights, which appear at unexpected times and places to do injury to individual women. No woman can possibly

know the intricacies and peculiarities of the codes of law in forty-eight states. She cannot be expected to know that the age of consent for her daughter is eighteen years in Wyoming and ten in Florida; that she will herself become possessed of half the estate of her intestate husband in California and one-third in New Jersey; that she is an equal guardian with her husband over her children in Illinois but that she has no claim upon them at all in Louisiana. She cannot be expected to know that if her husband beats her, is disloyal to her, guilty of non-support, plus all other causes which in different countries and states of our own Republic, are held as sufficient for divorce, she could not possibly secure one in South Carolina. She is not likely to know that in Colorado she may legally demand an eight-hour working day but that she could be compelled to work sixteen hours in Alabama for her daily wage; that her minor children could not legally be employed under the laws of Oregon but that no law will protect them in the event their father desires to hire them out in North Carolina.

These laws can be more generally unified. The best and clearest laws should be used as a standard to which other states should be urged to lift their legislation and those failing to do so, should be made to feel their unprogressive isolation. This is largely a technical task for a lawyer, but at last, there is no state in our country wherein women may not practice law and there are thousands of women lawyers. There must be one among them amply qualified and willing to serve as director. She should have her attorney's fees and the rest of us in gratitude that we may manage our own pocket books, should be glad to contribute to it.

A National Commission already exists to secure the unification of State laws. Although it has aimed chiefly at commercial law, it should be willing to help. The American Bar Association would surely co-operate in this object. In the main the changes necessary would scarcely be controversial. Lawyers and Legislatures would gladly aid and five years should so clear up the codes that every State would be made safer for women and less safe for unscrupulous lawyers familiarly known as "shysters."

Aim III. Making Democracy Safe for the World. The searchlight of war has revealed many flaws in our civilization and pointed clearly to the imperative need of many changes in customs, laws and education. The combined program of reconstruction offered by the many groups of patriotic, intelligent men and women, is one of disconcerting length. We shall learn something of the needs

of legislation along these suggested lines from the sectional discussions of the Voters' Conference and it will be the privilege of the delegates to choose what may seem to them most important for a nation-wide woman voters' program.

I venture to propose recommendations for the treatment of a single ill—one which appears to me more fundamental, more national in character, more menacing to the future security of our country, than any other.

ILLITERACY.

In June, 1918, in the midst of the war, the Secretary of the Interior issued his Annual Report in which he called the nation's attention to certain facts which were already familiar to many citizens but which came to others with startling surprise.

"It would seem to be almost axiomatic, that an illiterate cannot make a good soldier in modern warfare. Until last April the Regular Army would not enlist illiterates, yet in the first draft between 30,000 and 40,000 illiterates were brought into the Army and practically as many *near* illiterates.

They cannot sign their names.

They cannot read their orders posted daily on bulletin boards in camp.

They cannot read their manual of arms.

They cannot read their letters or write home.

They cannot understand the signals or follow the Signal Corps in time of battle.

There are 700,000 men who cannot read or write who may be drafted within our Army within the next year or two, since there were 4,600,000 illiterates over twenty years of age in 1910. This figure equals the total population of the States of California, Oregon, Washington, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico and Delaware. The percentage of illiterates varies in the several states from 1.7 per cent in Iowa to 29 per cent in Louisiana. But the most appalling fact is that 58 per cent are white persons and of these 1,500,000 are native born whites."

A few days ago the Surgeon-General presented a similar statement to Congress. It seems that the tests of illiteracy which have been applied by the Census takers have been so inadequate as to make the total results entirely misleading.

Although our country has boasted of its free schools as its

greatest glory for half a century, the general education of the country is amazingly defective. While the Census report has informed the world that 8 per cent of illiteracy was the record of the country, the army figures for draft men now put the per cent of illiteracy as 24.9 per cent or practically one-fourth of the entire population. In one southern camp it was found that the test for white men showed nearly 25 per cent of illiteracy and the test for negroes 75 per cent. There is no disclaiming the statement made by the Army authorities that of the 1,552,256 men examined, 386,196 or one-fourth, were unable to read American newspapers or to write letters home to their families. They were unable to read or understand signs about the camp or a written or printed order. In factories they would have been unable to understand the signs and instructions intended to protect them from accident.

These facts announce to the smug and self-satisfied American the presence of an unmistakable national danger. It is idle to deny it and foolhardy to neglect it. The extent of its possibilities cannot be overestimated. Other nations have fallen when the causes were less obviously certain to bring disaster.

This mass of illiteracy presented an immediate and almost insurmountable handicap to war preparation. The experiences and illustrations of difficulties poured forth from every camp. Dr. John H. Finley, Commissioner of Education for the State of New York, described a common scene at one of the great cantonments where a group of Italian and Slavic men were practicing the challenge when on sentry duty. "Each pupil shouldered a long handled stove shovel and aimed at the teacher who ran along the side of the room as if to evade the guard. The pupil called out, in broken English, 'Halt, who goes there?' The teacher answered 'Friend.' And then in utterly unintelligible English the pupil attempted to pronounce the words, 'Advance and give the countersign.'" Surely no other nation, unless it may have been our Canadian neighbor, had its preparations for war hindered by tasks like this.

Dr. Claxton, head of the Federal Bureau of Education,* tells of the request of one commander for extra men to aid a machine gun corps. A group of illiterates and foreign born were sent him but, in a few days one hundred and thirty-seven were sent back because they could not be trained to handle a machine gun until they had first been taught enough English to understand instructions.

An instructor in bayonet drill, utterly fagged by the day's work,

*Bulletin No. 18, Department of the Interior.

Report
Secretary
of the
Interior

Report
Surgeon-
General

Handicap
to War
Preparations

was creeping wearily off to his bunk when he saw a group of men awkwardly following the practice. He suddenly appeared among them and began to give the instructions. The men seemed to listen eagerly and the teacher kept up a running fire of talk for a half hour. When he paused exhausted, a pupil interjected, "Me no understand, me Pole—all, all men Pole."

Through these handicaps, America made her way to war.

The loss of efficiency in the fighting forces at the front and the tremendous economic loss to the nation occasioned by such vast groups of illiterates, tells only a small part of the story. The pitiless searchlight of war revealed other facts equally disturbing to patriots.

It was clear at the beginning that the complete organization of the civilian forces at home and the maintenance of national morale would prove quite as significant factors in winning the war as the army at the front. Dr. Claxton told a Washington Conference on Americanization that "the Secretary of Agriculture is sending out millions of dollars worth of bulletins urging farmers to produce more food and telling them how to do so; but two and a half millions of farmers cannot read a word of them and nearly twice as many read with such difficulty that they make little or no use of these bulletins."

The Food Administration met the same obstruction and in many cities the rumor that the Government would confiscate all the canned products put up by the housewife found such ready belief among the illiterate and non-English speaking people, that robbers claiming to represent the Government found little difficulty in making away with such household stores.

The effort of the Woman's Committee to enroll women for service was hindered by similar perplexing misunderstandings and ignorant women were easily convinced by trouble makers that the Government intended to conscript them into munition factories far away from their homes and their children.

In this manner the practical problem of civilian war organization was hampered; but infinitely more seriously did illiteracy interfere with the effort to produce a common understanding of why our nation had entered the war and the creation of a determined national will to win.

Most federal officials responsible for the conduct of the war and most war workers were inspired by high ideals. Every speech made, every document written to hold our nation to her task made an appeal to stand by the cause of freedom, of democracy, of liberation

for all the oppressed of earth. Yet, how could such aims be comprehended by the millions of native born illiterates and near-illiterates and by the millions of non-English speaking immigrants? How could they be realized by the thousands of boys whose lives were conscripted from these classes to serve these lofty purposes? As a matter of fact they never did comprehend.

Some of those lads died "over there"; died for the cause of human liberty they did not understand. A vacant chair is left in the old home down in the Kentucky mountains or up in the Maine Northwoods—what does it mean to the family? The Government commanded the son to go; they knew not where for they could not read a map. He never came back. Will that family love or hate the Government?

One mountaineer in Kentucky after hearing thrilling tales of the battles "over there" in the Red Cross Drive, ejaculated: "I always knew we'd have to fight them ——— Yanks again some day!" To him German and Yank were all one, the common enemies of civilization, and both lived in a far away unknown land. That the sons of the Blue and the Gray, the Gray and the Blue, had sailed away together and were marching side by side in stricken France to the strains of "Dixie" or "John Brown's Body," as might happen, was a glorious truth which such as he could not comprehend.

Not only did the ignorant sections of our population fail to understand the meaning of the war but they offered fertile soil for enemy propaganda. A hot house growth was guaranteed from a planting of any morsel of gossip if carefully enough adapted to the class to be effected.

The facts bared by preparation for war aroused a widespread anxiety and a corresponding interest in so-called Americanization. It will be remembered that when, at a great meeting in Washington, we offered the services of our Association to the Government in the event of war, we named this line of work as one which would be necessary and adopted it as one of our war departments. I well remember one high governmental official who expressed a sneering contempt of the idea that Americanization could become a war task. But our prediction was correct. The Federal authorities soon appealed to Governors and to the Councils of Defense to push the movement and a National Americanization Conference was called by the Government.

All over the land men and women turned enthusiastically to teach

Handicap
to Food
Production

Handicap
to Food
Conservation

Handicap
to
Registration
for Service

Handicap
to
Understanding
Causes of
War

Americaniza-
tion

English to their neighbors. States appropriated money for extension classes of the public schools; classes were formed in factories, churches and clubs.

The results were encouraging. All the efforts were well spent; but to balance the story it must also be recorded that there were factory owners making big profits on Government contracts, who refused to allow classes among their employees. The masses of non-English-speaking adults did not want to learn English and the work, excellent as it was in many States, only reached a very small minority.

The armistice brought war to an end. The American contribution of men, food, money, munitions, ships, had come at such time that it proved the decisive factor in the great war. The nation had successfully surmounted her obstacles and won her objective.

Yet every patriot who knew his America felt a keen relief from anxiety because the test had been a short and not a long war. Had prices of clothing and food continued to mount higher, had drive after drive for money followed each other, had the strain borne down with increasing heaviness for four years instead of one and a half, what would have happened? Would these sections of our population have endured patiently that which they did not understand or would there have been uncontrollable eruptions which might have tripped the nation in its onward march to victory?

Many eloquent pens have told us of the soul of France, the soul of Belgium and Poland and Serbia—people of one kind defending the land of their fathers and their fathers' fathers. But the national soul of America counts so many who do not know and cannot understand; what is its real staying power? What is its real quality? No one knows.

Problem
Still Here

Happily, the war ended; but the problem big and threatening is still here. That it was a serious hindrance to the successful mobilization of the fighting and civilian forces of the nation as well as a decided economic loss, has been demonstrated. Yet the handicaps to these phases of national efficiency are infinitesimal as compared to the impediments which illiteracy offers to *successfully applied democracy*.

No one knows this more thoroughly than suffragists. In many a tragic campaign they have plead with those voters for their liberty and in thousands of precincts they have seen them come and under direction, vote woman suffrage down. They have borne the insult and the taunts of poll workers who had such voters in charge.

Many an American woman with revolutionary blood in her

veins, born on American soil, educated in American schools, familiar with American history and ideals, has seen the process by which her State has denied to her a voice in her own government through the votes of men born in other lands, unable to speak our language, unable to read their ballots, but automatically enfranchised when the nation extends its certificate of naturalization.

Handicap
to
Democracy

How many times, at the end of a campaign, have I seen women with faces drawn, white and tearless, who spoke no bitter words of condemnation and betrayed little emotion. Some thought they didn't care, some thought them suffering mildly from disappointment but well I knew what was in their hearts. It was not the denial of the vote, but the manner in which that denial had been accomplished, which filled them with a speechless despair. There is a woman in this convention whose tragic face and bearing upon such a night was so riveted into my memory, that I never see her or hear her name that the scene does not rise before me. She had made tremendous personal sacrifice and no person in her State had wielded a more powerful influence for good than she. It was one of the States wherein a deal was made with the directors of a foreign vote and suffrage was voted down and counted out in exchange for political favors. We knew it. This woman pressed my hand in silence. We have never spoken nor written about that election, but some thoughts of others we can read. She was not thinking, "my State has wronged *me*, my friends and neighbors have treated *me* unfairly." Ah, no. The unspoken prayer on her lips was "My country, my country; the rocks of destruction are ahead. O! God! save her, save her."

Millions of American men and women have never met this problem face to face; they have never reflected upon its meaning but suffragists know it all too well. On hundreds of platforms and through the columns of thousands of newspapers they have warned the nation of the danger to its institutions, certain to arise if this condition should be long neglected.

Suffragists
Know
the Danger

Not only would woman suffrage have been established many years ago, but political corruption, lifting its hydra head at unexpected times and places and elevating men without conscience to power, could and would have been stamped out in all its worst manifestations long ago, had these millions not offered dangerous temptation to unscrupulous men.

Prevented
Cure of
Corruption

It is my sincerest and most earnest conviction that had our nation met this problem frankly, fifty years ago; had so-called Americaniza-

tion begun then, had political leaders faced the obvious menace to our institutions, instead of evading, avoiding and placating it, had political parties stood for American ideals in their practice as well as in the brave words of their platforms and made war on corruption instead of using it secretly each to beat the other, we would never have had a world war. A democracy, functioning honestly in this country, would have spread to other lands with great rapidity.

A very slight acquaintance with man suffrage movements in Europe before the war, revealed the fact that there was no more important contributory influence to the delay of the enfranchisement of men than the exaggerated reports that self-government had been a failure in this country. Thousands of intelligent, observant foreign born citizens quite unintentionally reinforced those reports with illustrations of the manner in which money and intrigue frequently replace public opinion in the determination of elections. Among the factors intricately entangled, which made conditions possible for a Kaiser to dream of world command, no honest minded American will forget American sins of omission.

I was a passenger on a great ship which sailed from England in 1914 when all the world was at peace. It arrived in New York to find all the world at war. It was one of the last ships to bring a big steerage of immigrants, nearly all males. As we approached the port, the immigrants were brought on deck and ordered in single file to march before the health inspectors. Hats were ordered off in order that eyes might be examined. None understood the instructions and many kept their hats on. The ship's officers knocked the hats off with most ungentle blows. They jostled and pushed them, they struck at the men and kicked at them. The scene reminded me of a criminal chain gang. The immigrants knew they were being abused, as flashes of anger in their faces showed, but they did not know why. The only offense of these newcomers was their inability to understand any language but their own! It was their first introduction to "the land of the brave and the free!"

Time passes and such men find their way to a Naturalization Court. Meanwhile, most of them have lived among their own nationality, amid uncomfortable surroundings; they have performed unskilled work at proportional pay. They are as ignorant as when they arrived. They have been too tired and too unambitious to attend night schools but they have managed to memorize the answers to the questions necessary to citizenship. Huddled in a court, often dingy and stuffy with dozens or even hundreds of others, a mumbled

oath of allegiance is put by a hurried judge and this is their introduction to American citizenship.

Time passes and an election approaches. Men of their own nationality come to them to engage their promise to vote as they direct. The new citizen is taken to the polls and his ticket which he can neither read nor understand, finds its way into the ballot box. He does not know for what the Party stands that he has supported. He does not know what the men do whom he has helped elect. He does not know the meaning of the measures he has voted up or down. Thus many a foreigner is introduced to American politics.

No one has taken time to instruct him in good citizenship. No one has taught him the definition of democracy or representative government. Of the will of the majority he has not the slightest comprehension. Such voting is not self-government. It is a travesty on democracy.

From the moment when he first beheld the figure of "Liberty enlightening the world" in the harbor of New York to his exit from the election booth, he has seen nothing, heard nothing, experienced nothing which has given him a glimmer of American ideals. And this has been the experience of millions of men. When the war came men and women who never took any interest in them before, suddenly wondered whether these men would be loyal! Why should they be loyal?

Loyalty is not like a change of coats, one to be left behind in Italy or Greece and another put on in the port of New York. Loyalty is born of love of one's country. Before a foreigner will love this land, he must understand it, know that it is kind and hospitable to him and that in some fashion it is a better land to him and his children than any other in the world.

Let us go to the other end of the problem and ask who is responsible for foreign votes in blocks, for the use of money, jobs and favors to win and hold those blocks of men? To answer that question completely the spaces of a book would be required. Political Committees driven madly by the push and whirl of a campaign have little time for ethics. Politics has become war to be won by strategy and manoeuvre. "The end justifies the means," they say and the system as it exists is utilized to the full with as little actual knowledge of the facts allowed to leak out as possible. The leaders of great commercial interests who want to give good account of their stewardship to the thousands of citizens who have invested their honest savings in the enterprise, and other interests, made mad by utterly

The
Immigrant
Arrives

The
Immigrant
Naturalized

The
Immigrant
Votes

Loyalty

The Method selfish strife for big dividends, grow fearful of popular government. Some conscientiously, others banefully, make contributions to parties or candidates' expenses, in a spirit of self preservation. In exchange for contributions they receive assurance that no legislation shall disturb the even tenor of their way. So it happens that some men in office are tagged by the invisible government and vote, talk and act as other minds direct. The system is complicated and its ways are devious. A State may go forward with no sign of criminality in its politics for a long period, when suddenly a piece of stupendous rascality is put through with all trails leading to definite evidence carefully concealed.

The iniquitous interference of the brewing and whiskey interests with politics, their large contributions of money to parties, their control of large blocks of voters, foreign born, their absolute dictatorship over men in high places, had much to do with the establishment of national prohibition.

When the Public Service Commission of New Hampshire investigated the interference with politics of the Boston and Maine Railroad and discovered that it had made contributions to defeat woman suffrage, it pointed to the probability that these interests work together to secure the defeat of any man or measure inimical to the advantage of any one of them.

The great cotton industries, North and South, employing thousands of women, in some States children, the packers' trust making enormous profits while the price of meat is prohibitive to the poor, are known to take a master hand in politics. Who would suspect that so simple a proposal as daylight saving would draw into politics the forces of any vested interest? Yet, here come the great gas and electric light corporations to make vigorous protest and get the law repealed, if they can.

We may later discover that some of the thousands of war contractors for ships, munitions and equipment, may join hands to oppose the League of Nations.

Between these two extremes stands the majority of our population, the common people, intelligent and understanding, respecting and upholding American ideals, voting wisely, conducting themselves honestly. To these classes we owe the fact that the Republic has lived and moved forward, despite its load of illiteracy and the consequent tampering interference of those whose only motive is private gain. It is to these we owe the victory of our nation in the war. It was they who caught the vision of a war of liberation, of an America

freeing the oppressed people of the world, and kept our nation at her task. Whenever there is a cause of justice, of common national welfare, of national progress, here in America we "tell it to the people," and from mountain and valley, city and farm, this great middle class rally to its support.

Were all our population like these, our democracy would be safe for the nation and safe for the world. But at one end of our national life is the mass of illiteracy which knows not America nor her ideals. All unconsciously it offers a means whereby ambitious men as unamerican in spirit as those they stoop to use, may gain their selfish aims.

At the other extreme, hurried men, busy with big risks and thrilled with the prospect of accomplishing some super task, knowing commercial America only; men of big finance, living and thinking in terms of dollars only, furnish the spirit, the funds and the motive whereby American democracy has become endangered.

Both man and worker emerge from their political encounter with a definite contempt for democracy. These workers become ready soil for propaganda of class war and all their experience has prepared them to accept the doctrine of agitators that political democracy is a failure, that the rule of the people by votes is a snare and a delusion and that the only thing which counts is the new proposal of industrial democracy which must be won by strikes or sabotage. One strike, they claim, will win more industrial liberty than forty years of votes.

Meanwhile manufacturers, great employers, contributors to political confusion, realizing the growing unrest of the employed, assume the attitude of self defense and become a force of stubborn resistance. That we are still a nation maintaining its vision of liberty is due to the fact that among the manufacturers and great commercial and financial men, there are many, perhaps most, who are broad-visioned, public-spirited and responsive to the trend of progress. Among the illiterate also, there are those who, despite the handicap which a lack of education places upon them, understand the American ideal that democracy honestly administered is the only method by which the normal evolution of society can be achieved. The fact remains however that the problem created by the existence of these two extremes in our society is an undeniable peril to our institutions.

It is a law of social psychology that wherever reaction becomes unseeing, oppressively unreasoning, there corresponding radicalism as unreasoning, develops. As Russian Czarism bred Bolshevism and Kaiserism bred revolution, so everywhere the more intense the

Contempt
for
Democracy

reaction, the bolder the radicalism; and these extremes each exciting and baiting the other, continue their play, one growing more reactionary, the other more radical, until the fury bursts in some national tragedy. *No nation has ever had or will ever have a more dangerous enemy than organized reaction.*

Reaction

The word reaction must not be too indiscriminately used. There is a tendency among advocates of causes to hurl it at those who may honestly disagree with them. There is one infallible test. When man, party or group organize for destruction of ideals and progress and never offer construction; when they oppose, but never propose; when they tear down and never build up, that is reaction. Constructive criticism is always wholesome, but that proposes when it opposes. When we contemplate the amazing action of the minority of the United States Senate concerning the woman suffrage amendment; when we reflect upon the incredible attitude of the same body toward the League of Nations to which the oppressed peoples of the world, left exposed to terrible dangers by the outcome of the war, are now turning for protection; when the many expressions heard since the armistice are taken into account, from which I quote one as a type; "We did not go into this war for ideals. We went into it to save ourselves and we want to have peace to save ourselves;"* it becomes clear that we have a more forceful reactionary influence in this country than most of us had realized. This influence is not Democratic, it is not Republican, it is found within both dominant parties. It is a minority, but clever, united and insistent.

The Menace of Illiteracy

Illiteracy (and its concomitant, reaction) is the great American menace. It represents a defeat in our institutions which has grown more dangerous under the neglect of half a century. It threatened to wreck our war preparations, it threatens now to wreck the reconstruction of the world. Until this problem is met frankly and disposed of definitely and decisively, there can be no security for American democracy, no guarantee of good government.

What shall we do about it? Shall we who have struggled for our enfranchisement at least a quarter of a century longer on its account, shall we who know its meaning and its danger, turn our backs upon it? For a half century we have sacrificed and labored hard to persuade our forty-eight states and our nation to lift us up to political equality with men who cannot speak our language and who cannot read their ballots. Shall we not turn again to these states and to the

*Frances E. Bangs.

nation and demand that these men shall now be lifted up to qualified equality with us?

How is it possible to approach so vast a task, do you ask? What can we do?

Let us begin by eliminating the word "Americanization"! That word sounds too much like Russianizing the Poles, Germanizing the Alsatians, and Hungarianizing the Croats. It sounds too much like oppression, whereas the only way to succeed in making true Americans of the foreign born citizens, is to give them an incentive to be Americans in all the senses that word implies.

Eliminate Americanization

I venture to suggest nine proposals as a practical program whereby illiteracy may be eliminated. None of them are original. Most of them are advocated by many associations and I believe that every patriotic American will support the entire program when its meaning is made clear. Yet at present there is no unified leadership and no unified support of any one of these proposals. It is not my idea that the League will assume the sole leadership or furnish the sole support of these proposals but that it shall cooperate with other agencies to secure a joint leadership and provide an important and influential support. The active interest of both political parties, the National and all State governments should be secured and this combination should furnish a leadership which will guarantee quick action. We have seen what united governmental and political leadership can do to produce quick national action in time of war. The same unification should be secured for a patriotic peace program—not to Americanize our foreign citizens but to nationalize the entire electorate. These proposals should strike a popular chord and stir little controversy but people "are so fond of the old and so fearful of the new" that there may be more resistance than we think. If, at first, political leaders are timid, suffragists will not be afraid to follow the vision of right until they grow bolder; if unexpected opposition develops they will not hesitate to meet it.

Nine Proposals

Proposal I

Compulsory Education in Every State. Laws compelling all children between the ages of five and fourteen to attend school, should be enacted in every State. Educational laws exist in all states but most of them are inadequate. The period of school attendance is not long enough and the laws are not enforced with sufficient thoroughness. The law should provide for nine months of schooling each year for the nine years between the ages of five and fourteen. Either established schools or teachers should be furnished to reach the

remotest hamlet and the most isolated farmer's children. The opposition to this proposal will chiefly be made on account of increased taxation. A fair compromise can be made and the complete aim of the proposal may be reached by degrees. A bill providing federal aid for the states lagging in their educational provisions, has been introduced in more than one Congress. It is based upon the same system of cooperation which was used in the good roads campaign and should be passed.

In every state the campaign slogan should be "No child over fourteen who cannot read and write after 1925."

Proposal II

Education of Adults. By volunteer classes in extension courses of the public schools, all possible illiterate adults should be reached. Here the chief handicap will be the illiterates themselves who have no ambition to go to school at the end of a hard day's work. But even this obstacle can and will be overcome when once the slogans are nationalized—"Every American knows how to read." "Every American speaks English." There are dozens of foreign born women's societies, with educated, broad visioned women as national officers. Through these the most sympathetic and effective cooperation can be secured.

Proposal III

English the National Language. With full realization of the importance of a knowledge of languages in commercial and diplomatic life, such studies should not be eliminated from our schools, but no school, public or private, giving courses of general education, should be conducted in any other language than English.

The war revealed the fact that there were large numbers of rural public schools conducted in the German language where no word of English was ever heard.

Proposal IV

Higher Qualifications for Citizenship and more sympathetic and impressive ceremonials of naturalization. The naturalization law was enacted more than a hundred years ago and its modification since that date has been so slight as to make it wholly unequal to the complicated problems which have arisen as the result of an immigration practically unrestricted. That law needs amending.

Proposal V

Direct Citizenship of Women. No woman should be qualified to vote through citizenship by marriage, the qualification for the vote should include an individual naturalization which will compel the wife to possess the same degree of intelligence as her husband.

Proposal VI

Education in Citizenship through foreign language papers. Simple lessons in citizenship, explanation of political events, meaning of American ideals should be made compulsory by the government in all foreign language papers and copy for such lessons should be provided by the Federal Government.

Proposal VII

Oath of Allegiance. Every citizen, male and female, native and foreign born, educated and ignorant, should take an impressive oath of allegiance to the United States as one qualification for the vote.

Proposal VIII

Schools of Citizenship. In every rural school district and city ward schools of Citizenship should be established in conjunction with the public school. Attendance should be made compulsory for all youth; and virtually so for adults by making a certificate from such school a qualification for naturalization and for the vote. To establish such schools, with a program of proved effectiveness and to coordinate its functions with those of the naturalization courts and elections boards, would doubtless require a generation, but if the support of the ideal can be made truly national, a certificate of citizenship should eventually become the proudest token of successfully supplied democracy.

Proposal IX

An educational qualification for every voter in the United States after a definite date to be determined; a test sufficiently thorough to signify real intelligence and to eliminate any need for emblems on the ballot to guide a voter to his party ticket.

Shall we then put our shoulders to the wheel? Shall we pledge our bit in this great American crisis?

The soldier boys are coming home, your boys, the nation's boys;

and they have been face to face with death. Even when expected death has a strangely sobering influence over the household, but what have these boys not seen, what have they not endured? One soldier writing home said, "It is terrible, Mother, to walk over the field after a battle with dead and dying men on every side." One who has walked on such a field will never be the same again. Such men know that thousands of youths lie on the world's battle fields today because civilization and governments and the rule of men were somehow inadequate. They know that organized society in some way broke down. They will do their part that it shall not happen again. Such experience drives weak men to suicide, to insanity, to drunkenness, to crime. Every war brings a harvest of these. But to those of sterner fiber, the memory is transformed into a spiritual force, uplifting, exalting, giving the brains of men clear understanding, filling the souls of men with visions of "things true."

To such men the pettiness of narrow partisanship, politics without aim, a country without progress will never be tolerable.

Today those boys are hunting jobs, sweethearting, enjoying mothers' cooking, finding their niche in the world but tomorrow they will be filling legislative and congressional halls, gubernatorial and presidential chairs—leading the nation. They will bring fresh young minds and lofty ideals to the task. Shall we go our own way and leave this task to them? Or, shall we clear the way for them by sweeping this most immediate and threatening menace to national security out of the way?

They have fought "over there" for the spirit of democracy. Shall we not give over to them a country in which democracy is realized by a people speaking one language, reading its own ballots and honoring one flag?

Is an America which every citizen may love and under whose flag every citizen may feel secure, what we want? Is an America freed from the combined threat of alternative control by aggressive reaction and that of revolution worth while? Then all the progressive forces of the nation must be united to bring it and we must do our part. It needs sane heads, constructive plans and earnest work. Does the task seem overwhelming?

At Ypres a Colonel said to his Commander, "We cannot hold out much longer. It is impossible." "I only want men who can do the impossible; you must hold," replied General French, and the line held and because it held, the war was won.

All things worth having are possible. I believe in my America, I

believe in her ideals, her common sense, her responsiveness to duty. When she understands, she has never proved false to a single appeal to justice. She has never failed to rise to her full measure of greatness when the call has been made. She will not fail now.

Arise women voters of East and West, of North and South, in this your first union together; strong of faith, fearless of spirit; let the nation hear you pledge all that you have and all that you are to a new crusade—an American crusade, a national crusade; a crusade that shall not end until the electorate of the Republic is intelligent, clean, American.

Every patriotic American hearing your pledge will respond with another. The spirit of this new crusade will travel from state to state, from city to city, arousing every teacher, school board, high school and college, every church and every moral and social power until all progressive agencies in the land will be united in a nation-wide campaign against the world's oldest enemy—ignorance. What should be done, can be done; what can be done, let us do. And may "God's truth go marching on."

The League of Women Voters

A bulletin of facts concerning the Organization, Aims and Proposed Methods of Procedure

Published occasionally by

The National American Woman Suffrage Association

171 Madison Avenue, New York, New York

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, *President*

Vol. I

APRIL, 1919

No. 1

Our purpose: A country in which all voters speak English, read their own ballots and honor the American flag.

ITS HISTORY

The League of Women Voters was organized in St. Louis, March 24-29, 1919, in connection with the 50th Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. This Association invited women voters to attend and urged them to organize in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the first grant of woman suffrage in the world on equal terms with men, and of the 50th anniversary of the organization of the first National Suffrage Association in the United States.

In 1869 Wyoming led the United States and all the nations in the extension of suffrage to women. In 1869 two national suffrage associations were formed in the United States, the National and the American. For twenty years these two associations agitated, educated and organized on behalf of the enfranchisement of women. Their work frequently conflicted and the leaders, therefore, in 1890 called a common convention in Washington, D. C., where the two were merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It was agreed that records, conventions and reports should be continuous and date from 1869, and that all the plans for forward work of both organizations be adopted by the resulting National American Woman Suffrage Association. The National Association had centered its attention chiefly on the amendment of the federal constitution, although not opposed to state action. The American had confined its efforts chiefly to state amendment campaigns and territorial legislative action although not opposed to Federal action. In order to carry out the combined purpose the National American Woman Suffrage Association pledged itself to "secure protection in their right to vote to the women citizens of the United States by appropriate *National* and *State* legislation."

The merger was followed by a campaign for school suffrage through legislatures and a renewed attempt to secure the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. As a result, school suffrage was granted in nearly all states where constitutions permitted amendment, except in the South. All state referenda campaigns and all legislative campaigns for partial suffrage have been supported by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, while at the same time forwarding a federal campaign. As the success of suffrage in practice

and the growth of suffrage sentiment, as demonstrated by successful referenda and legislative campaigns, have been the chief causes of the now assured promise of early submission of the federal suffrage amendment, the wisdom of uniting the aims of the two component organizations has become increasingly evident.

Women are now eligible to vote for President in twenty-eight states; the passage of the federal suffrage amendment is promised by the 66th Congress. Early ratification is assured and the objects for which the National American Woman Suffrage Association has labored through a half century of arduous sacrifice and toil, are nearly secured. The natural question therefore arose: Shall the association make plans to dissolve immediately upon ratification of the federal suffrage amendment or is there reason for continuance?

There seemed abundant reason for continuance. The women voters were therefore invited to attend the St. Louis Convention, and after full and complete debate, the League of Women Voters was organized to replace the National American Woman Suffrage Association when the work for which the latter was organized is fully accomplished.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, for the present, retains the constitution under which it has worked for many years. All state associations auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in *unenfranchised* and in *partial* suffrage states, will continue their auxiliaryship on the same terms and conditions as before. The present name of these associations should not be changed.

State suffrage associations merging into Leagues of Women Voters, may continue their organization on whatever plan they have previously followed. The membership may be dues-paying or non-dues-paying. Individual membership, with small dues, is recommended. A union of all intelligent forces within the state should be created, in order that the education concerning these subjects may be as far-reaching as possible. Clubs, literary, religious and political, Farmers' Institutes and Granges, Trade Union Leagues, groups of foreign born, should be invited to become component parts of the League of Women Voters under such terms as the State League may determine. It is not the purpose to

secure a hard and fast machinery governed by definite rules but a widespread constituency through which understanding of the Nation's needs may be disseminated.

State suffrage organizations in *fully enfranchised states* will, for the sake of uniformity, be expected to change the name of the State, County, City, Ward and Election District organizations, to *League of Women Voters*. In states wherein the auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association has disintegrated, a new organization to be called *The League of Women Voters* is planned. The Ratification Committee now in existence in those states organized by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has been appointed to organize the new League of Women Voters.

The auxiliaries to the National American Woman Suffrage Association in the fifteen full suffrage states, will therefore be united in a section by themselves known as *The League of Women Voters*. This section has its own chairman and secretary elected by the League in St. Louis. The delegates of the fifteen states invited the state suffrage associations of the states wherein women have presidential suffrage to unite with the League of Women Voters. *These associations will not change their names or conditions of auxiliaryship to the National Association, until such time as they become fully enfranchised.* The only difference in their relationship to the National Association is that they will be permitted to share in the new work undertaken by the fully enfranchised states and their delegates at annual meetings will sit in the House of Voters. In other words, an organization within an organization has been formed, the subordinate group to entirely replace the dominating one with the grant of full suffrage.

A FEW RULES

Each state auxiliary of the League of Women Voters will conduct its work in its own way and is free to organize by any plan preferred, providing said auxiliary is always in agreement with the constitution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Since the League of Women Voters composes a section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and is united through the constitution, all state associations to be members of the League of Women Voters must be auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Whenever a state is fully enfranchised, that state auxiliary automatically becomes a member of the League of Women Voters and will change its name.

It follows that the National American Woman Suffrage Association and all its state suffrage auxiliaries will cease to exist with the final grant of woman suffrage and will be replaced by the League of Women Voters which at that time or before will have an entirely new constitution adapted to its particular aims.

AIMS

The first aim of the League of Women Voters is naturally to complete the full enfranchisement of

the women of this country. In several states where the legislatures stand ready to ratify and where the entire delegation in Congress is willing at all times to support the passage of the Federal Amendment, there is comparatively little for the League of Women Voters to do upon the direct suffrage program. In such states, the proposed new work may be undertaken at once.

The next objective of the League of Women Voters is the support of a program of legislation which aims to improve the American electorate and consequently our entire political system of government. The preparation for war revealed the fact that an appalling proportion of the electorate is illiterate. Because of this, the preparations for war among the drafted men and in civilian work through the country, were tremendously handicapped. To clear our country from the menace which inevitably threatens a democracy, including so large an ignorant vote, is one of the aims of the League of Women Voters. The direction of this work has been placed under the first of eight committees authorized by the League of Women Voters and is known as the committee on American Citizenship. The following constitutes its program:

1. Compulsory education in every state for all children between six and sixteen, nine months of each year.
2. Education of adults by extension classes of the public schools.
3. English made the national language by making it compulsory in all public and private schools where courses in general education are conducted.
4. Higher qualifications for citizenship and more sympathetic and impressive ceremonies for naturalization.
5. Direct citizenship for women, not citizenship through marriage, as a qualification for the vote.
6. Naturalization for married women to be made possible.
7. Compulsory publication in foreign language newspapers of lessons in citizenship.
8. Schools of citizenship in conjunction with the public schools, a certificate from such schools to be a qualification for naturalization and for the vote.
9. An oath of allegiance to the United States for every citizen native and foreign born to be one qualification for the vote.
10. An educational qualification for the vote in all states after a definite date to be determined.

The necessity for protecting the health and conditions of women in industry, has led to the establishment of a second committee, to be known as the Protection of Women in Industry. The following program of general principles for this committee has been adopted:

1. Abolition of child labor and Compulsory education of all children from the age of 6 to 16 years.
2. Eight-hour day, and 44 hour week and a weekly day of rest.
3. Abolition of night work for women and minors.
4. The establishment of minimum wage commissions in every state with representation of employers and employees and both men and women commissioners.
5. Equal pay for equal work and wages based on occupation and not upon sex.
6. Right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively through their chosen representatives.
7. The establishment of State and Federal Employment Systems and the establishment upon a permanent basis of the Women in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor.

It is further recommended that in every State Department of Labor there be appointed men and women commissioners, and in every State Department of Labor there be also established women's bureaus for the protection and welfare of women workers.

8. Adequate appropriation and inspection force in each state department of labor and a special bureau of women in industry in each.
9. Inclusion of women as duly constituted members of any National or International Labor Commission.

The League of Women Voters authorized the following eight committees. No program was adopted for legislation under any of these committees with the exception of that on American Citizenship and on Protection of Women in Industry as above stated.

1. American Citizenship
2. Protection of Women in Industry
3. Child Welfare
4. Improvement of Election Laws and Methods
5. Social Hygiene
6. Unification of Laws concerning Civil Status of Women
7. Food Supply and Demand
8. Research

These committees composed of expert students and workers on the subjects treated will investigate, educate and prepare work for the next annual meeting (February, 1920) at which time each will present a legislative program which will be adopted, amended or rejected by the League of Women Voters.

HOW WILL THE WORK BE DONE

The work divides itself, naturally, into three parts:

1. **RESEARCH**, which has been placed under the Data Department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association with Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd as chairman. All the information available concerning the status of the subject treated by each committee will be collected by this Department. Existing laws, testimony as to the operation of those laws, their strength and their weaknesses, success and failure, will be the facts collected. A code of laws will be formulated which will include the program for the improvement of American citizenship and protection to women in industry, together with such other recommendations arising out of the investigations of the additional committees as may be adopted eventually by the League of Women Voters. To each State League of Women Voters will then be assigned the legislation necessary to bring its state's code of laws up to the standard.

2. **EDUCATION**. As rapidly as possible, information will be furnished concerning these subjects and the results of investigation. Clubs of every variety, forums, churches, social centers, settlements and every group with a "ready-made audience" should be urged to make place upon their programs during the coming year for a presentation of the needs of study and action under each of the departments.

3. ORGANIZATION.

A. **Committees**—*The League of Women Voters* in St. Louis elected chairmen for some of the eight national committees and arranged for the appointment of the remainder. Each State League of Women Voters and the suffrage associations in the presidential suffrage states are requested to appoint a member for each committee from their state who possesses expert knowledge and keen interest in the subject of the committee on which she is to serve. All national committees will consist of a chairman and eventually forty-eight members, each of the forty-eight members being the chairman of the same committee in her own state. The state committees will collect data and co-operate with the national committee in the plan of securing full and complete information concerning that state for the entire nation.

B. **Education**. Through each of the national committees, in co-operation with the state committees, programs for education should be presented to groups of people willing to study and to investigate and thus, by continual activity, interest in the need of legislation should be stirred in every community.

C. **Program of Legislation**. From the presentation of the several committees, such additional subjects of legislation as may be agreed upon by the League of Women Voters, will be adopted and thus a code of laws will be evolved dealing with the main demands created by existing problems.

The League of Women Voters

Bulletin Published by
THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN
SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

171 Madison Avenue, New York

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President

Chairman League of Women Voters - - - MRS. C. H. BROOKS
Secretary - - - - - MISS KATHERINE PIERCE

Our Purpose:

A country in which all voters speak English, read
their own ballots and honor the American flag.



D. Legislation. When the National League of Women Voters has adopted its code of proposed laws, it will assign to all states their program of legislation, whereupon the state Leagues of Women Voters may accept, amend or reject it. A Legislative Committee for each state must be formed to take up the program agreed upon and attempt to secure its passage by the state legislature. A federal committee will also be needed as some forms of legislation are national in character.

NON-PARTISANSHIP

The League of Women Voters is pledged to non-partisanship and this expression has curiously aroused some antagonism from party workers who have failed to comprehend the meaning of the word. The League of Women Voters is also non-sectarian, but that would not be interpreted as meaning that none of its members could join the church of her choice; so non-partisan does not mean that the members of the league are to be denied the freedom to join the party of their choice.

The League of Women Voters, being a section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, like all its auxiliaries, must agree to the constitution and rules of that association. The following resolution was passed at the recent convention held in St. Louis, for the purpose of defining the term non-partisan:

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

POLITICAL WORK

It is not the intention of the League of Women Voters, as such, to take part in elections, to endorse

or to oppose candidates or parties. It is believed that such action will never be necessary. While some may consider a portion of the program controversial, it is as a whole so obviously necessary that all political parties and all patriotic citizens should willingly rally to its support. The very fact that the League, however, is composed of voters, gives to it the same authority and influence which in times past attached to the names of men, as distinguished from those of women, when signed to petitions or letters appealing for political action.

WHY NOT LEAVE THESE QUESTIONS TO THE POLITICAL PARTIES?

Political parties in this and all other countries are necessarily forced to adapt their platforms to an appeal for votes and in consequence, they are rendered conservative and slow moving. An outside group, non-partisan, unpartisan and all partisan, will be able to agitate and educate, without fear or favor, on behalf of the needed changes in our fundamental system and when the sentiment has grown sufficiently strong in expression to warrant it, it is hoped and believed that all political parties will adopt the program of the League of Women Voters as a part of their own platforms.

WHEN WILL THE LEAGUE COMPLETE ITS WORK?

It is earnestly believed that the League of Women Voters will have secured the ratification of the federal suffrage amendment and the enactment into law of the greater part of its proposed code of laws within the coming five years. The League of Women Voters, which at that time will have supplanted the National American Woman Suffrage Association, may then consider whether or not its work is completed. Many of its proposals will have been written into law or adopted by other agencies and it is quite possible that it will disband with the gratifying conviction that it has accomplished its purpose.

34 ca. - \$2.00 doz - \$15.00 per 100

A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE MOVEMENT FOR
WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN
THE UNITED STATES

By
IDA HUSTED HARPER

—
APRIL, 1919
—

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
171 Madison Avenue, New York

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

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER

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

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



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

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

The Continental Congress left the suffrage to be dealt with by the States in their constitutions and New Jersey was the only

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

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

In 1836 Ernestine L. Rose, daughter of a Rabbi in Poland, banished from her native country because of her progressive ideas, came to this one. She was but twenty-six years old, handsome and eloquent, and her lectures on the Science of Government drew crowded houses in all parts of the country.

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

While these individual efforts were being made the great Anti-Slavery question was growing more momentous. In 1828 Sarah and Angelina Grimke, of South Carolina, emancipated their slaves, came North and by their impassioned speeches aroused public sentiment. Garrison soon entered the contest, and the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed. From the beginning women were prominently identified with this movement, and the names of Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Maria Weston

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

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

In many localities there began to be signs of an awakening on the part of women. Margaret Fuller, one of a coterie of think-

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

Mrs. Stanton had been prevented by family cares from putting into effect her resolution made in London until 1848. In July of that year Lucretia Mott and her sister, Martha C. Wright, of Auburn, N. Y., were attending the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Western New York, at Waterloo, where Mrs. Stanton joined them in the home of Mrs. Mary Ann McClintock, and here they decided to carry out the long-cherished idea. One Sunday morning the

four prepared their Declaration and Resolutions, and sent a Call, which they did not dare sign, to the county papers for a two-days' convention to be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, at Seneca Falls, Mrs. Stanton's home, "to discuss the social, civil and religious condition and rights of woman."

On the 19th and 20th of July the church was filled with people curious and interested to know what the meeting was for. James Mott presided and addresses were made by the four callers of the convention, by Frederick Douglass and several men prominent in the locality. The Declaration and Resolutions were discussed, the latter adopted and the former signed by one hundred men and women, some of whom withdrew their names when "the storm of ridicule began to break." There was so much interest in the convention, and so much remained to be said, that it adjourned to meet in Rochester, N. Y., August 2. Here the Unitarian Church was crowded and many fine addresses were made by men and women. Among the signers of the Declaration were Susan B. Anthony's father, mother and sister Mary, but she herself was at this time teaching in the academy at Canajoharie, N. Y., and knew nothing of these meetings. This Declaration stated the whole case for women as comprehensively as it ever has been stated

since; the Resolutions comprised practically every demand that ever afterwards was made for women, and taken together they formed a remarkable document.

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

On April 19 and 20, 1850, a Woman's Rights Convention was held in the Second Baptist Church of Salem, O. Frances Dana Gage and the anti-slavery speakers had been for several years sowing the seed in that State, and the call for this meeting was signed by ten public-spirited women who were impelled to action by the approaching convention to revise the State constitution. Emily Robinson, J. Elizabeth Jones and Josephine S. Griffing were three

of the leading spirits. Letters of encouragement were read from Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone and others in the East who were now becoming known as advocates of the rights of women. The Memorial to the Constitutional Convention and the Address to the Women of Ohio have not been surpassed in eloquence and force in the years that have since elapsed. It is said that nearly 8,000 signatures to this Memorial were secured. In 1852 at Massillon the first State Suffrage Association was formed. Woman's Rights Conventions were held annually in Ohio thereafter until the approach of the Civil War and were resumed after it closed.

In May, 1850, during an Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, a few women in attendance decided to call a convention to discuss exclusively the rights of women and the time and place were fixed for October 23 and 24 in Worcester. The arrangements were made principally by Lucy Stone and Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, and from the holding of this convention the Woman's Rights movement may be said to have assumed a *national* aspect. Nine States were represented by speakers and among these were Garrison, Phillips, Pillsbury, Foster, Burleigh, Douglass, Channing, Mrs. Mott, Mrs. Rose, Abby Kelly, Lucy Stone, Antoinette Brown, Dr.

Harriot K. Hunt, and many more of note, and letters were read from Emerson, Alcott, Whittier, Gerrit, Smith, Joshua R. Giddings, Mrs. Swissheim, Elizur Wright, Mrs. Stanton and others. Mrs. Davis presided. A National Committee was formed, under whose management conventions were held annually in various cities, while the question was always thereafter a leading one in Massachusetts.

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

In 1850 the constitution of Indiana was revised, and, under the leadership of Robert Dale Owen, chairman of the Revision Committee, the laws for women were liberalized beyond any then existing. The question of the rights of women was widely discussed and at an anti-slavery meeting in Greensboro, in the spring of 1851, a resolution by Amanda M. Way was adopted to hold a Woman's Rights Convention. This took place in Dublin in October; Mrs. Hannah Hiatt presided and the large audiences of the two evening sessions were addressed by Henry C. Wright, the noted Abolitionist. Dr. Mary F. Thomas sent a strong letter; a permanent Woman's Rights Society was formed and a convention appointed for the

next year at Richmond. Thereafter these meetings became annual.

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

From 1852, Woman's Rights Conventions were held in many parts of the country. Leading men and women supported the movement for the rights of women, but as most of them were also leaders of the movement for the abolition of slavery the former had to suffer the odium and opposition directed against both. It was slowly gaining ground, however, when the breaking out of the Civil War banished all other questions from the public thought. When the war was ended and the women again took up their cause they met the vast complication of the rights of the emancipated negroes, and were compelled even by those who had been their strongest supporters to yield their claims to those of negro men. The civil, legal and political results of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the National Constitution tended still further to hinder the effort to obtain the franchise for women.

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

In 1890 the two bodies united under the name National American Woman Suffrage Association and since then both methods of

work have been followed. Mrs. Stanton was elected president of the new organization; Miss Anthony, vice-president-at-large; Lucy Stone, chairman Executive Committee. In 1892 Mrs. Stanton resigned her office because of advancing age; Miss Anthony was elected president and the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president. Miss Anthony resigned in 1900 at the age of 80, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was elected. In 1904 she could not serve longer and Miss Shaw was made president. In 1915 she resigned and Mrs. Catt was re-elected.

Until 1895 the work of the National American Association was conducted principally from the home of Miss Anthony in Rochester, N. Y. That year Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who was corresponding secretary for 21 years, shared the burden by opening office headquarters in her home at Philadelphia. In 1900 regular headquarters were opened in New York City under the supervision of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman of the National Organization Committee. In 1903 they were removed to Warren, O., and placed in charge of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, national treasurer. In 1909 headquarters on a large scale were established in New York City, with offices for the president, corresponding secretary, chairman of the press committee and an office staff of eight or ten workers.

In March, 1917, the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education was established in New York with the large bequest of Mrs. Frank Leslie to Mrs. Chapman Catt for the promotion of woman suffrage, and it works in co-operation with the National Association. In the two organizations is a force of about forty trained workers, in addition to the president, corresponding secretary, treasurer, one auditor and chairman of the press committee. A weekly magazine, *The Woman Citizen*, was commenced in June under the auspices of the Leslie Commission, taking over *The Woman's Journal*, of Boston, founded in 1870.

In December, 1912 the Congressional Committee of the National Association opened headquarters in Washington and began an active campaign for its original object—an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The association is a federation of State suffrage organizations. It is affiliated with the International Alliance, in which twenty-seven countries are officially represented.

In 1914 the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc., was formed and took charge of the Literature Department. In five years it has published 50,000,000 pieces of literature; 18,000,000 during the New York campaign of 1917.

THE GAINS FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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

WYOMING—The first recognition of the principle of woman suffrage by any State was made by Kentucky which in 1838 gave widowed mothers in country districts a vote for school trustees. Progressive Kansas came into the Union in 1861 with school suffrage for women in its Constitution. No further advance was made until 1869, when the first Legislative Council was in session after the organization of Wyoming as a Territory. Mrs. Esther Morris, who with

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

In 1889 a convention composed entirely of men met to form a Constitution for Statehood, and after twenty years' experience they adopted unanimously as its first clause "equal political rights for all male and female citizens." The Constitution was ratified by more than a three-fourths majority of the people and sent to Congress. That body, always hostile to the enfranchisement of women, fought in the House for three days to have this clause eliminated and the Territorial Delegate telegraphed to

Wyoming that it looked as if this would have to be done. The Legislature, which was in session, wired back: "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without woman suffrage." The same struggle took place in the United States Senate and pages of the *Congressional Record* were filled with awful Senatorial prophecies as to what would happen to the country if Wyoming should come into the Union with women voters. After days of oratory they were obliged to face the calamity, and President Harrison signed the bill admitting the new State in June, 1890. Thus Wyoming became the first Commonwealth in history to grant to women the same rights in the government that men possessed.

Women in Wyoming are eligible to all offices and are elected to many in the cities and counties and sent to the Legislature. They serve on juries and various State boards and a woman always is State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The official statistics show that about 90 per cent. of those qualified cast their votes at the annual elections. Not one man of prominence has ever voiced publicly the slightest opposition, while volumes of favorable testimony from those eminent in all departments of the State's activities have been published. Again and again the Legis-

lature has passed resolutions expressing the highest approval of woman suffrage, urging other States to adopt it and calling upon Congress to submit an amendment to the National Constitution.

Beginning with Kentucky in 1838 and again with Michigan and Minnesota in 1875, there was a tendency of Legislatures to confer some form of school suffrage on women, and this has continued, until in about half of the States they have a school vote of some kind. In certain places it is for trustees, in others for appropriations, but nowhere have they as much of a voice in school affairs as men have. In some States they must be mothers of children of school age, in others heads of families and in others taxpayers. They must register the same as to vote an entire ticket and on election day they must go to the general polls; so the school vote cast by women, while frequently large, must not be regarded as conclusive evidence of the number who would exercise the full suffrage.

In 1887 Kansas again came to the front by granting to women Municipal suffrage, which its Legislature had constitutional power to do, and they regularly exercised it to the distinct advantage of the city governments, according to the general belief.

There was, however, much legislative juggling to prevent their having a vote on officials connected with the administration of the liquor prohibition laws, and they were prevented from voting for judge and marshal of the City Court, justices of the peace and constables, while the police judge, city marshal and chief of police were appointed, except in the small places. Liquor sellers, when indicted, simply took an appeal to a higher court, over which women had no jurisdiction. A constitutional amendment to give women the complete franchise was submitted to the voters in 1894, but was defeated largely because of the peculiar political conditions—the Republicans trying to regain the State from the control of the Populists.

In examining the patchwork of women's civil, legal and political rights in the United States, it will be found that in Montana, after 1887, women taxpayers could vote on questions of special taxation, also for school trustees; since 1894 in Iowa all women can vote on issuing bonds or increasing the tax levy; since 1898, in Minnesota for library trustees. In 1898 Louisiana gave taxpaying women a vote on matters calling for special taxation. In 1901 the Legislature of New York gave to taxpaying women of towns and villages a vote upon propositions for special taxation, and in

1910 the law was amended to include the issuing of bonds. After four acts of the Legislature, beginning in 1880, and three decisions of the highest courts, consuming fifteen years of time, the right was secured for women of the towns and villages who had children of school age or were assessed for over \$50, to vote at district school meetings! Even with these small privileges women carried many elections and voted always for the improvement of the schools and villages. The charters of seven or eight third-class cities conferred school suffrage on women, and possibly a dozen gave a local taxpayer's franchise.

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

It must be remembered that in no State can the Legislature confer the complete franchise on women. That can be done only through amending the Constitution by taking the word "male" out of its qualifications for voting, and this requires the con-

sent in some States of a majority of all who vote on the amendment; in others of the highest number of votes cast at the election.

COLORADO—We come now to the second State which fully enfranchised women—Colorado. When it made its Constitution for Statehood in 1876 it refused the entreaties of the women to provide in this for their enfranchisement but it gave them school suffrage. The curious provision was made that the Legislature of the new State might at any time, by a majority, instead of the two-thirds required for amendments, enact a law to extend the suffrage without amending the Constitution, but the law must be approved by the majority of the voters; and it was ordered that such a law should be submitted at the first election after the State came into the Union. This was done in 1877, and the men, glorying in their own newly acquired rights, defeated the measure by a vote of two to one. The women were discouraged and the matter rested till the early '90's, when there were many more of them, and they began to organize their forces. In 1893 the Legislature was in control of the Populists and a woman suffrage amendment was again sent to the voters. Men of all parties had progressed during these years, and at the No-

vember election it received a majority in favor of 6,347.

The women entered at once upon their new duties, and the official records show that during the past twenty-five years they have voted in quite as large a proportion as men. Over twenty have been elected Representatives, one Senator, and scores to county and city offices. The office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has always been filled by a woman. They serve on State boards and commissions and are eligible to jury service.

The testimony in favor of the way they have used their ballot is overwhelming and from the highest sources—Justices of the Supreme Court, Governors, presidents of colleges, clergymen, editors. Not six Colorado men or women of prominence have ever given public expression to a derogatory word. The strongest proof of the success of woman suffrage in this State, however, came ten years after it had been in operation. The suffrage clause in the Constitution permitted immigrants to vote on their first papers and six months' residence. An amendment was submitted in 1903 requiring a year's residence and using the words "he or she." It was adopted by 18,000 majority and it safely intrenched women suffrage in the Constitution. With Populism eliminated the vote for it was

three times as large as before it had been tried. If this increase was due to the women, it showed they appreciated their voting power and wished to make it secure; if it was due to the men, it proved they were satisfied. In either case the result was decisive.

UTAH—In 1895, two years after the Colorado victory, a convention of Utah men assembled to make a Constitution for Statehood. The Legislature in 1870 had given full suffrage to women—as it had power to do in a Territory—and they had used it largely until 1887. That year Congress, through some inscrutable logic, took away the franchise from all the women, Gentile as well as Mormon, to stop the practice of polygamy! This convention was composed of both Gentiles and Mormons and after a thorough discussion an equal woman suffrage plank was put into the new Constitution. At the November election it was submitted to Gentile and Mormon voters and carried by 28,618 ayes, 2,678 noes. This was the answer of Utah men after an experience with woman suffrage of seventeen years. No objection was made by Congress to this clause in its Constitution. The women of this State were far better organized and worked much harder for their political freedom than those of any other

up to that time. They have used their franchise generally and wisely; no complaints or criticisms have ever come from Utah to the contrary. Women have been sent to both houses of the Legislature, have filled State, county and city offices, served on many boards and gone as delegates to Presidential conventions as from other equal suffrage States. They are eligible for jury service.

IDAHO—The Story of Idaho is short and there is no great struggle for the ballot to record. It was admitted into the Union in 1890. Before and after that year Mrs. Abigail Scot Duniway, the pioneer suffragist of Oregon, had canvassed Territory and State and appealed to the Legislature and constitutional convention. She was strongly supported by individual men and women of Idaho, but there was no organized effort until 1893. The Republicans were in full control of the Legislature in 1895 and the resolution to submit an amendment was almost unanimous. The next year Republican, Democratic, Populist and Free Silver party conventions endorsed it and it was carried at the November election by a vote of almost two to one. At the next election three women were sent to the Legislature and a State Superintendent of Instruction, fifteen county superintendents,

four county treasurers elected. This proportion has been kept up and a number of deputy sheriffs have been elected. There is nothing but the highest testimony as to the part of women in the politics of the State. They constitute 42 per cent of the population and by the official statistics they cast 40 per cent of the vote in Boise, the capital, and over 35 per cent in the rest of the State. The hardships of getting to the polls through the snow and over the mountains can hardly be described. Women sometimes ride twenty miles on horseback to vote, and they look forward with keenest pleasure to meeting each other on election day. They resisted vigorously an attempt made a few years ago to take away their eligibility to jury service.

WASHINGTON—After this gain of four States in six years by the suffragists the opponents took active measures to prevent the submission of the question in other States. In the few cases where this was done the combination of corporations, liquor interests and party "machines" was impossible to overcome. The domination of politics by these forces was so complete that there was no chance for any moral questions, and nothing was left but the slow process of educating public sentiment to

demand that the voice of women should be heard in this wilderness. At length came the great political "insurgent" movement in the Western States, and, as the direct result, the submitting of a woman suffrage amendment in 1910 by almost unanimous vote of the Washington Legislature. Here again there had been practical experience. In 1883 the Territorial Legislature gave to women the full rights of the ballot, and at the spring election and again in the autumn they cast one-fourth of the votes, although there were less than one-third as many women as men in the Territory. During the three and a half years that they possessed the suffrage the official returns several times showed a larger percentage of women than of men voting, even with all the physical handicaps of these pioneer days. In 1886, some question of constitutionality having arisen, the Legislature strengthened the Act. In 1887 the vicious elements secured a court decision that the bill was not properly titled, and the Legislature passed it a third time perfect in every respect.

A convention was about to prepare a constitution for Statehood and these elements were determined it should not include woman suffrage. It was arranged that at the spring election of 1889 the vote of a certain saloonkeeper's wife should be

refused. Her case was rushed through to the Supreme Court, and two out of three members decided that the equal suffrage law was void because a Territorial Legislature had no right to extend the suffrage! The very Act under which Washington was organized specifically gave it this right, and under a similar Act women had voted twenty-one years in the Territory of Wyoming and seventeen in that of Utah. This decision is only matched by that on the Dred Scott case in 1857. The women were illegally disfranchised, they were excluded from the new Constitution, and all they could obtain was the submission that year of woman suffrage as a separate question. They were not themselves allowed to vote on it, and it was said to be defeated by over 19,000. Nine years later, in 1898, the women summoned courage to make another campaign, and then the majority against them was announced to be considerably less than 10,000. Years afterward a man who had taken part in them stated publicly that the most barefaced frauds had been committed and that the amendment really had been carried.

In 1910 came the political revolution in Washington, where the voters threw off the "machine" yoke and honest men of all parties secured a free election and a fair count. The women made the ablest campaign for

the suffrage ever seen, with the splendid result that it was carried in every county in the State and received a majority of nearly three to one—then the largest victory ever achieved. The way they registered by the tens of thousands in Seattle the following month, “recalled” the Mayor, turned out the Council and chief of police and regenerated the city—and later performed the same service for Tacoma—electrified the whole country. They maintain their interest, are elected to State, county and city offices and to the Legislature. As jurors they have given especial satisfaction to the judges and the lawyers.

CALIFORNIA—The granting of woman suffrage in Washington gave an impetus to the movement far and wide. The first results were seen in California, which in the State at large had been swept clean of its corrupt political forces by the great wave of insurgency. The press representatives who had been going to Sacramento for years said they never had been so able, sincere and upright a body of men as the legislators who submitted the reform amendments, all of which were adopted at the election of 1911, including woman suffrage. The women remembered with anguish of spirit the magnificent campaign they had made in 1896, only to be betrayed

and sold by the political leaders. With largely augmented numbers and full of faith in the new order they made the fight, but it required the decent men of the whole State to overcome the corrupt vote of San Francisco and Oakland, with the corporations, liquor interests and remnants of the old party “machines” struggling to regain their power and dreading the enfranchisement of women. The amendment was carried by only 3,537.

This was the greatest victory ever won for woman suffrage, as California is an old, thickly populated and wealthy State, having commercial relations with all parts of the world. It may be said that with this triumph the movement for woman suffrage passed the crisis. The women are well organized; the State has two large cities and here has been opportunity for a thorough test. The amendment was carried in October and at the municipal election in Los Angeles in December about 95 per cent of the women registered and voted—a record never equalled by men. There has not been anywhere such universal testimony by the press in favor of the way in which women have used the vote, and all parts of this great State show in many ways the excellent results accomplished by woman suffrage in the short space of seven years.

KANSAS, ARIZONA, OREGON—In 1912 the Legislature of Kansas submitted an amendment for woman suffrage. Those of Oregon and Arizona refused, but under the law of Initiative and Referendum the women secured enough signatures of voters to compel the submission. The amendment was adopted by the three States in November, 1912. In Arizona every county gave a majority with a favorable vote of about two to one. In Oregon there was a majority of 4,161 in a vote of 128,369; in Kansas 16,079 in a vote of 334,473. In all the amendment carried with it jury service and eligibility to every office. In all the women made a strong, dignified and never-ceasing campaign, and future generations will never know how small was the number who worked for the suffrage compared to the vast number who have joyfully and wisely made use of it. At the first elections, in 1914, the percentage of women voting was nearly that of men.

ALASKA—Although Congress in 1890 had vigorously opposed admitting Wyoming with woman suffrage, in 1912 it specifically provided in the Act organizing Alaska into a Territory that its Legislature might enfranchise women. This was done by unanimous vote as soon as it met for the first time in the spring of 1913. A considerable

number of American, English and Russian men have settled there with their families, and there are teachers and other women in business. As the Territory develops, their influence in its civic and political life will undoubtedly prove a beneficial factor.

ILLINOIS—The Constitution of Illinois, which has not been revised for many years, provides that the Legislature shall have power to confer the suffrage for any official whose election is not provided for in the Constitution. It is a very difficult document to amend and therefore the women tried only to obtain what the Legislature was able to give. Their bill was many times rejected, but at last was adopted in June, 1913, by 29 to 15 in the Senate and 83 to 58 in the House and was signed by Governor Edward F. Dunne on the 26th of that month. It gave to women a vote for Presidential electors; State Board of Equalization (taxes), trustees of State University, clerks of Appellate Court, sanitary district trustees; for county Boards of Assessors and of Review, supervisor, clerk, collector, surveyor, highway commissioner and school district officers; for all municipal officers, except police magistrates, and for the school board; also for all measures submitted to the electors of State, cities and villages. The validity

of this law was at once tested in the lower courts and carried to the Supreme Court and the latter declared it to be constitutional, except that women may not vote on questions which the constitution itself provides for submitting. They are eligible to the offices for which they can vote. For the 1916 Presidential election 303,801 registered in Chicago and 95.2 voted; of the men 96.5. In the State as a whole 867,700 women voted, casting about 40% of the total vote. Men of 21 outnumbered women of 21 by 175,700.

NEVADA, MONTANA — The general elections of November 3, 1914, added two more States to the roll of honor and made all of the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States white on the suffrage map. In Nevada the resolution to submit a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage to the electors passed the necessary two Legislatures by a nearly unanimous vote in both Houses, and in Montana the one Legislature almost unanimously. Victory at the polls, however, was by no means so easy, as in no States did the opposition ever put forth stronger effort and in none were the physical hardships of campaigning so great, owing to the high mountains, vast distances and scattered population, the voters having to be reached on far away ranches

and in isolated mining camps. Montana was carried by a majority of 3,714, which was 52 per cent of the whole vote. Nevada gave a majority of 3,421, 60 per cent of the whole vote. As its electorate is small it has the distinction of having given the largest proportionate vote for woman suffrage on record. In both States the result is a splendid tribute to the heroic work of the women who gave to it not months but years of time. They serve on juries. These States also have elected women to the Legislature and to State, county and municipal offices.

NEW YORK—When in 1914 the number of equal suffrage States had reached eleven and favorable public sentiment was rapidly increasing, the opposition concentrated its full force on every State where an amendment to its constitution was submitted and no further successes were recorded until there came the grand victory in New York in 1917. Although the first movement for woman suffrage in the world had begun in this State in 1848 and never had ceased, and although it had been the first ever to have presented to its Legislature a petition to submit an amendment to the voters, this request had been annually refused by every one beginning with that of 1854. The women at last became so strongly organized that by

1915 it could not longer be withheld, but it was defeated in November by about 95,000. The women went directly to the Legislature of 1916 and demanded its re-submission, which was granted by a vote of 33 to 10 in the Senate and 109 to 30 in the Assembly. It required action by a second Legislature in 1917, which ratified that of the first by 39 to 7 in the Senate and 127 to 10 in the Assembly. The suffragists then built up the largest State organization of women ever known, approximately half-a-million in New York City and an equal number in the rest of the State. Although they were immersed in the vast work of the war they made a record campaign, one feature of which was the securing of a petition for the vote by 1,015,00 women over 21 years of age.

On November 7, 1917, the amendment received 703,129 ayes, 600,776 noes and was carried by a majority of 102,353. In the warlike language of that day woman suffrage for the whole country "went over the top," as its acceptance by this most populous and influential State gave it prestige and strength that were soon evident in other States and in the Congress.

MICHIGAN, SOUTH DAKOTA, OKLAHOMA—Three more important victories quickly followed when on November 5, 1918, the elec-

tors of Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma enfranchised women. In Michigan the vote of the Legislature for submitting the amendment stood in the Senate, 26 in favor, 4 opposed; in the House, 71 in favor, 21 opposed. This campaign was notable for the large amount of assistance given by organizations of men and women. Practically every association of women in the State worked for the amendment, led by the Women's Benefit Association of the Ladies of the Maccabees, whose national headquarters are in Port Huron. It took charge of six Congressional Districts, 32 counties in the northern part of the State, with its fine organizing facilities, and financed its own work. The amendment received 229,790 ayes; 195,284 noes, a favorable majority of 34,506.

South Dakota had defeated suffrage amendments half-a-dozen times but public sentiment had advanced and the women were better organized than ever before. The Legislature in April, 1917, voted by 32 to 3 in the Senate and 71 to 20 in the House to submit an amendment to give full suffrage to women, but in 1918, at a special session, this was withdrawn and one substituted to repeal the present election law permitting men to vote on a six months' residence and aliens before fully naturalized. The new amendment provided that citizens of

the United States should vote after a year's residence in the State, and omitted the word "male." Although aliens could vote on it, it was adopted by 49,213 ayes to 28,885 noes, a majority of 20,328.

Oklahoma made the unparalleled record of carrying an amendment with the handicap of a constitutional requirement that it must receive not only a majority of the votes cast on it but a majority of the highest number cast at the election. The situation seemed so hopeless that the women had not wanted the amendment submitted but this was done by unanimous vote of the Senate and 75 to 12 in the House. The women made an excellent campaign and the men stood by them. On the amendment were cast 107,009 ayes; 81,481 noes, a favorable majority of 25,528. The highest number of votes cast at the election was 194,435 for Governor; the amendment received apparently a majority of 9,791 of the total. Figures vary slightly but this is probably an underestimate. It was one of the most remarkable victories ever achieved for woman suffrage.

All the State amendment campaigns have been assisted with workers, speakers and money by the National American Woman Suffrage Association and all are greatly indebted to the helpfulness of the press.

Space is not consumed in noting defeats which will soon be changed into successes. In no State has there ever been an attempt to take away the franchise from women.

PRIMARY SUFFRAGE—As the constitution of Arkansas is difficult to amend, its Legislature took advantage of the authority it possessed under the Primary Election Law and in 1917 granted to women the same vote as possessed by men at all primaries, including those for Presidential electors. The bill passed the Senate February 27 by 17 to 15; the House March 6 by 54 to 27 and was signed at once by Governor Charles H. Brough. This was the first State suffrage granted in the South and as there is practically but one party the primary is really the election.

In 1918 the Texas Legislature gave this same primary franchise to women, the House voting in favor March 16 by 84 to 34; the Senate March 21 by 17 to 4, and it was signed immediately by Governor W. P. Hobby. The Legislature of 1919 by unanimous vote of both houses has submitted a constitutional amendment similar to that of South Dakota to be voted on May 24.

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE—The Presidential election of 1916 aroused nation-wide

interest in the question of votes for women, as it was generally accepted that it had been decided by the equal suffrage States. These States, which were normally Republican, had all with the exception of Oregon given a Democratic majority and for this the women were held largely responsible. The injustice was widely recognized of permitting the women of one section of the country to help choose the President of the United States and denying this privilege to those of other sections, so the National Association decided that the time was ripe for pushing its long-cherished plan to obtain so-called Presidential suffrage for women. The Federal Constitution empowers every Legislature to determine the manner in which the Presidential electors of the State shall be chosen and it is the universal custom to have this done by popular vote. In many States when the Legislatures assembled in January, 1917, they found themselves confronted by a demand from the women that a law should be enacted granting them the right to vote for these Presidential electors, which could be done by a simple majority of the legislators. They had done this in Illinois, the women had voted at the election of 1916 and their votes had been accepted in the Electoral College without question.

By April this Presidential vote had been conferred by the Legislatures of North Dakota, Nebraska, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and Rhode Island. The first three added municipal and county suffrage, as Illinois had done. The Vermont Legislature by a vote of 104 to 100 in the House on March 9, and 16 to 11 in the Senate on March 21, 1917, passed a bill giving Municipal suffrage to women. Tennessee included it with Presidential suffrage in 1919.

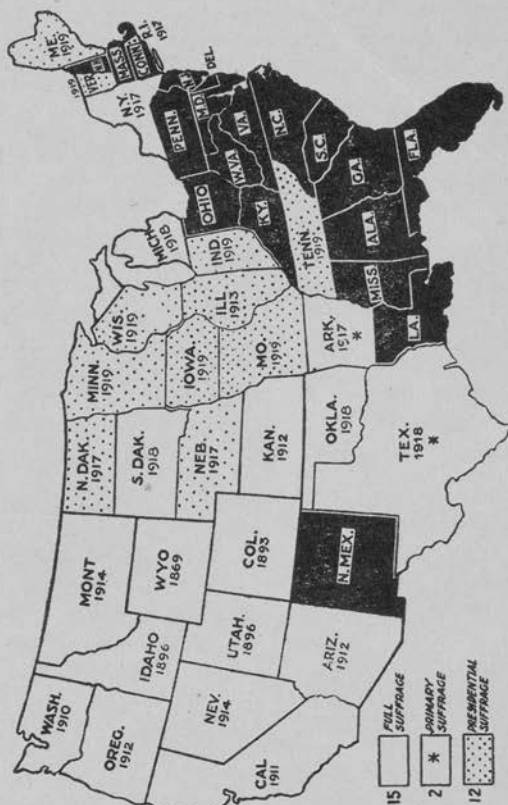
The Supreme Court of Indiana declared that the Legislature could not constitutionally grant the municipal and county franchise and as the Presidential was included in the bill it also was ruled out. Ohio by means of an initiative petition, which was clearly unconstitutional, submitted the law to the voters and they defeated it, but there has not yet been an opportunity for a test case. The same attempt was made in Nebraska, but the Court found the petitions so fraudulent that it refused to permit a referendum and declared the law to be in effect. Michigan nullified it by giving full suffrage. In the winter of 1919 the Legislature of Indiana re-enacted the law for Presidential suffrage, and it was granted during the winter and spring by the Legislatures of Vermont, Wisconsin, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Tennessee and Iowa. A noteworthy feature of this grant has

been the large favorable majorities. Following is the list in chronological order:

1917: North Dakota, Senate, 37-11, House, 88-19; Nebraska, Senate, 20-13, House, 73-24; Indiana, Senate, 32-16, House, 67-24; Michigan, Senate, 22-7, House, 64-30; Ohio, Senate, 28-7, House, 72-50; Rhode Island, Senate, 32-3, House, 71-20.

1919: Indiana, Senate, 44-3, House, 90-3; Vermont, Senate, 20-10, House, 120-90; Wisconsin, Senate, 28-4, House, 80-8; Maine, Senate, 22-5, House, 85-54; Minnesota, Senate, 49-11, House, 103-24; Missouri, Senate, 21-12, House, 118-2; Tennessee, Senate, 17-4, House, 54-32; Iowa, Senate, 38-3, House, 84-2.

The women of 29 States, three less than two-thirds, now have the right to vote for 306 of the 531 Presidential electors, 40 more than half. Fifty-eight United States Senators and 132 Representatives are elected partly by votes of women. The number of women 21 years of age in the States where they have Presidential suffrage is estimated at 15,500,000. The total number of women of this age in the United States is about 27,000,000. There are approximately 7,500,000 women of voting age in the 15 equal suffrage States. Several thousand women in Alaska have the same Territorial franchise possessed by men.



[April, 1919]



Courtesy: Evans & Horner

BY THE DAWN'S EARLY LIGHT

What will
the Flag of Freedom
Bring our American Children
in this Dawn of Reconstruction?

A MESSAGE FROM THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE TO THE FRIENDS OF AMERICA'S WORKING CHILDREN

The new Federal Child Labor Amendment became a law by the President's signature February 24th. It will end the 11-hour day for 12-year-old children in North Carolina cotton mills. It will stop night work for little boys in West Virginia's glass factories. It frees more than 150,000 children under 16 from the grind of factory, mill, cannery, coal mine and breaker.

FREEDOM

There are 1,850,000 child workers 10 to 15 years of age who will not be reached by this new Federal law. They are working in tenement homes, on the big city streets, in the stores, in the huge sugar-beet and onion fields. They need protection too. It must be brought through their state legislatures.

The National Child Labor Committee's most important work this year is in the 41 states holding legislative sessions—striving to secure to this big army of children their right to schooling until the age of 16; to an 8-hour day and to daytime hours of work—to a bigger, better childhood.

EDUCATION

One Southern state had a Tag Day last Spring to raise money to teach 50,000 men of the state in their National Army Cantonment to *read and write!* At cantonments near great industrial centers in the North the first step in the training of whole regiments of American soldiers was to teach them enough English to understand military commands!

The National Child Labor Committee is backing the movement to secure national aid to education, to reduce illiteracy by raising the rural school standard and Americanizing the foreign child.

HEALTH

Twenty-nine per cent of our men drafted for war service were rejected as physically unfit. The nation realizes now the value of its man-power. This appreciation must be crystallized into permanent good by definite action for safeguarding child health.

The National Child Labor Committee, through its affiliation with the "Child Health Organization," is carrying out a nation-wide program toward this end.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

In the exceptional cases where a family would have no other income than a child's earnings, the child should not be penalized for being poor. More than any other that child needs schooling, to become a civic and industrial asset, not a burden.

The National Child Labor Committee is working to extend and perfect the Mothers' Pension plan, and is spreading scholarship help for children where Mothers' Pensions have not yet developed.

UNIFORM STANDARDS

Child labor and school standards differ radically among the states, and even within the individual state. For instance, one state allows girls to stop school at 14, but they may not work until 16. Such inequalities lead to confusion and work against the best interests of the child. This year we are helping 17 states to codify and harmonize child welfare laws. Only a few states now have such codes. Securing them is a very important part of the Committee's work.

You Helped the Rest,
Now Help the Best—
Our American Children!

The years immediately ahead are perhaps the most critical in our national history. The whole world looks to us for leadership—political and industrial. The vast problems of reconstruction and its unforeseeable changes demand the keenest intelligence, the greatest endurance and industrial efficiency of all our people. We cannot afford to condemn nearly two million of them to the deadening effects of child labor. Of the immediate reconstruction needs, there is none more vital than the conservation of these children. But whether the National Child Labor Committee can carry through this program depends on you, and the moral and financial help you give by joining our membership.

National Child Labor Committee

(Incorporated)

105 East 22nd St., New York, N. Y.

To V. EVERIT MACY, *Treasurer*,
National Child Labor Committee,
105 East 22nd St., New York City.

I enclose \$..... for the work of the Committee
for the coming year. Please send me your Quarterly,
THE AMERICAN CHILD for this subscription, and keep
me informed about your work in Congress and in
the State legislatures this year.

Mr.

Mrs.

Miss

Membership Enrolment, One Year

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Associate, \$2 or more | Sustaining, \$25 or more |
| Contributing, \$5 " " | Donors, \$100 " " |

National Child Labor Committee

(Incorporated; Organized April 15, 1904)

105 East 22d Street, New York City

HONORARY MEMBERS

WOODROW WILSON

WILLIAM H. TAFT

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

FELIX ADLER, Chairman

HOMER FOLKS

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY } Vice-Chairmen

V. EVERIT MACY, Treasurer

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, General Secretary

EDWARD N. CLOPPER, Assistant Secretary

JOSEPHINE J. ESCHENBRENNER, Membership Secretary

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

FELIX ADLER, Chairman

JANE ADDAMS

LEO ARNSTEIN

HENRY BRUERE

FRANCIS G. CAFFEY

EDWARD T. DEVINE

JOHN DEWEY

HOMER FOLKS

WILLIAM E. HARMON

L. EMMETT HOLT

Mrs. FLORENCE KELLEY

WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS

ADOLPH LEWISOHN

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

V. EVERIT MACY

Mrs. BEVERLEY B. MUNFORD

CHARLES P. NEILL

JACOB G. SCHMIDLAPP

LILLIAN D. WALD

STEPHEN S. WISE

JOHN W. WOOD

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Hooper Alexander, Georgia

Mrs. Emmons Blaine, Illinois

John Graham Brooks, Massachusetts

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohen, Utah

Prof. John R. Commons, Wisconsin

Mrs. E. P. Costigan, Colorado

Mrs. Josiah E. Cowles, California

Mrs. G. W. B. Cushing, New Jersey

Robert W. de Forest, New York

Harvey H. Duryee, California

Charles W. Eliot, Massachusetts

Arthur F. Estabrook, Massachusetts

Albert H. Freiberg, M.D., Ohio

James, Cardinal Gibbons, Maryland

John M. Gillette, North Dakota

John Golden, New York

Jean M. Gordon, Louisiana

Rt. Rev. David H. Greer, New York

Mrs. R. P. Halleck, Kentucky

Alice W. Hunt, Rhode Island

Mrs. Harry January, Missouri

Mrs. Edward J. Jeffries, Michigan

James H. Kirkland, Tennessee

Julia C. Lathrop, District of Columbia

Frank M. Leavitt, Pennsylvania

A. W. McAlister, North Carolina

Joseph A. McCullough, So. Carolina

Mrs. J. W. McGriff, Florida

John Mitchell, New York

Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Alabama

Paul S. Peirce, Iowa

Agnes L. Peterson, Minnesota

Gifford Pinchot, Pennsylvania

Charles S. Potts, Texas

Mrs. Bert Schlesinger, California

Margaret H. Shearman, Delaware

Henry G. Snyder, Oklahoma

A. T. Stovall, Mississippi

Graham Taylor, Illinois

Mrs. Millie R. Trumbull, Oregon

U. G. Weatherly, Indiana

Robert Treat Whitehouse, Maine

And 16,000 Contributing Members from every State in the Union.



CONSTITUTION
OF THE
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN
SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

May, 1919

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

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

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

ARTICLE II.

OBJECT.

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

ARTICLE III.

STATUS.

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

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

ARTICLE IV.

MEMBERSHIP, DUES AND REPRESENTATION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE V.

THE ANNUAL CONVENTION AND PRIVILEGES.

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

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

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

ARTICLE VI.

CONTROL OF POLICIES.

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

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE VII.
BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

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

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE VIII.
OFFICERS—DUTIES AND LIABILITIES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE IX.
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—DUTIES AND POWERS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE X.

COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS.

DUTIES AND POWERS.

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

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

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

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

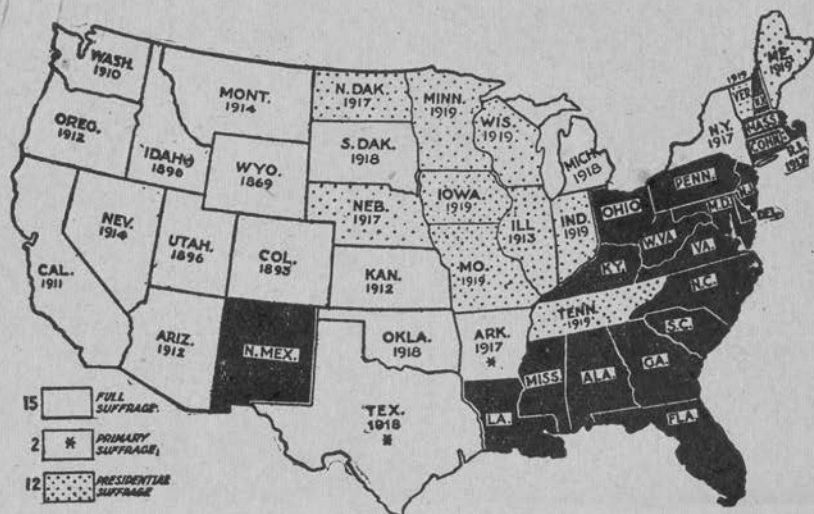
ARTICLE XI.

AMENDMENT.

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

[June 1919]
\$1.00 per M- \$4.50 per 5M- \$8.00 per 10M

1919--VICTORY MAP--1919



Fifteen states have Suffrage for women on equal terms with men.

In twenty-nine states women can vote for the President of the United States.

These 29 States Control 306 Electoral Votes

MAKE THE WHOLE MAP WHITE
by
QUICK RATIFICATION
of the
FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue



New York City

Printed June, 1919

[post June 4, 1919]

Sixty Years of Struggle for Suffrage

Since 1860 the Republican Party has been the Party in power for forty-four years. During that time thirty congresses have met. In twenty-one of them the Republicans have been in control. In nine the Democrats have had a majority, but at no time has it been a large majority. During the same period, the Democrats have been in the majority in the Senate, but it has always been a small majority.

The Republican Party has been in control in the House about two-thirds of the time since 1860.

It has been in control in the Senate five-sixths of the time.

It has been in control in the White House for forty-four years.

No Republican President has ever spoken for suffrage during his presidential term.

No Republican President ever sent a message to Congress in behalf of suffrage.

No Republican President ever addressed either branch of Congress in behalf of a suffrage amendment.

Read the Record:

RECORD OF THE PARTIES ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS

1864-67

DEMOCRATIC RECORD.

"The Democrats saw how the Republicans were stultifying themselves and every principle urged in the XIII Amendment and volunteered to help the women fight their battle."

P. 95. Vol. II. History Woman Suffrage.

REPUBLICAN RECORD.

This Republican Congress submitted the XIV Amendment June 16, 1866, thus writing the word "male" into the Constitution for the first time. They refused to enfranchise the women saying, "This is the negro's hour."

FORTIETH CONGRESS

1867-69

An all Democratic Legislature enfranchised the women of Wyoming in 1869.

Republican Congress submitted the XV Amendment, February 27, 1869, after refusing to incorporate the word "sex" when providing that the right to vote "shall not be denied or abridged. . . on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS

1869-71

Republican in both branches. No action on suffrage though leaders had promised women they should be "next."

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS

1871-73

Republican in both branches. No action.

FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS
1873-75

DEMOCRATIC RECORD.

REPUBLICAN RECORD.

Republican. No action.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
1875-77

Republican. No action.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
1877-79

House Democratic.

Senate Republican. Senator Sargent of California brought in the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, January 10, 1879. It was reported adversely.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
1879-81

House and Senate both Democratic. The House adopted a resolution calling for the appointment of a "Committee on the Rights of Women."

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS
1881-83

House Democratic. Suffrage resolution reported favorably. Committee on Rules gave Suffrage Convention delegates a hearing January 23, 1882. A Suffrage committee was created March 13, 1882.

Senate Republican. Motion to take up Suffrage resolution defeated by Senator Conkling, but later suffrage committee was appointed and hearing given delegates from Suffrage convention January 20, 1882.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
1883-85

House Democratic. Made adverse majority report; favorable minority on suffrage resolution.

Senate Republican. Favorable majority report on suffrage resolution; adverse minority.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS
1885-87

Democratic President, Grover Cleveland.

Both branches Republican. First vote on suffrage resolution in Senate; yeas 16, nays 34. January 25, 1887.

FIFTIETH CONGRESS
1887-89

House Democratic.

Senate Republican.

FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS
1889-91

Both branches Republican. Senate Committee reported resolution without recommendation in 1890. House Committee, favorable majority.

FIFTY-SECOND CONGRESS
1891-93

Both branches Democratic. Favorable majority report in Senate.

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS
1893-95

DEMOCRATIC RECORD.

REPUBLICAN RECORD.

Both branches Democratic. Committee in House reported resolution adversely.

FIFTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
1895-97

Both branches Republican. Senate Committee reported suffrage resolution without recommendation.

FIFTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
1897-99

Both branches Republican. No action.

FIFTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
1899-01

Both branches Republican. No action.

FIFTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS
1901-03

Both branches Republican. No action.

FIFTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
1903-05

Both branches Republican. No action.

FIFTY-NINTH CONGRESS
1905-07

Both branches Republican. No action.

SIXTIETH CONGRESS
1907-09

Both branches Republican. No action.

SIXTY-FIRST CONGRESS
1909-11

Both branches Republican. No action.

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS
1911-13

House Democratic. No action.

Senate Republican. No action.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS
1913-15

Both branches Democratic. Suffrage committee created in Senate, 1913, reported resolution favorably. House Judiciary Committee reported resolution out without recommendation. Brought to vote in Senate, March 19, 1914; yeas 35; nays 34. First vote ever taken in House, January 12, 1914. Yeas 174, nays 204.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
1915-17

DEMOCRATIC RECORD.

Both branches Democratic. Favorable majority report from Senate Committee.

REPUBLICAN RECORD.

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
1917-19

Both branches Democratic. Suffrage Committee created in House September 25, 1917. Suffrage amendment passed House January 10, 1918, after appeal from President to Democratic members, yeas 104, nays 102.

September 26, relying on Republican claim of 33 votes the resolution was brought out.

September 30, President Wilson appealed to the Senate in person to pass the amendment. Vote taken October 1 showed Democrats voting or paired in favor, 30. Voting no or paired against, 22.

October 3, Senator Jones asked for a reconsideration.

Brought to vote in Senate February 10. Democrats voting or paired in favor, 30; nays, 11. Voting or paired against, 21.

An effort to bring in a resolution in slightly different form was defeated by a Republican filibuster.

Vote on suffrage amendment in House, January 10, 1918. Republicans, 165 yeas; 34 nays.

Republicans claimed 33 votes, but admitted September 27 that they could poll but 32. When the vote was taken for the measure 32 Republicans voted or were paired in favor and 12 against.

On vote February 10, Republicans voting for or paired in favor, 31; nays or paired against, 14.

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
1919-21

Vote on Suffrage amendment, May 21, 1919: Yeas or paired in favor, 102; nays or paired against, 70.

Vote in the Senate, June 4: Yeas or paired in favor, 21; nays or paired against, 17.

Both branches Republican. Vote on Suffrage amendment in the House, May 21, 1919: Yeas or paired in favor, 200; nays or paired against, 19; Vote in Senate June 4: Yeas or paired in favor, 34; nays or paired against, 8.

The only senators representing enfranchised states who voted against the amendment were two Republicans, Senator Borah of Idaho and Senator Wadsworth of New York. If the vote of either of these men or of Senator Hale who voted against the amendment in February and for it in June had been cast for the amendment in February it would have been adopted by the state legislatures then in session, and now would be a part of the Constitution of the United States.

The Republicans in the Senate deliberately delayed the passage of the amendment for the sole purpose of making political capital out of it, caring nothing, or even preferring that the women of the United States should not vote in the Presidential campaign of 1920.

FILE COPY

THE FIFTH DISTRICT LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

WOMEN HAVE FULL SUFFRAGE
IN THESE COUNTRIES
OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

NEW ZEALAND - - - - - 1893

AUSTRALIA - - - - - 1902

FINLAND - - - - - 1906

NORWAY - - - - - 1907

ICELAND - - - - - 1913

DENMARK - - - - - 1915

GREAT BRITAIN FOR

ENGLAND

SCOTLAND

IRELAND

WALES - - - - - 1918

CANADA - - - - - 1918

CZECKO-SLOVAKIA - - - - 1918

HUNGARY - - - - - 1918

POLAND - - - - - 1918

SWEDEN - - - - - 1919

GERMANY - - - - - 1919

HOLLAND - - - - - 1919

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE
PUBLISHING CO., INC.,

171 Madison Avenue

New York City

Printed July 1919



[post-July 2, 1919]

What the War Meant to Women

BY

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW



THE LATE DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

Member Executive Committee League to Enforce Peace, Honorary
President National American Woman Suffrage Association, Chair-
man Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense.

This appeal for support of the League of Nations Covenant is Dr. Shaw's last message to the women of the country, to whose service she devoted her life and by whom she was singularly revered. The revised manuscript was received from Dr. Shaw the day before her death.

Foreword

The correction of the manuscript of this address, received at the office of the League to Enforce Peace the day before Dr. Shaw's death, was her last public service. The address has been delivered in a series of conventions held in May, and ordinarily followed an analysis of the Paris Covenant by ex-President Taft or President Lowell of Harvard University,—a fact that explains the allusion near its end.

When Dr. Shaw was taken ill with pneumonia during the journey, she felt that she might not recover. Knowing that the cause of suffrage, to which she had devoted forty years of her life, had triumphed, she declared repeatedly that now she would rather die in serving the cause of the League of Nations than any other. When she grew better and it seemed that she would recover, she cancelled speaking engagements for the early summer in order to regain her strength for the ratification campaign that would follow the President's return from France and the laying of the text of the treaty before the Senate.

Her relapse and sudden death on July second prevented the carrying out of this purpose. But the address in which Dr. Shaw embodied her message on this subject is herewith presented to the women of the nation, in whose behalf it was written, with the request that, by helping in its distribution and by making their voices heard in the Senate Chamber in behalf of the League of Nations for which Dr. Shaw pleaded so earnestly, they will make her influence far-reaching in the coming debate.

What the War Meant to Women

BY

THE LATE DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

Chairman, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense.

What are we women to do in this matter of a League of Nations? What part are we to play in it?

The time was when women were not considered as having any part in the concerns of Government. When I was a little girl a woman could not make a will, she could not make a deed or transact any legal business without the consent of somebody else; that is, if she were married.

In Philadelphia, the Woman's New Century Club decided to build a club house and, after they secured the plans and had everything all ready and they undertook to make a contract with the builders, they were informed that they could not contract with them because they were married women and could not contract. But, as these disabilities were removed and they were enabled to contract, women arose to their sovereignty. It may not be a super-sovereignty, such as our Senate seeks to guard us from, but it is a kind of sovereignty which is very comfortable when you want to make a contract.

Because of this newly found power women, more than men, understand the dignity that comes to a great nation when it has the power to use its will in deciding what it will and what it will not do, and the ability under that will to make such contracts with other peoples that it will bind itself to recognize in them the same obligations and the same rights which it claims for itself.

Women never had such an opportunity in the world's affairs before as we had during the war just closed. At the beginning of the war very little attention was paid to the women but gradually, as the man power began to leave for the front, and as the greater need for

munitions and other necessary equipment of war demanded larger bodies of people in the service of the Government, more and larger demands were made upon women, until it came to such a pass that it is declared by every nation which has been at war that the war could never have been won if it had not been for the work of the women.

Women's War Work

And so through this cooperative service of the men and women we have been able to reach this peace which now is so very near and which we trust the Senate of the United States will not retard, as no other nation save Germany has any desire to do so.

During the war women were called upon to serve and the response was universal. We women in America neither sacrificed nor served as did the women of the other countries. We were not called upon to do it; but as far as the country needed our services, as far as it made demands upon us for any particular line of work, we were ready to do what our government asked.

We have been able to count the men who died in the field. We are told that five million men in this war died in battle and that two million more died from wounds received in battle and that two million more died of disease in the hospitals, making a great total of nine million men who died. But when we speak of the cost of life in this war we enumerate only the men who died. We have made no enumeration of the women. We have made no enumeration of the children. We do not know the vast bodies of women and children who have been slaughtered, women who have been outraged and who today are filling the mad-houses of France and Belgium and Serbia and all the other nations which have been overrun by the armies. We know nothing about the horrible results which have come to the lives of women or of the cost of this war in women as well as its cost in men.

While we were called upon to serve dur-

ing the war, what was it for? Why was it that women responded as they did respond? Why was it that as one woman we came together and said to the Government, "What shall we do?"

Organization, Not Enthusiasm, Needed.

When I was appointed by the President of the United States and the Council of National Defense as Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, it was not because the women needed to be urged to do patriotic service, it was because women from all over the United States, in organized groups and individually, came with such a demand asking that they might serve that the Government was swamped by this desire; and the Government found it necessary to organize a group of women to direct the war work of women—not because they lacked patriotism but because of their patriotism; they all wanted to serve but they did not know in what way they could best render that service or what the country desired of them.

The Government called the women who organized the Woman's Committee together and they made us the medium in directing all the war work of the women of the United States.

What was the one cry that brought women together? What was the one impulse which drew them, as one woman? It was this!

You remember that when Mr. Wilson was re-elected President of the United States they said it was because of the pacifists and women; that the women of the West elected Mr. Wilson because he had kept us out of the war—that was the cry during the campaign. "He has kept us out of the war," and therefore many people said women were pacifists; and yet, if they had used their intelligence as they should have used it, they would have known that from the beginning of the war, long before our Government entered into it, the women of this nation began to organize. The so-

ciety to which I belonged went to Washington in February prior to our entrance into the war with Germany. We called the women of our whole national organization together; they came by hundreds and we formulated a plan of service. We saw the war was coming and we wanted to be prepared. And after we had made our preparation, deciding what lines of work, as a society, we would undertake, we offered ourselves, our two million women, to the Government and declared that whenever the Government called us we were ready to respond.

That was in February and war was declared in April, and when the Government did call upon us we were ready. I asked the Secretary of War what it was that he expected the woman's committee to do. He said, "We want you to coordinate the women's work of the United States, all the war work of the women, so that they will not duplicate, they will not overlap and they will cooperate in carrying out every requirement of the Government."

Council of National Defense.

That was a tremendous task, because women have been educated through the centuries not to have world vision, not to have a country vision, not to have even a community vision. We have been trained and educated to consider persons first and then little groups of persons afterwards—first, myself and my family—and then it comes "my church," then "my society" and "my set"—and so it has always been the personal relationship which has been developed in women until they were not able to forget their own narrow interests. But on the first call sent out by our Committee to the women of the country seventy-five presidents of the largest organizations in the United States came to Washington and we formed a group called the Advisory Committee of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, all of these seventy-five societies agreeing to give up their individual, identical work, their individual service, as they had been expecting

to perform it, and to come together and to unite to carry out any plan of united service which the Government might demand, while still retaining their identity.

What led those women to do this? What led them to forget the training of the past, and combine for one solid purpose?

When the Secretary of War told me that he wanted us not only to get the women to cooperate and prevent overlapping, etc., he said, "We want them to cooperate," and when the Secretary said that he smiled. I knew what was in the back of his head. He thought it would be impossible to get women to cooperate, and, being always ready to defend women—not, as it has been said, right or wrong, but being ready to defend them because I believed them to be in the right, I said to him, "Mr. Secretary, you seem to think that the women will not cooperate; that is because you have been dealing with men. If you will give them an object big enough and put back of them an incentive strong enough you will find that the women of this country will cooperate, Mr. Secretary." Now I frankly confess I did not quite believe what I said. I was bluffing a little bit but I was not going to have the Secretary think we could not cooperate, no matter what I thought about it.

To the honor of the women of this Nation, let it be said that from the beginning of the war to the end of it they maintained their pledge of cooperation.

"War to End War."

Men told us that, if we made a conquered peace, if we subdued militarism and the militarist spirit which Germany was inciting not only in its own country, but in the countries of the world, it would be conquered forever. "This is the war to end war."

It was that thought which brought women together, "This is a war to end war," and women must play their part in helping to end war forever.

We know that men are ready to die in war; but there are a great many things

harder than to die. Everybody must die sometime and it does not make so much difference perhaps as to the number of days we live as it does to the manner in which we live the days we *do* live. There are some things that are worth a great deal more than life, and one thing which was worth more than life to the men who went out and laid down their lives for their countries was not to leave a dishonored nation, a nation unworthy of the civilization of our time, a nation which had no heart to feel and no understanding to realize the conditions of intimate association between nation and nation and the obligation which one nation has to care for and sympathize with another.

Having grasped this idea of democracy, this idea of the oneness of the human family, we declared that we would give everything that we had and sacrifice everything that we had in the interests of ending war forever. So our women toiled and sacrificed and saved and toiled again, until the war ended.

Not Ended on Field of Battle.

Now, whether we agree with every part of that Peace Treaty or not, no matter whether we agree with everything there is in the League of Nations or not, the question remains that now with the Germans, our opponents, defeated on the field of battle, is that the way to end war forever, merely to defeat them on the field of battle? Is there not something to be done afterwards? Every one knows that no war is ended on the battlefield. The last word **in any war** is not spoken on the battlefield. The last word in war is spoken in **the halls** where the people meet together to decide what shall be the result of the war, what shall be the penalties of the war, and how peace shall be made.

If President Wilson were to stand before us today and tell us even a part of what he knows that we do not know, we would be the most astonished people in all the world. The Peace Commission with all the facts before them know; and out of their

knowledge, out of what they understand of the relation of nations to each other, they have given us this League of Nations, as the best solution they could produce, to bring about a just and lasting peace. That is what we women have been working for from the beginning of the war. In a conversation with President Wilson just before he went to Paris, he said, "The most difficult task I have had since the war began, in dealing with foreign nations, has been to convince them that we do not want any material advantage out of this war. They cannot understand it. Never before did any great nation go into a war such as this, with our men and our treasure, and then ask nothing in return. I could hardly make them believe that we were perfectly willing to come out with empty hands; and yet," he said, "they are beginning to understand that, because our men over there on the battlefield have shown them their disinterestedness, and they are able to feel that if we can send men to die in this disinterested way, those of us who are at home have perhaps the same spirit, and so they are beginning to trust us a little more than they did in the beginning."

What Women Want Out of War.

While Mr. Wilson said we want nothing out of the war, I said in my own heart—It may be that we want nothing material out of the war, but, oh, we want the biggest thing out of this war that has ever come to the world. We want Peace now and Peace forever.

If we cannot get that peace out of this war, what hope is there that it will ever come to humanity? Was there ever such a chance offered to the world before? Was there ever a time when the peoples of all nations looked towards America as they are looking today, because of our unselfishness in our dealings with them during the war?

We have not always been unselfish, but we have been in this war. Because of this they are looking to us, with hope. There were never such devastated countries as there are now over there where great na-

tions were destroyed. The war is over as far as the fighting is concerned, but it is only begun as far as the life of the people is concerned. They have got to come back, to build up a new life and a new hope and a new home.

What would there be of inspiration to these people to come back to their ruined homes and build up again their cities, if, within a few years, the same thing could be repeated and homes destroyed and cities devastated, the people outraged and made slaves as they have been? What hope would there be to these people? Why, men and women, they are looking to us as the hope of the world. And whenever I look on our flag, whenever I look on those stars on their field of blue and those stripes of red and white, I say to myself, "I do not wonder that when that flag went over the trenches and surmounted the barriers, the people of the world took heart of hope."

Security for the Future.

It was then that they began to feel they could unite with us in some sort of security for the future. And that flag means so much to me. I never look on its stars but that I see in every star the hope that must stir the peoples of the old world when they think of us and the power we have of helping to lead them up to a place where they may hope for their children and for their children's children the things that have not come to them.

It is because we stand in such a position before the world that we cannot afford to quibble. We cannot even for political advantage, we cannot afford because of personal hatred, to take from them one hour of hope, one ray of light. And yet, a few weeks ago, I was in the Capitol at Washington, talking to one of the Senators. I tried to talk to him upon another subject; he could not talk upon that subject, he was so full of having been slighted, so full of not having been consulted, so full of not having been recognized as a great and important and dignified member of that dignified body. When Senators

have to tell how dignified they are in order for people to find it out, it is about time they rested upon something else because that is a very shaky kind of dignity. This Senator's attack was not upon the League of Nations at all. It was all because something was not done which he thought ought to have been done. There is no doubt that a great many things have not been done which all of us think ought to have been done. There is not one of us who does not think he can do things better than anybody else. Most of us would like to have been set upon a pedestal and had Mr. Wilson sit down in front of us and ask us our opinion.

But still, notwithstanding that, we are perfectly willing to accept what has been evolved by those men who have all the facts before them, as the best thing which can be done now.

I do not think the League of Nations is perfect. I say that because everybody else says it. I really do not know why it is not perfect. And it is not because I have not read it, for I have read it and re-read it and re-read it. A particular friend of mine, after we had been reading it aloud together, said to me, "Now what could you put into it that is not there?" And I said, "The thing that bothers me is how they found so many things to put into it that are there."

Treaty a Marvelous Document.

The Treaty of Peace which has been submitted to the Germans I think is the most marvelous document in the world, and I have been wondering how many hundred men it took to think up all the demands they put into that peace pact. Congress says the League Covenant has delayed peace. Congress has been feeling fearfully because of that. The Senators have been blaming Mr. Wilson because he delayed peace because of the League of Nations, and all the time that the Peace Conference has been working up this marvelous peace pact on this League of Nations and investigating the conditions of all Europe in order

to make it a pact that is fair and just, Congress was not able to pass an appropriation bill, so we have been running into debt because we have no money to pay bills. If Congress had been attending to its job, Mr. Wilson would not have been fretted quite so much in Paris and perhaps his job would have been ended long ago.

This is the thing we are facing in this country. It is a sort of quibble among a group of men, for what?

One, however, is honest enough in his dishonesty—Mr. Reed, who does not know what honor is and never did—he has been honest enough at least to say that he does not want any League of Nations at all. There are a lot of other people who want this nation to go alone in this world. But the time has gone by when any country can stand alone. The time has gone by when a country no more than an individual can live to itself or die to itself.

Heaven or Hell—Which?

We have come to the place now where we can fly in a day from this country to any other country on the earth, almost, and we have become so closely interallied that national interests merge the one with the other, in such a manner that we cannot go alone. We must look facts in the face. All humanity is one. The world is one. And no nation can suffer unless all nations suffer. No nation can prosper without all nations prospering. We have got to take facts as they are and we have got to find out the best thing we can have. The best thing that has been given us and the only thing we have before us is this League of Nations. We have no other League of Nations. We have only this one. We must take this one or no one can tell what will come. We have no midway point. We have no purgatory. We have to choose either Heaven or Hell. We must take it or we must reject it.

Suppose the Senate of the United States amends that League of Nations, so as to make it radically different. What will happen? What is happening to us all over the

country today? You and I have felt the slump that has come to our national life since the armistice. We have felt it in business; we have felt it in the morale of the people; it is everywhere apparent. We are simply waiting. Waiting for what? Waiting for that peace which will give to us a basis upon which we can start our new life, and we will not be able to recover unless we do have something of that sort to bring us back again to the high plane upon which we stood during the war. To stand where we stood before the war will not do. We must have an incentive before us, an incentive for the intellectual and moral and industrial advancement of the people; the incentive must be universal in its application and we are waiting for it—waiting until this League of Nations Treaty of Peace has been signed.

If the Senate Amends.

Suppose the Senate rejects the League in its present form and makes amendments, as it says it has a right to do, but as some distinguished lawyers think it has not—suppose they do that. What will happen? The thing that will happen is that they will have to take it back again and deliver it to thirty-one different nations to see if they will ratify these amendments which our Senate has made. It will have to go to Germany as well as the other nations to see whether Germany will accept it. And it may not be accepted. And then some other nation, seeing that we have distinguished ourselves by making amendments and changes, will want to make changes and amendments and it will have to come back, and then we will make some more, and then it will go back and forth and Heaven alone knows when Peace will come or anything else to give us a start in the upward way.

Suppose we do not sign the Peace Treaty as it is. Suppose the Senate of the United States refuses to sign it with the League of Nations Covenant in it as it is now, but amends the League of Nations provision so that it is of no value whatever,

what will happen? We are told by the press that there is one clause in the Treaty which declares that if any three nations sign the Treaty with Germany as it stands, then they may enter into international relations with Germany. They may open up trade and start to do business with Germany just the same as if all the other nations had signed it.

Suppose Japan and France and Great Britain and Italy should sign that pact and we should refuse to do it; what would happen? They would be at peace, and we would be at war with Germany. That is what would happen. We have not signed the Peace Treaty and we are still at war. They would be in a state of peace while we, isolated, would be standing alone.

Another Big Job for Women.

Women, what have you been doing the last few weeks? You have been going from house to house raising the Victory Loan. I think one of the greatest jobs that women have done for the country has been the Liberty Loan. The country came to you in the beginning to send your boys across the seas; what was the cry! Send them provisions! Send them munitions! That was the cry. What have you been doing the last three or four weeks? You have been going out from house to house in the same old way, as women always do. Men do not. They think it is easy work. I have been in a great many political campaigns for reform, reform mayors and other people, and when the reform group get together and decide what they want to do they always say that the women are too feeble to vote for the reform mayor but they are not too feeble to do the work which is assigned to them, which is to go from house to house and do the canvassing and raise the funds. That is all they ask us to do.

Now it is the habit of men to lay that kind of house to house canvassing on women. In the Liberty Loan campaigns they told us, "You must not touch these big

sums; we will stand behind our counter or desk and when a man wants ten thousand dollars or a hundred thousand or a million dollars worth of bonds we will take the subscription, because they are so big you could not understand it. You may go from house to house; you may set your booths on the corner; you may take a fifty dollar subscription or a hundred dollar subscription." And the women have done it in every Liberty Loan drive.

I was in a city where, in the last campaign, in that kind of hard drudgery women raised fifty per cent. of the entire quota, just the women, going from house to house, and in all our cities and states they have done their full share and have done it splendidly.

What was the cry this time? Was it "Send the men across the sea," as it was in the beginning? Quite different. One sign I saw all over New York, all over Pennsylvania, all over Boston—"If you could sell bonds to send the boys across, can't you sell more bonds to bring the boys home?" That was the cry—to bring the boys home. How the boys would be cheered when they knew the men and women of the country were raising money to bring them home.

But if all the other nations except ours sign the Treaty of Peace and accept the League of Nations, and we still remain at war with Germany, are we going to bring the boys home with this money or are we going to keep them over there and provide for them while they are still holding the forts along the Rhine?

Bugaboo Words.

But our Senate is talking, talking! We women and men—are so afraid of words. If they are unfamiliar enough they scare us to death. To call a woman strong-minded in my girlhood days was enough to throw her into a spasm, because it meant in that day that she was a little bit inhuman or unhuman; and then women began to discover that there were only two kinds of minds, strong minds and feeble minds, and

they all wanted strong minds, they were not frightened by that word.

Then came the word "suffragist," which used to fill them with terror. By and by they came to understand that the suffrage of the people was the method of registering the will of the people, and then we were not at all afraid of that word because it dignified us.

Then they used the word—"feminist," and a lot of women got frightened for fear they would be called feminists. And when I speak upon the subject in which I am so much interested, the democracy of the country, which includes women, they always hurl at me the word "feminist," and what does that mean? It is woman aspiring to be human, which is not a bad thing at all.

We are so afraid of words, and the Congress of the United States, knowing our fear of words, invented the word "super-sovereignty." That is a wonderful word—"super-sovereignty." There is only one thing that they have produced that is new in their arguments against this League of Nations, that has not been used against the enfranchisement of women for the last forty years; and that is the Monroe Doctrine—that I believe has never been used against women's political freedom. When they couldn't do anything else they have always gone back to the fathers. You have heard about the fathers and what the fathers did. Why, the Chinese never worshipped their ancestors so much as Congress worships the fathers, when they haven't any reason to give for their attitude upon any subject.

Then when they have exhausted the fathers they bring out the constitution and they say "it is unconstitutional." Everything is unconstitutional.

The Meaning of a League.

President Lowell, of Harvard, has clearly explained every single idea there is in the League and every purpose of it—simply that we may be able to have some sort of

an organized body by which we may have international cooperation in keeping peace, international cooperation in helping to protect weaker peoples, international cooperation in providing a certain uniformity of law in the protection of the laboring people of the world, international cooperation to prevent the spread of disease and other evils. There is little for me to say on that last proposition. When influenza was sweeping over the country didn't we wish that we had some kind of an international health bureau by which we could have kept that disease out? And that is only the beginning of many diseases which will sweep the world as a result of the war, of the impoverished condition of Europe, and the unhealthful conditions of living forced upon the soldiers in the trenches.

And from those evils come back to us the lesson we must learn, that the "sins of the fathers are visited upon the children even to the third and fourth generations." When I read that Peace Pact and I thought how hard it is, how difficult it is, there appeared before me just as if it were written in words of light, "The sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." So Germany's children will bear the burden to the third and fourth generation of the crimes against them and the children of the world will bear the burdens of the obligations which they are compelled to assume because of the sins of the peoples of the world.

We women, the mothers of the race, have given everything, have suffered everything, have sacrificed everything, and we come to you now and say, "The time has come when we will no longer sit quietly by and bear and rear sons to die at the will of a few men. We will not endure it. We will not endure it. We demand either that you shall do something to prevent war or that we shall be permitted to try to do something ourselves."

Could there be any cowardice, could there be any injustice, could there be any wrong, greater than to refuse to hear the voice of a

woman expressing the will of women at the peace table of the world and then for men not to provide a way by which the women of the future shall not be robbed of their sons as the women of the past have been?

To you men we look for support. We look for your support back of your Senators and from this day until the day when the League of Nations is accepted and ratified by the Senate of the United States, it should be the duty of every man and every woman to see to it that the Senators from their state know the will of the people; that they know that the people will that something shall be done, even though not perfect; that there shall be a beginning, from which we shall construct something more perfect by and by; that the will of the people is that this League shall be accepted, and that if, in the Senate of the United States, there are men so blinded by partisan desire for present advantage, so blinded by personal pique and narrowness of vision, that they cannot see the large problems which involve the nations of the world; then the people of the States must see to it that other men sit in the seats of the highest.



Published by
LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, President
Bush Terminal Sales Building
130 WEST 42D STREET
NEW YORK

[post July 2, 1919]

The Passing of
Anna Howard Shaw

By
IDA HUSTED HARPER

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
171 Madison Avenue, New York City

The Passing of Anna Howard Shaw

The joy which recent victories have brought to the advocates of woman suffrage has suddenly been changed to a grief so intense that it cannot be lightened by any future triumphs, for on the evening of July 2, there passed from among them forever their beloved leader, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. Not even the death of those other great leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, left such a vacancy, for they had lived far beyond four-score years and their great work had gone into the hands of younger women, but Dr. Shaw died in the fullness of her power and there is none to inherit it. She was seventy-two years old but her wonderful voice was as rich and musical as in her youth, and her keenness of mind and force of expression seemed to increase with every year. During the more than two-score years that she urged the cause of temperance and equal suffrage she had no peer among women as an orator, and during the past two or three years that she has been pleading first for loyalty to the government and courage to win the war, and then for the League of Nations to end war forever, she has had no peer among men.

It was because of her power of oratory that Mr. Taft, president of the League to Enforce Peace through Arbitration, called Dr. Shaw last winter from her home in Florida where she was obliged to go each season because of repeated attacks of pneumonia, to speak in one or two of the Southern States, and as the weather was not severe she did not return but kept on speaking for it and for suffrage. She was about to finish up her suffrage engagements and go abroad for a rest with Miss M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, her devoted friend, when the urgent summons came again from Mr. Taft to put aside everything and accompany him and President Lowell, of Harvard University, on a speaking tour of fourteen States from New Hampshire to Kansas. She cheerfully cancelled all engagements and the European trip, spent every night on a sleeper and spoke in a different State each day, often several times a day, to large audiences. At Springfield, Ills., she was suddenly stricken with pneumonia and after several weeks in a hospital was able to be taken home. Here she seemed to recover quickly and on Sunday appeared almost well, was singing and laughing and planning for the first summer she ever had been able to spend in the beloved home she had built twelve years ago in Moylan, a suburb of Philadelphia. On Monday she

had a serious relapse, on Tuesday she became unconscious and on Wednesday the dauntless spirit yielded to the master hand of death.

Dr. Shaw literally died of overwork. She could not refuse a request to speak for a worthy cause; she never spared herself and never gave up to fatigue, but was sustained by her will power, her inexhaustible fund of humor, her optimism and her faith that justice must ultimately triumph. She died at the height of her glorious career. There is some consolation in the thought that she lived to see the victory of the two reforms to which she had especially devoted her life—prohibition and woman suffrage—but she knew that much work was yet to be done before the victory was complete and she wished to help in this work. It is some consolation too that she lived to see the end of the war and the dawn of peace, but to make both definite and final she realized that a vast amount of time and effort must still be expended and she wanted to give from her own store to its full extent, so even this consolation is shadowed with regret.

Dr. Shaw died for her country as truly as did any soldier on the field of battle and the suffragists would rather have it so than that she should have been sacrificed for their cause. It was because of her splendid work for the political freedom of women

that President Wilson and the members of his Cabinet who constituted the Council of National Defense chose her to head the Woman's Committee and organize and direct the work of the women of the nation during the war. These were the most critical two years in the whole course of the suffrage movement, as the Federal Amendment was before Congress most of the time, but when some anxious one would express sorrow at the loss of Dr. Shaw's much needed assistance she would answer: "I am doing the best work for suffrage that I ever did in my life. I am in daily companionship with men and women of influence whom I could never otherwise have met and have countless opportunities in many ways to make friends and sentiment for it."

The movement has now passed from the period of propaganda into that of systematic, organized political work and in this Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the national president, is unsurpassed, but it is a grave mistake to say that Dr. Shaw's task was finished. She spent two precious days at the New York headquarters before starting on this last tour and never had she seemed to be planning so much to do in the future. She was looking forward to the great celebration when the last State should ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment; she wanted to help put the new League of

Women Voters on its feet; she was desirous especially to bring the women of the world together again in the International Council of Women and the International Suffrage Alliance and begin the healing of the wounds of the war. Above all else she longed to take part in the vast social reconstruction which promises to absorb the time and effort of the leaders of thought and action in all countries. Dr. Shaw felt that with the new influence and power that had come to women they would be a strong factor in the solution of world problems, and, now that she was soon to be released from her forty years' work for the suffrage, she rejoiced that she would be free to devote herself to these national and international questions. Her loss is irreparable.

Only the relatives and nearest friends attended the funeral services, conducted by her lifelong co-worker, the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, with a tender and eloquent address by Mrs. Catt, her closest associate for the past quarter-of-a-century. The Secretary of War had sent an officer from the War Department as his representative, and the League to Enforce Peace was represented by its executive secretary. A wireless message of sympathy from the President of the United States was read and there was a magnificent floral tribute from the White House. Dr. Shaw lay under a covering of golden-hearted roses from the

National-American Suffrage Association, of which she was vice-president-at-large, president and honorary president during the last twenty-seven years. Every room was filled with flowers, some of which had been ordered by telegraph from as far away as the Pacific coast. Pictures of Susan B. Anthony looked down from the walls and articles from her home were scattered about the rooms. Built on the edge of a ravine through which flows a brook, with immense oak trees at the back and embowered in vines and shrubs it is a simple, comfortable house, which Dr. Shaw toiled many years to pay for and beautify. She had never had leisure to spend a whole month here at any one time, but Lucy Anthony, her private secretary and companion for thirty years, niece of Susan B. Anthony, had kept it always ready to welcome its cherished mistress. As she lay there among the flowers in the stillness of death the vision of her public life faded away, and those gathered around her thought only of the charm of her hospitality, of her generous, loving nature, of the sweet womanliness of character which held her friends by unbreakable ties and won the admiration of those even who opposed the measures which she so fearlessly advocated.

I stood long by her side and gazed on that noble head and face in the majesty of

death, the Medal for Distinguished Service and the "suffrage flag" with its tiny diamond stars resting on her breast. I recalled an incident that occurred some years ago in Amsterdam, where a congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was being held. Dr. Shaw was to preach on Sunday evening in one of the large Dutch churches. Two men back of me were talking contemptuously in English of "women ministers," when she came in and walked slowly up the narrow winding stairs to the high pulpit. In her flowing robe with her crown of white hair she looked like an angel and one of the men exclaimed: "What a beautiful face!" She seemed to speak with even more than her usual inspiration and when she had finished he exclaimed again: "What a beautiful mind!" Could he have known her he would have said: "What a beautiful soul!"

The night after Mrs. Stanton died Miss Anthony wrote: "It seems impossible that voice is stilled which I have loved to hear for fifty years!" And so today women in all parts of the world, who at the great congresses of the International Council and the Alliance had listened entranced to this matchless orator, are asking: "Can it be that voice is stilled forever?" There are no more appropriate last words than those which were uttered by Dr. Shaw herself as she stood among the snow drifts by the

open grave of Miss Anthony in the late afternoon of March 15, 1906:

"Dear friend, thou hast tarried with us long; thou hast now gone to thy well-earned rest. We beseech the Infinite Spirit who has upheld thee to make us worthy to follow in thy footsteps and carry on thy work. Hail and farewell!"

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

While President Wilson declared that we want nothing out of the war, I said in my own heart: "It may be that we want nothing material out of the war, but, oh, we want the biggest thing that has ever come to the world—we want Peace now and Peace forever! If we cannot get that peace out of this war, what hope is there that it will ever come to humanity? Was there ever such a chance offered to the world before? Was there ever a time when the peoples of all nations looked toward America as they are looking today? Men and women, they are looking to us as the hope of the world, and whenever I gaze on our flag, those stars on their field of blue and those stripes of red and white, I say to myself: 'I don't wonder that when that flag went over the trenches and surmounted the barriers, the people of the world took heart of hope.'"

*From last speech of
Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.*

Within a few weeks we will publish for the National American Woman Suffrage Association a memorial pamphlet of Dr. Shaw. Meantime a limited edition of this little booklet - The Passing of Anna Howard Shaw - has been printed by request and can be obtained for 15¢ each - \$1.50 per dozen.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue, New York

[July 29, 1919]

Peace Treaty and League of Nations

SPEECH

OF

HON. KNUTE NELSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 29, 1919



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1919

130135-10CS1

SPEECH
OF
HON. KNUTE NELSON,
OF MINNESOTA.

PEACE TREATY AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I crave the indulgence of the Senate for a few moments in making some remarks on the treaty of peace and the league of nations, and in making these remarks I shall avoid as far as possible all manner of technical discussion.

The total annual commerce of the world is over \$50,000,000,000, and of this our country contributes nearly, if not quite, one-fifth. Our resources and our activities are so vast that they require a world for their necessary development and expansion. We can no longer isolate ourselves in our relations with other countries. Their doors must be open to us, and our doors to them. Modern science has made distant nations our near neighbors. Chaos, stagnation, and distress in one part of the civilized world react upon and ultimately affect other parts of the world, including our own country. There is, in these strenuous modern times, a neighborhood of nations, as well as a neighborhood of individuals. Nations can no longer with safety and immunity say "I am not my brother's keeper." While our commerce extends to all parts of the world, Europe absorbs upward of one-half of the entirety. Our country has become, and for years has been, the great reservoir of food and raw materials for Europe. Europe has been our greatest market for these products, as well as for the vast products of our varied and manifold industries. We need Europe and Europe needs us. Free access to her markets is an absolute necessity of our industrial and economic life, and her capacity to absorb our products is contingent upon the degree of law and order that prevails within her borders. We can not, therefore, isolate ourselves from, or afford to be oblivious to, the conditions prevailing or likely to prevail in the realms across the sea.

Mr. President, we embarked in the Great War not because Germany had invaded our country, but because Germany had invaded our commerce and trade in European waters. She had made a dead line around Great Britain and France and in the North Sea, and parts of the Mediterranean, and decreed that across this line no American shipping should be allowed to pass. She proceeded to enforce this decree by a most ruthless and barbarous submarine warfare, in utter defiance of our rights, and in utter defiance of all international law. As a demonstration of what she could do, and intended to do with her submarines, she had long before this decree sunk the *Lusitania*. This attitude and course of Germany made it plain as never before that she was not only a great menace to England, France, and Italy, but also a most dangerous menace to America. Could she have subdued our allies, our country would have been at her mercy, and would have been her next victim, for it was evident that she aspired to world dominion. It was, moreover, clear to all who looked beneath the surface of things that not only was there a menace in her deeds and practices, but there was even a greater menace in her system of government; for it was only such a system that could breed such

practices and such terrors. It was only such a system that, without valid cause, could embark on such a war and ride roughshod with fire and sword over a little country whose neutrality it was pledged to protect. The evident eagerness for the war, the campaign of terror and destruction in Belgium and northern France all stamped Germany as the juggernaut among nations. She was emphatically a most dangerous menace, in spirit and in deed, to the entire world.

When our country embarked in the Great War nearly all our people, at least all good Americans, believed we had valid grounds for our action and were fully justified. Had we failed to meet the Teutonic challenge we should have been regarded as a poltroon among the nations of the world; and, more than that, it seemed apparent that without our intervention Germany could not have been thoroughly vanquished or a substantial peace brought to a distracted world—a peace vital to the future prosperity of our country.

Washington's Farewell Address, which we all cherish and of which we are not unmindful, did not deter us from embarking in the war and cooperating with the Allies in its energetic prosecution. Had he and the other great men of his day been with us at the time we entered the war he and they would undoubtedly have fully justified our course. The founders of our Government could not foresee, indeed none of us could foresee, that in the first quarter of the twentieth century we would be sending an army of 2,000,000 men to Europe to participate with England, France, and Italy in curbing and suppressing the great ambition and menace of Germany. There was a most effective "entangling alliance" between our soldiers and the soldiers of England and France that brought the enemy to his knees and forced him to seek an armistice and to sue for peace.

Mr. President, our brave and heroic soldiers demonstrated to the world that they were second to none in courage, in initiative, in endurance, and in all the qualities that go to make first-class fighting men. They demonstrated that the American people were not, as many in Europe supposed, a mere nation of money makers who worshipped Mammon so intensely that they had lost all stomach for war. The American soldier "went over the top" with a spirit and alacrity that surprised even the veterans of England and France. The glory of Cantigny, of Chateau-Thierry, of St. Mihiel, and of the Argonne are his forever, and the graves of our fallen heroes who made the supreme sacrifice bear mute witness to his bravery and heroism.

American soldiers have fought on the frozen fields of Canada, on the arid plains and tablelands of Mexico, on the shores of torrid Cuba, and in the distant Philippine Islands, but of all the wars they have been engaged in the war that terminated on the plains and hills of Argonne last November was beyond any question the most glorious—glorious because of the enemy encountered, glorious because of the issues involved, and, above all, glorious in its ultimate outcome.

It now remains for us to reap the full fruits of their victory. It has not only been our business to vanquish the enemy, but it is now our task to see that he stays vanquished and that he ceases to be a menace to the peace of the world. Unless this task is accomplished we shall have failed to score a complete

victory. To undertake to secure the full fruits of our victory in Europe will involve a dangerous "entangling alliance" to no greater extent than was involved in our participation in the war.

If any great cyclone of war shall arise in the future it will come from Europe and not from the Western Hemisphere; and to say that our country would have no interest in preventing such a war would be contending for the isolation of our country from the rest of the civilized world.

The entire world, civilized and uncivilized, is vitally interested in preventing the recurrence of such a war as ended in November last or of any war akin to it. Our country has scored a great victory in war; it now remains to score a great victory of peace. Nearly three centuries ago the great English poet, Milton, declared:

Peace hath her victories,
No less renowned than war.

A treaty of peace has been negotiated between Germany, on the one part, and the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, on the other part. The treaty has been ratified by Germany, and Great Britain, and I think by France and Italy. By its terms it is now in force between those countries, and it is now before the Senate for ratification.

It is unlike any other treaty resulting from and concluding a war in the past, in that it contains provisions for a league of nations to enforce and maintain peace. No similar attempt has found its way into any former treaty. The treaty may be likened to a judgment, and the league may be regarded as the executive officer, the marshal, if you please, to enforce the judgment. The avowed purpose of the league is to relieve the world of the terrors of war in the future, and with this purpose, I take it, we can have no controversy.

The question for us to consider is whether our country should participate in carrying out this purpose, and, if so, to what extent and subject to what limitations.

I have already pointed out how vitally our country is interested in the peace of Europe, the storm center of future wars. To have our economic, industrial, and commercial relations with Europe severed by the convulsions of a great war within her borders would divest us of much of our vitality, would confine us mainly to the Western Hemisphere, and commercially we would, to a large extent, be a Samson shorn of his locks. Europe is our greatest customer, and it is for the interest of our country to maintain that customer on a high purchasing level. This may seem a sordid argument, but, thank God, our people are not all sordid. The great mass of the American people, having enjoyed the blessings of a free government, are vitally interested in and sympathize with the downtrodden people of Europe, and realize that of all the calamities and agonies that can befall them the greatest is that of war.

I confess that I can not take much stock in the "entangling alliance" argument. When we sent our soldiers to Europe to participate in the war with the Allies, we jumped that fence. It seems to me that was to a considerable extent an entanglement in European affairs. And having entangled ourselves to that extent, why should we not entangle ourselves to secure the full results of our victory and avoid being entangled in another war? But it is claimed by some overnervous people that the

130135—19681

league will breed war. Can any sane man believe that if the representatives on the league of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy, through the machinery of the league, should forbid Germany to enter upon a war, Germany in the face of this admonition would venture to cross the Rubicon? The league is the first concrete and substantial effort that has been made looking to the prevention of war and the maintenance of international peace. It may be that some of the provisions are crude and vague and could well be improved upon. We can hardly expect perfection in a first effort in a new field. Time may develop the necessity for amendments, and provision should be made therefor in the covenants. I do not care to enter upon a technical discussion of the provisions relating to the league; that has been covered by many other Senators.

Mr. President, to my mind the chief question is, are any of the provisions relating to the league unconstitutional or beyond the pale of the treaty-making power. I take it that the treaty-making power extends to all subjects not inhibited by the mandates of the Constitution and not counter to powers expressly vested in Congress. The paragraph of the Constitution conferring upon the President and the Senate the power to make treaties contains in itself no limitations. The Constitution declares:

This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land.

But the "authority of the United States" is the authority conferred by the Constitution in its entirety, and nothing more. The war-making power, with the power to raise and support armies, is expressly vested in Congress, and in no other body or authority. No one, I take it, will for a moment seriously contend that the President and the Senate—a part only of the law-making power—can, by treaty, divest Congress, in its entirety, of its constitutional war power. So far as article 10 of the covenant would tend to embroil our country in war without the consent of Congress, it is manifestly outside of the pale of the treaty-making power. While it might be said that the league should take judicial notice of the limitations of our Constitution and construe article 10 in the light of those limitations, it is better for us, and much better for the league, to qualify that article by suitable reservation or disavowal.

There are those who maintain that article 10 does not militate against the war-making power of Congress; but as this is a matter over which there is much doubt and controversy, the safer course is to remove all doubt and controversy by express declarations or reservations.

The last provision of article 1 should in some form be eliminated or neutralized; the right of withdrawal from the league should be unconditional.

The contention that article 12 might compel us to submit to arbitration such domestic questions as immigration or other vital subjects is, I think, to a great extent obviated or neutralized by the second paragraph of article 13 and the eighth paragraph of article 15. But, in any event, if there is any serious doubt on this subject, it can be covered by suitable reservation, and so can the matter of the Monroe doctrine, if there is any doubt about that.

130135—19681

Except in one particular, to which I shall hereafter refer, the provisions of the treaty, considering its vast scope, seem to me just, fair, and reasonable.

Alsace and Lorraine are, as a matter of retributive justice, restored to France. The Saar Basin, with its coal mines, is placed in the control of France for a period of 15 years, as a substitute and recompense for the coal mines of northern France destroyed by the vandalism of Germany.

The Danish portions of Schleswig are, through a plebiscite, to be restored to Denmark. Poland is again resuscitated and established as an independent nation, with its boundaries fixed on the north, the west, and a part of the south, and is given an outlet to the sea by way of Danzig. Owing to present conditions in Russia, the eastern and southeastern boundaries could not well be established in the treaty.

The Czecho-Slovak State is recognized and its boundaries with Germany established.

The reparation provisions of the treaty, in view of the havoc and destruction wrought by Germany, are just, though not ample, but probably all that Germany can stand or that can well be realized from her at this time or in the near future.

Among the most important and valuable provisions of the treaty are the disarmament and demobilization provisions. If these are carried out, conscription is abolished and Germany will be left with a standing army of only 100,000 men, composed of volunteers under a 12-year enlistment, and a standing navy of 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, and 12 torpedo boats, with a personnel of 15,000 men, volunteers under a 12-year enlistment. This will reduce her military and naval power to a minimum and for years render her less dangerous than formerly as a belligerent.

These provisions of the treaty are of great value to the German people in relieving them of conscription and in relieving them of the burden of maintaining a vast military and naval establishment, as in the past. It will enable them to devote their energies to industrial instead of military activities, and it will enable them more easily to meet the reparation requirements of the treaty. While the German people may feel that the terms of the treaty are in many particulars very harsh and exacting, they can not help realizing, unless they are still possessed of a mania for war, military autocracy, and world power, that a great blessing has been conferred upon them by relieving them from the extensive military service in vogue in the past and the burdens of taxation incident thereto. But, more than this, they are relieved of army rule, and can more easily establish and maintain a freer and more democratic form of government than they have had heretofore. This will be the main gain of the German people from the war into which they were driven by their military autocracy. I hope the German people will have the good sense to avail themselves of this feature in the body of the treaty.

Poland, dismembered and divided by Germany, Austria, and Russia many years ago, has by the terms of the treaty, after years of suffering and brutality at the hands of those powers, been restored to its own people and established as an independent nation, to work out its own salvation on its own lines and for its own people, relieved from the incubus of the three despoilers. This is one of the grand results of the war that

we can not help but rejoice in. America has been able to make some return for the help Poland's sons, Pulaski and Kosciusko, rendered our country in the Revolutionary War. The wrongs and injustice of more than a century have been in part atoned for and righted. Poland has in it the elements of a strong and vigorous nation, imbued with the elements of true democracy, and she will prove to be a safeguard and barrier between military autocracy on the west and south and Bolshevism on the east; and she will be able to stay German commercial attrition to the eastward, and to that extent be a relief to Russia.

The only part of the treaty, aside from the covenants of the league, that I can not be reconciled to are the provisions relating to Shantung, articles 156, 157, and 158. This concession, as I am informed, was made with much reluctance and misgiving. As I understand it, the genesis of the matter is this:

In the early part of the war, long before we came to the relief of the Allies, England and France were sorely pressed, especially England, on account of her unpreparedness, and they were seeking help and allies in all directions. As an inducement for Japan to join them, they agreed, in substance, that if Japan would capture the German acquisitions in Shantung and expel the Germans therefrom and in general support the Allies, Japan should, on the conclusion of peace, be subrogated to the rights of Germany. It was this agreement that confronted England and France at the peace table and prevented them from joining the President in opposing these provisions of the treaty. Japan was insistent, and China protested. I understand that Japan, while as a matter of pride insisting on the provisions of the treaty, yet, nevertheless, through her representatives, verbally agreed that within a year or two she would restore the concession to China; that a written memorandum was made of this verbal promise, but it was not signed by the representatives of Japan. Japan ought to clear up the matter and give satisfactory assurance that she will within a reasonable time return all the German Shantung concessions to China. It will never do to leave Japan in permanent control of this Province, with full right of exploitation. It would tend to put her in full control of the East, and ultimately lead to the dismemberment of China.

How fortunate we are at this juncture to have a big American base in the East, in the Philippine Islands, from which our voice can be effectively heard and our influence felt in oriental affairs! And now, when we are all rightfully exercised over Shantung, it is well to recall how a few years ago an effort was made in Congress, which came near succeeding, to cast the Philippine Islands adrift and leave them to shift for themselves, and the agitation for this is still pending. This Shantung affair ought to admonish us not to leave the Philippine Islands as a lure for similar exploitation. The relinquishment of Helgoland, when made, seemed a small matter to England, but it turned out to be a great embarrassment and handicap to her naval operations in the late war.

As the war which closed on the plains of Argonne last November was in all its course and aspects the greatest, the most terrific, and the most destructive of lives and property in all the known annals of time, so the treaty of peace which has resulted therefrom is the most comprehensive and the most far-

reaching in all its details of all treaties, modern or ancient. It was a Herculean task to extinguish and overlap the great crater of the war. As the grounds covered by the treaty are vast, it leaves a large field for criticism for those who are so inclined.

My first thought was that the covenants of the league should be separated from the main treaty and considered apart therefrom, but on examination I find that this can not well or properly be done. So many of the provisions of the treaty rest upon and are entwined with the league covenants for their initiation or ultimate performance that such segregation would tend, directly or indirectly, to destroy or neutralize valuable and important provisions of the treaty and render some of its provisions abortive. So, to my mind, the only safe course to pursue is to consider and act on the covenants in connection with the other provisions of the treaty.

There has been so much technical and learned discussion of the covenants that I have avoided entering that field. I have merely in a brief manner pointed out some of the objectionable features and have suggested how these can be obviated and overcome. I have not groped around to find objections to defeat the treaty, for I am imbued with the faith that fundamentally the general purpose of the league is sound and fully warranted.

Little as we looked for it in 1914, we were, after all, contrary to the admonitions of the fathers of our country, "entangled" in a great war, not in our own borders, not anywhere in the Western Hemisphere, but 3,000 miles away, in the very heart of Europe. It seems to me that our country is, and ought to be, as much interested in preventing the recurrence of any similar war as in entering the war in the first instance. We ought to be as much interested in securing permanent peace results from the war as in making war. It surely can not be more dangerous to "entangle" us in securing a permanent peace in Europe than to "entangle" us in a war in Europe.

Aside from the facts I have heretofore mentioned, there are some facts and circumstances which at this juncture seem to me of the highest importance and worthy of our consideration. The events of the last seven or eight months have shown to us what a great spirit of unrest, bordering in some instances on anarchy, prevails throughout the civilized world as an aftermath of the Great War; and our country is not entirely free from this spirit of unrest. Organized society seems in many places to be in a soluble state, especially in the Old World. Let us not be blind to this condition nor seek to minimize it, but look it squarely in the face. What is needed is to restore law and order throughout the civilized world, and in this problem our own country is interested in common with the other great civilized nations of the world. A permanent and lasting peace, leading to a full revival of the industrial and commercial activities of the world, will tend to cure this spirit of unrest. Where food and work at good wages abound there is little thought of revolution. There can be no such revival where war clouds are on the horizon. Remove the terrors of war—the poor and lowly suffer most therefrom—and mankind will breathe easier and will soon be born to a new life and to a new spirit. Would it not be sad to think that our country should stand aloof from such purpose and such mission?

PUBLICATIONS

New York State College of Agriculture
at Cornell University
Ithaca, N. Y.



THE MAILING ROOM

OCTOBER, 1919

Application for publications should be made
to the Office of Publication, State College
of Agriculture, Ithaca, New York

CONCERNING PUBLICATIONS

For the convenience of persons making use of the bulletin service of the New York State College of Agriculture at Ithaca, this booklet has been prepared with broad classifications as to subjects. Those under the general headings "The Farm" and "The Home" will be of interest to the general reader. Those under the heading "Technical" will be more likely to interest only teachers in the particular subjects concerned or persons engaged in research.

There is no charge for these publications and requests are filled in order of their receipt until the supply is exhausted.

How to Order

A most satisfactory method of ordering bulletins is to address a postal card to the Office of Publication, State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, New York. It is easier for you and easier for the Office of Publication, inasmuch as there is no envelope to be opened. It is better, further, not to write concerning anything else in a letter or on a card requesting bulletins. Be sure your name and address are plainly written or printed.

In this list, when a letter and a number follow the title as a key, such as (F26), it is not necessary to give the title; the "(F26)" is enough. Where no such key appears, the full title should be given to insure the proper filling of a request. Titles which are starred (*) are published by the United States Department of Agriculture but are available for distribution at the College.

THE FARM

LIVESTOCK

- Feeding and care of the horse (F 46)
- Practical horse breeding (F 56)
- Judging draft horses (F 113)
- Keeping sheep for profit (F 115)
- Swine production in New York (F 126; 139)
- Contagious abortion of cattle (F 131)
- Starting a flock of sheep (F 134)
- The beef breeding herd in New York State (F 136)
- The dairy herd (F 137)
- Farm manure: its production, conservation, and use (F 141)
- Rearing the dairy calf (J 3)
- *Raising Belgian hares and other rabbits
- Silos, and the production and feeding of silage (F 114)
- Conserve the manure
- Consider the pig

DAIRY

- Composition of milk and some of its products (F 32)
- Farm butter-making (F 60)
- Cream separation (F 82)
- The production of clean milk (F 86)
- Practical examples in dairy arithmetic (F 98)
- Cooling milk (F 102)
- The dairy herd (F 137)
- The Babcock test, and testing problems (F 118; 140)
- Calculating the cost of milk production (F 142)
- Some suggestions in connection with the milk problem (E 12)
- A cheese moisture test (E 17)
- Skimmilk cheddar cheese (E 8)

Country milk stations (E 30)
Making and storing butter for home use
(E 33)
Methods of making some of the soft cheeses
(E 30)
What is meant by "quality" in milk (E 25)
The formation of cow-testing associations
(C 17)
*Delicious products of the dairy
Milk products

THE SOIL

Introduction to the principles of soil
fertility (F 74)
Tilth and tillage of the soil (F 42)
Soil moisture and crop production (F 70)
Land drainage and soil efficiency (F 78)
Farm manure: its production, conservation,
and use (F 141)
Nature, effects, and maintenance of humus
in the soil (F 50)
A program of soil improvement for New
York State (E 15)
Outline of the function and use of com-
mercial fertilizers (E 8)
Outline of the relation of the use of lime
to the improvement of the soil (E 5)
Soil survey of Chautauqua County, New
York (E 6)
Soil survey of Clinton County, New York
(E 3)
Soil survey of Schoharie County, New York
(E 24)
Soil survey of Cortland County, New York
(E 29)
Soil survey of Yates County, New York
(E 32)
Soil survey of Oneida County, New York
(P 362)
Soil survey of Orange County, New York
(P 351)
Soil survey of Livingston County

Soil survey of Monroe County
Soil survey of Tompkins County
Soil survey of Washington County
Soil survey of Ontario County
Soil survey of Montgomery County
Experiments in fertilizing a crop rotation
(P 399)
Orchard soil management (F 125)
Conserve the manure

FLOWERS

Spring in the flower garden (F 106)
Autumn in the flower garden (F 128)
Gladiolus studies—I. Botany, history, and
evolution of the gladiolus (E 9)
Gladiolus studies—III. Varieties of the
garden gladiolus (E 11)
The surroundings of the farm home (F 96)
How the plant produces seed (F 144)

POULTRY

Rearing chickens: brooder house construc-
tion (F 130)
Preparation of eggs for market (F 133)
Poultry parasites (C 29)
*Illustrated poultry primer

BEEES

Beginnings in beekeeping (F 138)
How to increase the honey supply (E 16)

FARM FORESTRY

The improvement of the woodlot (F 12)
Recent New York State laws giving relief
from taxation on lands used for
forestry purposes (F 28)
Methods of determining the value of timber
in the farm woodlot (F 62)
Woodlot conditions in Broome County, New
York (P 366)

Woodlot conditions in Dutchess County,
New York (P 368)
Possibilities of private forest management
in New York State (P 373)
County, farm, and village forests (F 40)

FRUIT GROWING

Culture of red and black raspberries and
of purple-cane varieties (F 36)
Culture of the blackberry (F 52)
Culture of the grape (F 72)
Insects injurious to the fruit of the apple
(F 84)
Pruning (F 104)
Top-working and bridge-grafting fruit trees
(F 123)
Orchard soil management (F 125)
Protecting the home apple orchard by dust-
ing (E 1)
Wholesale prices and receipts of apples in
Boston for thirty-six years (E 28)
Wholesale prices of apples and receipts of
apples in New York City for twenty
years (C 22)
Dusting nursery stock for the control of
leaf diseases (C 32)
Apple orchard survey of Ontario County
(P 307)
Control of apple insects in Clinton County
(P 356)
Peach cankers and their treatment (C 26)
Apple cankers and their control (C 28)
Apple spray schedule
*Growing cherries east of the Rocky
Mountains
*Strawberry culture

THE HOME GARDEN

The home vegetable garden (E 14)
Summer care of the home vegetable garden
(F 92)
Hotbeds and cold frames (F 120)

Planting the home vegetable garden
(F 122)
Control of vegetable diseases (E 19)
Construction and management of root
storage cellars (E 22)
The vegetable garden (J 4)
Drying fruits and vegetables in New York
State (F 132)
*The farm garden in the north
*The city and suburban vegetable garden
*Farm and home drying of fruits and
vegetables
Drying fruits and vegetables in the home
Salting vegetables
*Preservation of vegetables by fermenta-
tion and salting

FARM CROPS

Principles and methods of plant breeding
(F 38)
Methods of breeding oats (F 44)
The culture of sweet clover and vetch
(F 108)
Buckwheat (F 110)
Field bean production (F 124)
Improving the corn crop by selection and
breeding (F 129)
Potato growing in New York (F 143)
The European corn borer (E 31)
Alfalfa for New York (F 90)
The control of insect pests and plant dis-
eases (P 283)
Grass and clover insects (E 20)
*Growing high-grade potato seed stock
Buckwheat and rye
Winter rye and winter wheat on sod land

COUNTRY LIFE

The rural school and the community (F 64)
The surroundings of the farm home (F 96)
Lawns and lawn making (E 7)

The home grounds (P 361)
Cooperation in agriculture and the factors
that make for success
Diagrams—types of septic tanks
A plan for a rural community center

MISCELLANEOUS FARM BULLETINS

Meadows in New York (F 66)
Birds in their relation to agriculture in
New York State (F 76)
The farm fishpond (F 94)
The farm ice supply (F 135)
How the plant produces seed (F 144)
The control of grasshoppers in New York
(E 4)
Suggestions to purchasers of farm lands in
New York (E 23)
Grass and clover insects (E 20)
Apple and thorn skeletonizer (E 27)
Some suggestions for city persons who de-
sire to farm (C 24)
Seed testing (E 26)
*Labor-saving practices in hay-making
Some ways of getting along without the
hired man
Multiple hitches
*The cottontail rabbit in relation to trees
and farm crops
*The construction of concrete fence posts

THE HOME

FOODS

The curing of meat and meat products on
the farm (F 119)
Drying fruits and vegetables in New York
State (F 132)
Cost of food (H 29)
Waste of meat in the home—Part I (H 101)
Suggestions for the health of children
(H 103)
Waste of meat in the home—Part II
(H 109)
Principles of jelly making (H 114)
Cornmeal once a day (H 115)
Make every crumb count (H 116)
Cereals in the diet (H 117)
When potatoes are plentiful (H 118)
Sugar-saving desserts and confections
(H 121)
How to use the apple crop (H 122)
Making and storing butter for home use
(E 33)
*Delicious products of the dairy
*Ways to use cottage cheese
Making kraut for home use or market
Fruit juices
Ways of preserving peaches
Dandelion recipes
Ways of preserving beans and peas
Jelly
Equipment for canning
*Directions for canning fruit by the cold-
pack method
Canning meat
A dozen kinds of bread
Ways of preserving tomatoes
*Farm and home drying of fruits and vege-
tables
Drying fruits and vegetables in the home
Salting vegetables

- *Preservation of vegetables by fermentation and salting
- *Cheese and its economical uses in the diet
- *School lunches
- Potatoes for patriotism
- *Suggestions for marketing of cottage cheese
- Ways of using milk
- For the meatless day
- A simple fruit and vegetable drier

HOME CONVENIENCES

- Saving strength (H 25)
- The farmhouse (H 39)
- Planning the home kitchen (H 108)
- A simple fruit and vegetable drier
- How to make an iceless refrigerator
- Diagrams—types of septic tanks
- A homemade fireless cooker
- Equipment for canning
- *Farm home conveniences

CHILDREN

- The care and feeding of children (H 3)
- Suggestions for the health of children (H 103)

CLOTHING

- First lessons in sewing (J 1)
- Elementary garment making (J 2)

MISCELLANEOUS HOME BULLETINS

- Cornell study clubs (H 13)
- Household bacteriology (H 31)
- Home economics at the New York State College of Agriculture (H 37)
- The farmhouse (H 39)
- Household insects and methods of control (H 49)
- The Christmas festival (H 53)
- A syllabus of lessons for extension schools in home economics (H 57)

- Attic dust and treasures (H 61)
- Programs for use in study clubs (H 79)
- Keeping Christmas (H 97)
- Civic duties of women (H 120)
- A program of thrift for New York State (H 123)
- Making a budget (H 124)
- Self-study outlines for promoting thrift (H 125)
- How to keep a cash account (H 126)
- What to spend for food (H 127)
- Points in selecting the daily food (H 128)
- Questions for group discussion on thrift (H 129)
- Club programs on thrift (H 130)

VARIOUS TOPICS

THE FARM BUREAU

Reports of local farm bureaus, surveys of county areas, and certain other circulars are published by many of the local associations, and may be obtained from the local farm bureau offices as far as the supply permits. The following publications concerning farm bureaus are available at the College:

- Broome County: an account of its agriculture and of its farm bureau (FBC 2)
- Jefferson County: an account of its agriculture and of its farm bureau (FBC 4)
- Niagara County: an account of its agriculture and of its farm bureau (FBC 5)
- Summary report of farm bureau work in New York State for the calendar year 1914 (FBC 6)
- Annual report of the director of farm bureaus for the year ending December 31, 1915 (FBC 8)

- *Organization of a county for extension work—the farm bureau plan
- *Status and results of county-agent work—Northern and Western States, 1917-1918

NATURE STUDY

Bound volumes of the Cornell Nature Study Leaflets, which were issued several years ago but are still of value, are available for free distribution to public libraries and New York State teachers in active service. On account of the conditions under which the appropriation for these books was made, the postage, averaging, in New York State, fifteen cents on each copy, must be paid by the recipient.

To any interested persons, there are also available for general distribution ten different bulletins on nature study issued in several different series. One of each of these bulletins will be sent when request is made for "nature study bulletins."

RURAL SCHOOL LEAFLETS

Some of the back numbers of the Cornell Rural School Leaflets are still available, and these are sent on request to schools and public libraries, and to persons in New York State and in other States who are interested in the work.

CONCERNING THE COLLEGE

Courses in forestry at Cornell
 Announcement of courses
 Announcement of winter courses
 Needs of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University
 Around the campus of the New York State College of Agriculture
 Buildings, lands, and activities of the Col-

lege of Agriculture
 Some facts concerning the New York State College of Agriculture
 Farmers' Week at Cornell (F 100)
 Home economics at the New York State College of Agriculture (H 37)
 Extension work in agriculture and home economics in New York during 1918 (E 34)

TECHNICAL

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The physiological action of nitrobenzene vapor on animals (M 20)
 The cost of milk production (P 357)
 Cost of producing milk on 174 farms in Delaware County, New York (P 364)
 Feed consumed in milk production (P 398)

BOTANY

Orange hawkweed, or paint brush (C 9)
 The taxonomic value and structure of the peach leaf glands (P 365)
 Physiological studies of *Bacillus radicola* of soybean and of factors influencing nodule production (P 386)
 Factors influencing the abscission of flowers and partially developed fruits of the apple (P 393)
 Some relations of certain higher plants to the formation of nitrates in soils (M 1)
 The action of certain nutrient and non-nutrient bases on plant growth (M 2)
 Physiological studies of *Bacillus radicola* of Canada field pea (M 5)
 A study of bacteria in ice cream during storage (M 18)
 Fusaria of potatoes (M 6)
 Senile changes in leaves of *Vitis vulpina*

- L. and certain other plants (M 7)
- A bacterial disease of stone fruits (M 8)
- Influence of certain carbohydrates on green plants (M 9)
- A classification of the varieties of cultivated oats (M 10)
- Stimulation of root growth in cuttings by treatment with chemical compounds (M 14)

CHEMISTRY

- The physiological action of nitrobenzene vapor on animals (M 20)

ENTOMOLOGY, LIMNOLOGY, ORNITHOLOGY

- The control of insect pests and plant diseases (P 283)
- The apple redbugs (P 291)
- The tarnished plant-bug (P 346)
- A bibliography of the writings of Professor Mark Vernon Slingerland (P 348)
- Reports on scale insects (P 372)
- The army-worm in New York in 1914 (P 376)
- The lesser migratory locust (P 378)
- The pine bark beetle (P 383)
- The poplar and willow borer (P 388)
- A revision of the genus *Lygus* as it occurs in America north of Mexico, with biological data on the species from New York (P 391)
- An investigation of the scarring of fruit caused by apple redbugs (P 396)
- Biology of the Membracidae of the Cayuga Lake Basin (M 11)
- Insects injurious to the hop in New York (M 15)
- Grass and clover insects (E 20)

DAIRY INDUSTRY

- A study of some factors influencing the

- yield and the moisture content of cheddar cheese (P 334)
- The Babcock test, with special reference to testing cream (P 337)
- Two factors causing variation in the weight of print butter (P 355)
- The cost of milk production (P 357)
- Variations in the tests for fat in cream and skimmed milk (P 360)
- Cost of producing milk on 174 farms in Delaware County, New York (P 364)
- Metallic flavor in dairy products (P 373)
- Clarification of milk (P 389)
- The refinement of feeding experiments for milk production by the application of statistical methods (P 397)
- Feed consumed in milk production (P 398)

FARM CROPS AND VEGETABLE GARDENING

- An analysis of the costs of growing potatoes (M 22)
- Crop yields and prices, and our future food supply (P 341)
- Experiments in fertilizing a crop rotation (P 399)

FARM MANAGEMENT

- An analysis of the costs of growing potatoes (M 22)
- Crop yields and prices, and our future food supply (P 341)
- The cost of milk production (P 357)
- Cost of producing milk on 174 farms in Delaware County, New York (P 364)
- An agricultural survey, townships of Ithaca, Dryden, Danby, and Lansing, Tompkins County, New York (P 295)

FLORICULTURE

- Sweet pea studies—II. Winter-flowering sweet peas (P 319)

Sweet pea studies—IV. Classification of garden varieties of the sweet pea (P 342)

Heredity studies in the morning-glory (P 392)

The decomposition of sweet clover as a green manure under greenhouse conditions (P 394)

Gladiolus studies — I. Botany, history, and evolution of the gladiolus (E 9)

Gladiolus studies — III. Varieties of the garden gladiolus (E 11)

FORESTRY

Forest legislation in America prior to March 4, 1789 (P 370)

Reforestation methods and results of forest planting in New York State (P 374)

Possibilities of private forest management in New York State (P 375)

METEOROLOGY

Frosts in New York (P 316)

PLANT BREEDING AND GENETICS

The inheritance of the weak awn in certain *Avena* crosses and its relation to other characters of the oat grain (M 23)

A fifth pair of factors, Aa, for aleurone color in maize, and its relation to the Cc and Rr pairs (M 16)

Variation and correlation of oats—Part I (M 3)

Variation and correlation of oats—Part II (M 4)

PLANT PATHOLOGY

Legume inoculation (C 15)

The control of insect pests and plant diseases (P 283)

The fire blight disease in nursery stock (P 329)

Some important leaf diseases of nursery stock (P 358)

Phytophthora disease of ginseng (P 363)

The leaf blotch disease of horse chestnut (P 371)

Black rot, leaf spot, and canker of pomaceous fruits (P 379)

A study of bacteria in ice cream during storage (M 18)

The hard rot disease of gladiolus (P 380)

Leaf smut of timothy (P 381)

Three cedar rust fungi: their life histories and the diseases they produce (P 390)

The anthracnose disease of the raspberry and related plants (P 395)

Some relations of certain higher plants to the formation of nitrates in soils (M 1)

The action of certain nutrient and non-nutrient bases on plant growth (M 2)

Physiological studies of *Bacillus radicola* of Canada field pea (M 5)

Fusaria of potatoes (M 6)

Senile changes in leaves of *Vitis vulpina* L. and certain other plants (M 7)

A bacterial disease of stone fruits (M 8)

Influence of certain carbohydrates on green plants (M 9)

A classification of the varieties of cultivated oats (M 10)

POMOLOGY

Oriental pears and their hybrids (P 332)

The taxonomic value and structure of the peach leaf glands (P 365)

Black rot, leaf spot, and canker of pomaceous fruits (P 379)

Sun-scald of fruit trees (P 382)

Factors influencing the abscission of flowers and partially developed fruits of the apple (P 393)

An investigation of the scarring of fruit caused by apple red-bugs (P 396)

POULTRY HUSBANDRY

A continued study of constitutional vigor in poultry (P 345)

RURAL ECONOMY

Further experiments on the economic value of root crops for New York (P 317)

Crop yields and prices, and our future food supply (P 341)

The cost of milk production (P 357)

Cost of producing milk on 174 farms in Delaware County, New York (P 364)

Costs accounts on some New York farms (P 377)

SOIL TECHNOLOGY

The translocation of calcium in a soil (M 17)

Studies in the reversibility of the colloidal condition of soils (M 21)

Chemical analysis of soil (C 12)

The fire-blight disease and its control in nursery stock (C 20)

Effects of variations in moisture content on certain properties of a soil and on the growth of wheat (P 352)

Some effects of oxygen and carbon dioxide on nitrification and ammonification in soils (P 384)

Experiments in fertilizing a crop rotation (P 399)

Some relations of certain higher plants to the formation of nitrates in soils (M 1)

The action of certain nutrient and non-nutrient bases on plant growth (M 2)

Lysimeter experiments: records for tanks 1 to 12 during the years 1910 to 1914 inclusive (M 12)

CONCERNING LISTS

The College maintains mailing lists through which publications are distributed automatically to persons residing in New York State, and to teachers, investigators, agricultural extension workers, and libraries, in other States.

Persons who wish to have their names entered should request the listing by means of a postal card. The request might read "Please enter my name on the () list". The name and address must be plain. If the list desired is classified as explained below, *be sure* to designate the *classifications* or *subjects* in which you are interested.

The Cornell reading courses consist of comprehensive and popular publications. There are two: The Cornell Reading Course for the *Farm* and the Cornell Reading Course for the *Home*. From six to eight bulletins during the year in each series are issued. A request for entry on the *Farm* or on the *Home* list is sufficient.

The extension bulletins contain brief and specific instructions on agricultural and home economics subjects. They might be termed "how to do" publications. This list is classified, and only the bulletins in the classifications requested are sent. The classifications are: livestock, dairy, flowers,

soil, poultry, bees, home, forestry, fruit, vegetables, field crops, country life.

The experiment station bulletins and memoirs are highly technical and are sent only to libraries and to persons interested in agricultural research. These also are classified by subjects: animal husbandry; botany; chemistry; entomology, limnology, ornithology; dairy industry; extension; farm crops and vegetable gardening; farm management; farm practice; floriculture; forestry; home economics; landscape art; meteorology; plant breeding and genetics; plant pathology; pomology; poultry husbandry; rural economy; rural education; rural engineering; soil technology.



THE BULLETIN IN THE HOME

The Atkinson Press, Ithaca, N. Y.

[Oct. 28-29, 1919]

Minnesota Woman Suffrage
Association

*Call to
League of Women Voters
Conference*

Radisson Hotel, Minneapolis
October 28th and 29th

CALL TO LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS CONFERENCE.

The Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association, according to instructions from the National American Woman Suffrage Association, hereby issues a call to a State Conference to be held at the Radisson Hotel, Minneapolis, October 28th and 29th, for the purpose of forming the Minnesota League of Women Voters.

Our great national leader, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, will be with us and will personally take charge of the section on Citizenship. Such leaders as Julia Lathrop, Head of the National Children's Bureau, Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, chairman of the Unification of Laws for Women Committee, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, chairman of the Food Supply and Demand Committee, and other national leaders will make this one of the most notable meetings ever held in the Northwest.

The work for woman suffrage is practically over. The right to vote for President of the United States has been given the women of the State, and the Legislature, called in special session, has ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Great actual and potential power is now vested in the women of the State. We must confer in order, first—that we may become enlightened voters and, second—to consider plans by which this great power may be directed for the good of the State.

Our Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association will soon cease to exist. Let us build in its place a mightier organization, which shall include all women and all organizations having for their purpose the raising of our standards of living and the safeguarding of our cherished institutions.

COME TO THE CONFERENCE!

Together the women of the state must make wise and farseeing plans to the end that our dreams of a democracy, in which men and women shall have an equal voice, must come true.

Clara Ueland.

The League of Women Voters

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

MRS. CHARLES H. BROOKS
Wichita, Kansas.

NATIONAL COMMITTEES

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

MRS. FREDERICK P. BAGLEY, *Chairman*
Boston, Mass.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS, *Chairman*
Chicago, Ill.

CHILD WELFARE

MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER, *Chairman*
Austin, Texas.

IMPROVEMENT IN ELECTION LAWS AND METHODS

MRS. JACOB BAUR, *Chairman*
Chicago, Ill.

SOCIAL HYGIENE

DR. VALERIA H. PARKER, *Chairman*
Hartford, Conn.

UNIFICATION OF LAWS CONCERNING CIVIL STATUS OF WOMEN

MRS. CATHERINE WAUGH McCULLOCH, *Chairman*
Chicago, Ill.

FOOD SUPPLY AND DEMAND

MRS. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN, *Chairman*
Washington, D. C.

RESEARCH

MRS. MARY SUMNER BOYD, *Chairman*
Washington, D. C.

[ca 1920?]

League of Women Voters

"IF ever the world sees a time when women shall come together purely and simply for the benefit and good of mankind, it will be as a power such as the world has never known."—Matthew Arnold.

The League of Women Voters

MINNESOTA HEADQUARTERS
403 ESSEX BLDG., MINNEAPOLIS
Telephone, Nicollet 6270

WHAT is it?

A group of enfranchised women, who want not merely to vote, but to vote for *something*. The vote is only a tool with which to work, and for years they have struggled and sacrificed to secure it. Now, they want to build a better world for their neighbors and their posterity. They are women skilled in organization, propaganda and political work. Now they propose to unite once more and to bring their experience, their training and their enthusiasm to bear upon other problems.

What problems? Illiteracy, too easy qualifications for the vote, too uncertain dissemination of knowledge concerning citizenship and its duties and kindred topics.

Why not leave these questions to political parties for solution? These problems have existed for a century and have grown bigger, blacker and more menacing with each year and political parties have only evaded and avoided them.

How is the work to be done? By creating so widespread a demand for the needed correction of these ills that each political party will adopt the movement and make these aims a part of its platform and its campaign.

Is it political? Certainly, but not partisan. Its members are as free as other women to join and vote with the party of their choice. They make no pledge otherwise in joining the League of Women Voters. Their only obligation is to support the

program which aims to bring the laws and the practices of every state up to the standard of the best law and best practice of any state.

What will the program be? All programs will be worked out by committees composed of experts on the subject treated, and will then be adopted, amended or rejected by the League of Women Voters in open discussion at its annual convention. There will be no secret support of or opposition to any measure. All members of the League and the public may know the exact objective of the League at any time.

How will the program be carried out? The League of Women Voters authorized the following eight committees:

1. American Citizenship
2. Protection of Women in Industry
3. Child Welfare
4. Improvement in Election Laws and Methods
5. Social Hygiene
6. Unification of Laws Concerning the Civil Status
of Women
7. Food Supply and Demand
8. Research

Meanwhile, what? Organization, education, understanding, study, investigation and legal work.

Can women accomplish this alone? No, women and men will work together. The League of Women Voters makes its call to the brave, the intelligent, the forward looking. No others will be interested. Its program is so patriotic, so sound, so obviously needed; its motives are so unselfish and impersonal; its aims so certainly for "the benefit and good of mankind" that its success is assured.

[ca 1920]

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

321-323 Meyers Arcade, Minneapolis

AIM

Every woman an intelligent, patriotic voter.

ACCOMPLISHMENT

In 60 Days in Minneapolis:

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 34 workers enlisted | 10 courses in citizenship conducted |
| 38 speakers enrolled | 97 speeches made |
| 2,995 pieces of literature distributed: | |
| Subjects: Citizenship, Municipal Government, Political Parties, General Elections, Presidential Elections and Party Primaries. | |
| 6,115 voters reached through Women's Clubs, Industrial, Religious, Racial, Fraternal and Settlement Groups. | |

DEMAND

An overwhelming call from women in every quarter for Political Education.

Will you give this good citizenship work your financial support?

(224)

[July, 1920]

LEAGUE *of* NATIONS

Vol. III

Special Number

July, 1920

The Covenant of the League of Nations

Published Bimonthly by the
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston

Price, 5 cents per copy; 25 cents per year

World Peace Foundation
Boston, Massachusetts
*FOUNDED IN 1910 BY EDWIN GINN



The corporation is constituted for the purpose of educating the people of all nations to a full knowledge of the waste and destructiveness of war, its evil effects on present social conditions and on the well-being of future generations, and to promote international justice and the brotherhood of man; and, generally, by every practical means to promote peace and good will among all mankind.—*By-laws of the Corporation.*

It is to this patient and thorough work of education, through the school, the college, the church, the press, the pamphlet and the book, that the World Peace Foundation addresses itself.—Edwin Ginn.

The idea of force cannot at once be eradicated. It is useless to believe that the nations can be persuaded to disband their present armies and dismantle their present navies, trusting in each other or in the Hague Tribunal to settle any possible differences between them, unless, first, some substitute for the existing forces is provided and demonstrated by experience to be adequate to protect the rights, dignity and territory of the respective nations. My own belief is that the idea which underlies the movement for the Hague Court can be developed so that the nations can be persuaded each to contribute a small percentage of their military forces at sea and on land to form an *International Guard or Police Force*.—Edwin Ginn.

*Incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts, July 12, 1910, as the International School of Peace. Name changed to World Peace Foundation, December 22, 1910.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY BY

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

40 MT. VERNON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

The subscription price is 25c. per year in advance, or \$1.00 for five years.
Prices in quantities on application.

General Secretary, EDWARD CUMMINGS.

Corresponding Secretary, and Librarian, DENYS P. MYERS.

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,
by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations,
by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and

by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Membership and Withdrawal

ARTICLE 1. The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant, and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guaranties of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

Executive Organs

ARTICLE 2. The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

Assembly

ARTICLE 3. The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the Members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

Council

ARTICLE 4. The Council shall consist of representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers [United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan], together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain shall be Members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League, whose Representatives shall always be Members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a Member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

Voting and Procedure

ARTICLE 5. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be

decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Secretariat

ARTICLE 6. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

Seat, Qualifications for Officials, Immunities

ARTICLE 7. The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

Reduction of Armaments

ARTICLE 8. The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every 10 years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

Permanent Military Commission

ARTICLE 9. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

Guaranties Against Aggression

ARTICLE 10. The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Action in Case of War or Threat of War

ARTICLE 11. Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall, on the request of any Member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Disputes to Be Submitted to Arbitration or Inquiry

ARTICLE 12. The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will

submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

Arbitration of Disputes

ARTICLE 13. The Members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which can not be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Court of International Justice

ARTICLE 14. The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

Disputes Not Submitted to Arbitration

ARTICLE 15. If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the

dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute and, if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council, either unanimously or by a majority vote, shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the Members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Represent-

atives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

Sanctions

ARTICLE 16. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

Disputes with Non-Members

ARTICLE 17. In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately

institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Registration and Publication of Treaties

ARTICLE 18. Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Review of Treaties

ARTICLE 19. The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Abrogation of Inconsistent Obligations

ARTICLE 20. The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Engagements that Remain Valid

ARTICLE 21. Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

Control of Colonies and Territories

ARTICLE 22. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories, and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Social Activities

ARTICLE 23. Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

- (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;
- (c) will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (d) will intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;
- (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

International Bureaus

ARTICLE 24. There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

Promotion of Red Cross

ARTICLE 25. The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Amendments

ARTICLE 26. Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

ANNEX

I. ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, SIGNATORIES OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| United States of America | Haiti |
| Belgium | Hedjaz |
| Bolivia | Honduras |
| Brazil | Italy |
| British Empire | Japan |
| Canada | Liberia |
| Australia | Nicaragua |
| South Africa | Panamá |
| New Zealand | Perú |
| India | Poland |
| China | Portugal |
| Cuba | Rumania |
| Ecuador | Serb-Croat-Slovene State |
| France | Siam |
| Greece | Czecho-Slovakia |
| Guatemala | Uruguay |

STATES INVITED TO ACCEDE TO THE COVENANT.

| | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| Argentine Republic | Persia |
| Chile | Salvador |
| Colombia | Spain |
| Denmark | Sweden |
| Netherlands | Switzerland |
| Norway | Venezuela |
| Paraguay | |

II. FIRST SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Honorable Sir James Eric Drummond, K. C. M. G., C. B.

Present Membership of the League of Nations

| | |
|--------------------|--------------|
| Argentine Republic | Liberia |
| Australia | Netherlands |
| Belgium | New Zealand |
| Bolivia | Norway |
| Brazil | Panama |
| British Empire | Paraguay |
| Canada | Peru |
| Chile | Persia |
| China | Poland |
| Colombia | Portugal |
| Cuba | Rumania |
| Czecho-Slovakia | Salvador |
| Denmark | Serbia |
| France | Siam |
| Greece | South Africa |
| Guatemala | Spain |
| Haiti | Sweden |
| Hedjaz | Switzerland |
| India | Uruguay |
| Italy | Venezuela |
| Japan | |

Ecuador is considering the treaty of peace in the current Congress.

Nicaragua has ratified, but the formalities of depositing the ratification are not yet complete.

Honduras has completed the parliamentary stage of ratification.

The United States is eligible to original membership.

Do you realize that:

Not less than six numbers of this periodical, *League of Nations*, will be devoted this year to activities of the League and to important developments in the international relations of the United States with Europe, Asia and Latin America;

and that

A yearly subscription of 25 cents will bring them to you postpaid?

Sample copies on request

Volumes, bound in cloth, and indexed, \$1.00, postpaid

World Peace Foundation

40 Mt. Vernon Street

Boston 9, Massachusetts

[1925]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
upon the
National Defense Act
AND INCIDENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

Approved June 3, 1916

As Amended by
Various Acts Annually Thereafter
(Excepting 1917)
PARTICULARLY BY THE ACT
APPROVED JUNE 4, 1920.

(See July 1924 Issue of Act)

Compiled in 1924

Printed in 1925

DEPARTMENT OF
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO PREVENT WAR
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
1010 Grand Central Terminal Building
NEW YORK CITY

PREPARED BY:

MISS RUTH MORGAN
MRS. GORDON NORRIE
MRS. WHITNEY SHEPARDSON
MISS JOSEPHINE SCHAIN

APPROVED:

GEORGE RUBLEE
WHITNEY SHEPARDSON
PROFESSOR LINDSAY ROGERS
MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN

Questions and Answers
upon
The National Defense Act

The National Defense Act

Ques. 1—What is the National Defense Act?

Ans.—The National Defense Act, so-called, consists of a series of Congressional acts. The first was approved June 3, 1916. Its passage was doubtless due to the uncertainties growing out of the Mexican border mobilization and to the continuance and widening character of the World War.

This act was amended by subsequent acts approved in 1916, 1918, 1919 and again June 4th and 5th, 1920.

Ques. 2—Where else may one find laws governing the armed forces of the United States?

Ans.—In the military laws of the United States and the annual appropriation acts of Congress.

Strength of the Regular Army under the National Defense Act.

Ques. 3—Under the terms of the National Defense Act, what is the authorized strength of the regular army including commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted soldiers?

Ans.—The National Defense Act authorizes a strength of:

18,000 commissioned officers
1,100 warrant officers
280,000 enlisted men

299,100 officers and enlisted soldiers

But every two years the War Department must secure from Congress the necessary appropriations for maintaining these numbers or a part of them.

Ques. 4.—Have recent appropriation acts permitted this authorized strength to be actually raised and what did the appropriation act of June 7, 1924, specify as to the authorized number of officers and soldiers?

Ans.—The appropriation act of June 7, 1924, specified an authorized strength, during the fiscal year covered by the appropriation, of approximately:

12,000 commissioned officers
1,100 warrant officers
125,000 enlisted men

138,100 officers and enlisted men

Not infrequently appropriation acts specify the number of officers and enlisted men for which they appropriate. But this specification does not make null and void the authorization contained in the National Defense Act itself, which permits a regular army, peace-time strength, of 300,000 officers and soldiers.

Ques. 5.—What is the object of an authorization permitting 300,000 peace-time officers and soldiers, when the appropriation acts for the last several years have appropriated for a much smaller number of officers and men?

Ans.—With an authorization permitting 300,000 officers and soldiers, an appropriation by Congress providing for an increase in the aggregate strength of the regular army to 300,000 officers and soldiers could be more easily secured.

Peace-Time Actual Strength and Cost of the Military Establishment of the United States.

Ques. 6.—What was the military establishment of the United States previous to 1916?

Ans.—Prior to 1916, the military establishment of the United States, as now, consisted of the regular army, the navy and the organized militia, when in the service of the United States; and, of course, the unorganized militia, should they be drafted into the federal service.

Ques. 7.—What about the annual actual strength and annual expenditures of the military establishment of the United States, i.e.,

- (a) the regular army
- (b) the navy
- (c) the marine corps
- (d) the national guard
- (e) the organized reserves
- (f) citizens' military training camps
- (g) students at civil institutions under military instruction by army officers?

Ans.—(a) Bearing in mind the great increase of population, it should still be observed that there was a marked increase in all the regular armed forces of the United States after the Spanish-American War. The peace-time actual strength of the regular army which during the forty years prior to the Civil War had ranged from 5,000 to 17,000 all told, averaged about 27,000 during the period 1870 to 1898; and about 70,000 during the period 1903 to 1908; and was about 135,000 in 1923, and about 134,000 in 1924. Over 7,000 Philippine scouts are not included in the actual strength for these years 1923 and 1924.

The War Department expenditures for the fiscal year 1923, exclusive of rivers and harbors and the Panama Canal were approximately \$303,000,000 and for 1924, approximately \$270,000,000. The estimated expenditure for 1925, as per the War Department, is \$269,226,778.*

(b) From 1870 to 1898, the average actual strength of the navy did not exceed 10,000 officers and sailors. It was about 90,000 in 1923.

The cost for the navy for the earlier period, 1870-1898, would average about \$20,000,000 to \$25,000,000. In 1923 it was about \$296,000,000 and about \$303,000,000 in 1924. The estimated expenditure for 1925 is about \$272,000,000. These figures

*Kestle W. Walker, Brigadier General, December 4, 1924.

do not include marine corps personnel or expenditures.

- (c) From 1870 to 1890 the average actual strength of the marine corps was about 2000 officers and soldiers. In 1923 it was about 20,000 officers and soldiers.

The cost for the marine corps went from an annual average of less than \$1,000,000 during this period, to \$26,000,000 in 1923 and \$25,000,000 in 1924. The estimated expenditure for 1925 is about \$25,000,000.

- (d) The national guard, i.e., the state militia, had an actual strength ranging from 110,000 to 120,000 officers and men during the period 1890 to 1898. In 1924 the actual strength of the national guard was approximately 177,000 officers and soldiers.

The annual cost of the national guard to the federal government went from about \$405,000 during the period from 1890 to 1898, to about \$30,000,000 each for the years 1923, 1924 and 1925.

- (e) The organized reserves number about 82,000 officers and 3,500 enlisted men.

The expenditure for 1924 for the organized reserves included in the War Department total referred to in (a) above. It is estimated at about \$3,280,132 for 1925.

The proportionately large number of officers to soldiers, while prescribed for the purpose of prompt and efficient expansion of the army, has some obvious dangers.

- (f) Citizens' military camps had some 34,000 trainees in attendance.

The expenditures for these camps for the year 1925 is in the War Department total referred to in (a) above. It is estimated at about \$2,330,000.

- (g) Students at civil institutions under military training by army officers numbered 104,000 in 1924.

The expenditures for such civil institutions may be found in the War Department total referred to in (a) above. It is estimated at about \$3,823,020 for 1925.

Additional Activities of the War Department under the National Defense Act

Ques. 8—What extra activities has the War Department undertaken on a national basis?

Ans.—It is the duty of the War and Navy Departments to submit to Congress specific and technical plans prepared and passed upon by experts for the military and naval establishment of the country.

The War Department has undertaken not only the expense and discipline of the militia but also of the citizens' training camps, reserve officers' camps, military courses held in state and other universities and in general the stimulation and encouragement of military training and information in secondary schools and in various civilian organizations. It provides for the enlistment and training in officers' reserve camps of boys between the ages of 14 and 18 who may be examined for commissions at 18. Civilian organizations are also asked to cooperate in the distribution of information and material. The War Department issues publicity and information to the press, to chambers of commerce, to associated industries, to the Legion, etc., on behalf of national defense and increased preparedness.

Ques. 9—Does the act impose upon the bureau of militia the duty of stimulating patriotism among civilians,—as for example, by Defense Day, introduction of military courses for juniors, etc.?

Ans.—These duties have been assumed but are not mandatory under the act.

Ques. 10—What is the result of the elimination of the requirement of written consent by parent or guardian in the case of the enlistment of a minor (one under eighteen years of age)?

Ans.—It permits boys under eighteen years to enlist without the advise or consent of their parents or guardians.

Ques. 11—What are the provisions of the National Defense Act in regard to the state militia?

Ans.—The militia as defined by the National Defense Act of 1916, as amended, consists of all able-bodied male citizens of the United States and all other able-bodied males who have or shall have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, between the ages of 18 and 45 years. It is divided into three classes, the national guard, the naval militia and the unorganized militia. Certain citizens are, by the same act, specifically exempted from militia duty, such as certain federal and state officers, artificers and workmen employed in armories, arsenals and navy yards of the United States, pilots, etc. Members of certain religious organizations are exempt from combatant duty only.

When not in the service of the United States the militia is subject to the government of the several states.

The militia in time of peace is generally divided into two classes: (1) the organized militia now known as the national guard of the United States, consisting of the duly commissioned and enlisted officers and soldiers who volunteer their military services for a stated period. They are governed and disciplined by state law, except that Congress may prescribe the code of discipline which is to govern them. (2) The unorganized militia consisting of all the population between the ages of 18 and 45, who are male and physically fit. They are subject to draft either by the state or by the federal government.*

Historic Policies and Constitutional and Statutory Provisions for the Military Establishment

Ques. 12—What has been the general attitude in this country toward a military establishment?

Ans.—Americans and their English ancestors have been concerned both with the needs of defense and the diffi-

* General John F. O'Ryan.

culties of directing and controlling a military establishment in peace time. They have also been concerned as to the nature of control exercised by the executive, whether king or president, over both standing armies, that is, regular armies, and the militia, whether organized or unorganized.

Ques. 13—How does the Declaration of Independence show this attitude?

Ans.—In the Declaration of Independence one may find the following: "He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislature," "He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power," "He has * * * (given) assent to their * * * quartering large bodies of armed troops among us."

Ques. 14—What powers are delegated by the Constitution?

Ans.—The Constitution empowers Congress to raise and support armies and to provide and maintain a navy and makes the President Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy. The President with the aid of the Navy and War Departments established by Congress is charged with the defense of the country. The citizens by electing the Congress and the President have the ultimate control of all these agencies.

Ques. 15—What limitation does the Constitution impose upon appropriations by Congress and what other provision does it make?

Ans.—Article 1, Section 8, provides as follows: "The Congress shall have power * * * to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years." The heavy type indicates the traditional inherited legislative fear of an executive having at his disposal the means to finance military forces and standing armies without the present assent of Congress.

And Article 1, Section 10, provides: "No state shall, without the consent of Congress, * * * keep

troops or ships of war in time of peace, * * * or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

And the third amendment to the Constitution reads: "No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law."

These enactments indicate the intention of the citizens to retain their control of national military establishments.

Ques. 16—What are the constitutional provisions with reference to the problem of national defense?

Ans.—In addition to those already quoted, Article 1, Section 8, provides as follows: "The Congress shall have power * * * to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces", "To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions."

The second amendment reads: "A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed." (The arms meant are those of a soldier. Reference: Black's Constitutional Law, p. 463, 2d edition.)

Powers of the President.

Ques. 17—What are the powers of the President in regard to the regular army?

Ans.—Article 2, Section 2, of the Constitution provides as follows: "The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States."

Ques. 18—What are the powers of the President with regard to the militia?

Ans.—He has been authorized by Congress to call forth the militia to repel invasion, suppress insurrection and to execute the laws. The judgment of the President is final when he exercises the authority to

call forth the militia for any of the three purposes mentioned. When so called forth, the militia becomes during the period of its federal service, a part of the army of the United States and subject to all the laws, rules and regulations governing that army.

Ques. 19—Can the President call forth both the organized and the unorganized militia without the consent of Congress?

Ans.—In emergencies he can call, but not draft, for the three purposes cited above; but Congress must, as always, vote the necessary appropriations.

Ques. 20—Did the President have this power before the passing of the National Defense Act?

Ans.—He did.

State Constitutional Provisions in Regard to the Militia.

Ques. 21—Where does the power lie to control the number of militia which any state shall maintain?

Ans.—Subject to certain paragraphs of Section 8 of Article I, and to certain paragraphs of Section 10 of Article I, of the Constitution, which latter article reads: "No state shall without the consent of Congress * * * keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace". The power lies in the constitutional and legislative provisions of each state.

Ques. 22—What has been the actual practice in respect to the following clause in the Constitution affecting the relation between the federal and state governments: "To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress"?

Ans.—The constitutionally granted right of the federal government to organize, arm and discipline the state militia was for the most part in abeyance until about 1903; but it never was renounced by the federal government nor questioned by the states. Since 1903 the federal government has secured the establishment of a certain standard in the training of militia in exchange for federal subsidies.

As at the time of the framing of the Constitution the danger of armed disputes between states was very real, and, also, between one or more states and the federal government; this clause was, therefore, included in the federal Constitution for the purpose of supplementing the clause in Article 2, in which it is stated "No state shall without consent of Congress * * * keep troops or ships of war in time of peace * * * or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay".

Ques. 23—What was the relation previous to 1916 between the federal government, state governments and the militia?

Ans.—The relationship may be classified as constitutional and statutory.

The constitutional relationship between the federal government, the state governments and the militia prior to 1916 was precisely what it is today. That relationship is set forth in the above quotations from the Constitution.

The statutory relationship has varied from time to time according to the judgment of the Congress as expressed in various enactments, the latest of which is the National Defense Act. These enactments are assumed to be within the limits set forth in the Constitution.

As a matter of fact, prior to the acts of 1903 (the so-called Dick Act), 1906 and 1908, the federal government did not as freely exercise its rights to organize, arm and discipline the national guard (the militia) as it has exercised them since.

Ques. 24—What important change was inaugurated by the Dick Act?

Ans.—Under the so-called Dick Act of January 21, 1903, and the act of May 27, 1908, the federal government exercised extensively its right to organize, arm and discipline the militia. Federal expenditures to these ends have ranged progressively from about \$1,500,000 or so in 1903 to \$2,500,000 in 1906; from \$4,000,000 in 1907 to \$5,000,000 in 1908; and to about \$30,000,000 in 1924.

Ques. 25—What fundamental departure was inaugurated by the terms of the National Defense Act?

Ans.—Under the terms of the National Defense Act the President may now order the National Guard to perform such duties and assume such responsibilities as might be required of the Regular Army: "The National Guard when called to the service of the United States shall, from the time they are required by the terms of the call, respond thereto, be subject to laws and regulations governing the Regular Army."

Ques. 26—What are the changes in detail effected by the present National Defense Act with regard to the militia?

Ans.—The militia of each state has been reconstructed into a national guard subject alike to the call of the Governor and the President. The entire country has been divided into army zones with an officer as representative of the War Department in charge of each. A national bureau of militia has been established, a general staff council is provided for and the officers of the national guard and enlisted men are paid directly from appropriations from the War Department for the purpose, through the representative military officer in each state. They were formerly paid from the state funds. The money as now disbursed requires the O. K. of the governor on requisitions. The regulation and discipline for the militia is established and supervised by the authorities of the war department.

ment. The general staff is responsible for the preparation of all plans, etc., which govern the militia.

Ques. 27—Does the National Defense Act transfer authority over the militia from the state to the federal authorities?

Ans.—Under the National Defense Act, the federal government exercises in time of peace a practical and effective power of supervision and indirect control over the national guard because of the power which the federal government has to give or withhold financial support from the troops of any state which do not meet the requirements of the federal government. This support includes the pay of officers and enlisted men of the national guard for their attendance at drill, field exercises and maneuvers.

Ques. 28—Have the states accepted this financial support and actual control?

Ans.—Yes, with the exception of Nevada.

Ques. 29—Has the authority of the President and the War Department over the National Guard in times of peace been questioned?

Ans.—It was questioned by the President in the proposal made by the War Department that the Fourth of July, 1925, be used for the mobilization of the National Guard. He stated specifically that the compliance by the governors with this request was a purely voluntary matter.

Ques. 30—For what purpose may the President order the national guard beyond the boundaries of the United States?

Ans.—For the purpose of repelling invasion.

Ques. 31—Who is the final arbiter as to the existence of the necessity for crossing the line and invading the territory of another nation?

Ans.—The President. He does not require the advice and consent of Congress. The President has the statutory power.

Ques. 32—From whom would the President naturally seek technical military advice as to the existence of the necessity for crossing the line and invading the territory of another nation?

Ans.—He would undoubtedly turn to the general staff for this is a problem of grand strategy.

Ques. 33—Are questions of statesmanship involved?

Ans.—They are. But the executive right is the subject under consideration and the President can decide to cross a frontier—virtually a declaration of war in international practice. The landing of marines under orders from the Navy Department has not been construed as an act of war in the past.

Ques. 34—Has the President of the United States ever ordered troops of the Regular Army across the boundary line to invade the territory of another country without that country's consent and without declaration of war by Congress?

Ans.—Yes. In 1916 President Wilson ordered the regular troops across the boundary line to invade the territory of Mexico. An American Army actually did invade Mexico and remained there for some months.

Ques. 35—Under what color of authority was President Wilson justified in ordering troops of the Regular Army into Mexico in 1916?

Ans.—"The statutory duty laid upon the President to repel invasion."

Ques. 36—Have we had lately authoritative or official statements as to the defense needs of the country and appeals for larger army appropriations?

Ans.—August 25, 1925, newspapers carried an interview with the President in which he was reported to have said that the activities of the General Staff of the War Department in seeking more money for defense, etc., were not justified, that this was obvious to him because of the very much larger sums that had been appropriated since the war for this purpose and that

the General Staff should be in a position to provide adequate defense for the country without further increases. It is reported that the President deprecated the propaganda of opposition to national economy which seemed to emanate from the Army and Navy.

Ques. 37—What is the relation between preparedness for war and the Foreign Policy of a nation?

Ans.—A dispatch to the *New York Times* from Swampscott, Aug. 26, 1925, stated: "Instead of desiring to increase the cost of the army or its size, President Coolidge plans to reduce armaments, and he fully expects to call an international conference on further disarmament some time next year with the adoption of the security compact by the European countries involved. It is because the reported activities of the General Staff come in conflict with the economy program and his plans to have an argument to present to foreign nations for reduction in military establishments that he is represented today as annoyed by the General Staff's activities."

The following quotation is from a letter written by President Lincoln to William H. Herndon, Washington, D. C., under date of February 18, 1848:

"... let me first state what I understood to be your position. It is that if it shall become necessary to repel invasion, the President may without violation of the Constitution, cross the line and invade a territory of another country, and that whether such necessity exists in any given case, the President is the only judge, . . . But to return to your position. Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation whenever he shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so whenever he may choose to say he deems it necessary for such purposes, and you allow him to make war at pleasure. Study if you can fix any limit to his power in this respect, after having given him so much as you propose. If today he should choose to say he

thinks it necessary to invade Canada to prevent the British from invading us, how could you stop him? You may say to him 'I see no probability of the British invading us'; but he will say to you 'Be silent, I see it if you do not'.

"The provision of the Constitution giving the general war-making power to Congress was dictated, as I understand it, by the following reasons: Kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally, if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This our convention understood to be the most oppressive of all Kingly oppressions, and they resolved to so frame the Constitution that no man should hold the power of bringing this oppression to us. But your views destroy the whole matter, and place our President where kings have always stood."

Arguments for and against Military Preparedness

Ques. 38—What are the claims for military and naval preparedness as the best way to secure world peace?

Ans.—**The arguments for** military and naval preparedness are that every nation must be in a position to defend itself if attacked. The fact that it is adequately prepared is the best means of preventing such attack. Therefore such a policy is the best avenue to world peace.

It is claimed that the United States being rich, isolated and powerful rouses envy and jealousy among other nations and that fear and respect engendered by a display of military and naval efficiency is a way to neutralize the fear and jealousies of our potential enemies.

The World War showed that there was a high degree of illiteracy and many physical defects in the young men of this country. Citizens' training camps, military instruction in schools and colleges, etc., help young men to become fit physically and well educated

and, therefore, raise the national standard in both of these respects. Self-control, self-respect, ability to obey and command, etc., are qualities needed in our national life and developed by military training.

The lack of preparedness caused the loss of many American lives in the late war.

There is alleged to be social unrest and disloyalty both to the government and to the country to an almost dangerous extent throughout our communities. Strong military units at the disposition of the federal government in case of insurrection are an essential part of the defense of the country. Private property on the security of which rests the whole well-being of the nation, requires the maintenance of a fairly large military establishment.

As a nation we are not homogeneous and, owing to our organization by states, we lack a sense of national unity. The war served to fuse us into harmony of feeling and purpose and a national army and navy of which our citizens could be justly proud and for which they had a sense of responsibility would foster this same spirit of national devotion.

Ques. 39—What are the claims against military and naval preparedness as the best way to secure world peace?

Ans.—The argument against military and naval preparedness as the way to secure world peace is the late World War. If military preparedness could have brought peace, Europe was safe from war in 1914, as all European nations were armed to the teeth. The argument that our security requires military and naval preparedness is not supported either by facts or the experience of the last war.

The World War proved that modern warfare was as fatal to the victor as to the vanquished and that its continuance on the part of the civilized white races had already resulted in a general reduction of the standard of living and of civilization in general and might ultimately result in the control of the world by less advanced peoples.

War between countries could be controlled or eliminated as wars between cities, religious wars, and wars for possession of government have been controlled or eliminated in the past. Dependence upon force and glorification of force weakens the efforts of those statesmen who are seeking to build international machinery for the establishment of world order.

Plans for the establishment of law and order between nations are being effectively worked out for the first time in history. The League of Nations, the World Court and friendly conferences for disarmament and humanitarian enterprises are instances in point. Constructive plans for a world order based on law and mutual protection are retarded by a display of suspicion or selfish nationalism.

The interests of civilization demand constructive movements for a better ordered world. In all such movements great and powerful nations have grave responsibility. Because of its geographical isolation and its position as the most powerful nation, there rests upon the United States especial responsibility for international cooperation for the promotion of peace.

[Oct. 1926]

My Philadelphia

By FLORENCE KELLEY

General Secretary
National Consumers' League
156 Fifth Avenue, Room 1129
New York City

Enclosed is the first installment of Notes of Sixty Years by Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary of the National Consumers' League. I am sending it to you for two reasons; that you may become better acquainted with her, and that you may read her plea on page eight for Congress to authorize the appropriation necessary to carry on the Sheppard-Towner Act.

The League has approved this Act at every annual meeting since Jeannette Rankin introduced the bill, in 1918, which led to its enactment.

If you wish to aid in the continuance of this measure, please write to your Senator asking him to see that the Sheppard-Towner Act is considered at the session beginning in November 1926, and to vote favorably on the necessary authorization.

Florence J. Varrin

TODAY CONSUMERS CAN DO LITTLE INDIVIDUALLY, BUT
COLLECTIVELY THEIR POWER IS STRONG AND FAR-REACHING.

Reprinted through the courtesy of Survey Graphic, October, 1926



Photograph by Mary Woodbridge Herring

FLORENCE KELLEY

My Philadelphia

By FLORENCE KELLEY

MY earliest dated mental picture has to do with the death of President Lincoln. I was five years old, visiting my grandparents in Germantown, then a suburb of Philadelphia. They lived in an ivy-clad, pebble-dashed, gable-roofed old house, on a slightly terraced hillside, overlooking the lovely little Wingohocking Creek, long since, alas! become a city sewer.

At the foot of the terrace was a goldfish pond. Hector, the big Newfoundland dog, was waiting for me below my window as I dressed for breakfast. It was a sunny day, and a robbin ran over the close cropped, bright green grass of the back garden. Nothing could have been gayer.

How different the breakfast table! My taciturn grandfather's formidable features (so like President Jackson's that I had never doubted that the two cent postage stamps of the time were family portraits of our own) looked that day as if chiseled in stone. My grandmother, serene in all my previous experience of her, looked shattered, and was silent throughout the meal. After breakfast she said to me:

"In times of grief it is well for families to be together. You and I will drive to your home." Then in a voice of utter sadness she added: "My child, President Lincoln is dead. He was shot last night."

We drove in silence the seven miles to our parents' home in West Philadelphia. The sidewalks were empty. People were draping their doors with mourning, and shutters were closed as

if Death had entered every home. In the study my mother was sewing deep mourning on the flag that had been so often raised to celebrate victories during the war.

Father was not at home because he had gone several days before, as one of the guests of the Government, asked to rear again the flag of the Union over the ruins of Fort Sumter. I have before me the faded copy of a Philadelphia newspaper of a fortnight later which reported a speech he made before the girls' High and Normal School. In this he told how the news had reached them:

Upon the good ship Arago the Army and Navy were represented by distinguished officers, judges of the Supreme Court of the United States and of some of the States, members of both Houses of Congress, some of the most distinguished lights of the pulpit, the bar and the universities. It was a goodly and pleasant company.

Leaving Hilton Head we were nearing Fort Sumter, when a steamer approached and General Gilmore called to us that Lee had surrendered, and that he had with him the particulars of the terms of surrender.

A few hours later the prow of our vessel was turned homeward. All was bright and beautiful and cheerful. We were off Cape Henry, looking out for Fortress Monroe, when a little boat passed close to our stern. He who held its helm cried:

"Why is not your flag at half mast? Have you not heard of the President's death?"

That was the first intimation we had received of the dreadful occurrence. We refused to credit it; we could not credit it. We looked into each other's faces and were silent.

Because I was so little I was, of course, left at home on the day of the funeral services at In-

This is the year when the City of Brotherly Love—of Penn and Franklin and the Signers—has beckoned the nation to help celebrate the Sesqui-Centennial of our Independence. By way of exhibits, it offers a championship prize fight in the big stadium, and in a larger arena the most lavish slush funds ever applied to control the machinery of self-government. But that's not the whole story of either Sesqui or City. As foil, read Mrs. Kelley's testimony to her birthright—a girlhood there, lighted by the flame of the early Republicans, warmed by the glow of the Quaker fellowship, kindled by generous idealisms that in each generation have passed to young hands the torch of the Signers, and may again make Independence Hall a beacon as well as a shrine.



Home of John Bartram, associate of Benjamin Franklin in founding the American Philosophical Society; foremost of Mrs. Kelley's Quaker ancestors. The house stands in Bartram Park, Philadelphia

dependence Hall (April 23) where President Lincoln's body was brought to Philadelphia from Washington on its way to Springfield; but an older brother, William Darrah Kelley, recalls the formal occurrences of that day and writes of the city "hushed and draped in black" and the great crowds which thronged in front of the historic building.



Judge Kelley's home in West Philadelphia, four miles as the crow flies from Independence Hall. In Mrs. Kelley's early childhood the house was isolated, reached only by stages and horse cars

ONLY a little later in memory came Father's first contribution to the strange, incoherent process of my education. Of all the things he told me in early childhood, only one left a deeper impression than this: That the duty of his generation was to build up great industries in America so that more wealth could be produced for the whole people. "The duty of your generation," he often said, "will be to see that the product is distributed justly. The same generation cannot do both."

William Darrah Kelley, our father, was almost thirty years continuously a member of the House of Representatives in Washington and was known towards the close of that long service as the Father of the House. He had run for Congress in 1856, with Fremont, on the Free Soil ticket, and at a critical time in the convention of the new Republican Party in Chicago in 1860 his long and impressive speech had the attention of the



Lucretia Mott

delegates until the committee brought in Lincoln's nomination. Father was chosen by the Pennsylvania group as their representative on the committee which visited Mr. Lincoln to notify him of his nomination. Father was himself elected to the House of Representatives that November, 1860, and first took his seat at the extra session called on July 4, 1861. He was reelected fourteen times consecutively, and was a member of the House at the time of his death, in January, 1890, representing always the Fourth Congressional District of Pennsylvania.

Throughout the long period of his service in Congress his dominant, absorbing passion was the development of the natural resources of our country, primarily those of Pennsylvania.

Although as a Member of Congress, Father was exempt from service in the Civil War, he volunteered and when Pennsylvania was threatened by the Confederate Army he went out with the Reserves. His huge musket and light

blue army overcoat and cap greatly impressed us even when they hung in a closet long after the war.

On my tenth birthday in 1869, Father was at home because it fell in one of his long vacations, which gave, in alternate years between the long and short sessions, abundant time for travel and for inquiring into the practical effects of tariff duties upon manufacturing industries, many of which were, in the years immediately following the Civil War, still "infants."

On this memorable birthday I was reading, on the floor of the study, a delightfully illustrated volume entitled *The Resources of California*, which Father had brought back from a journey thither. He had been a member of the Committee of Ways and Means which earlier that year had gone to Promontory Point, Utah, to see the famous "Golden

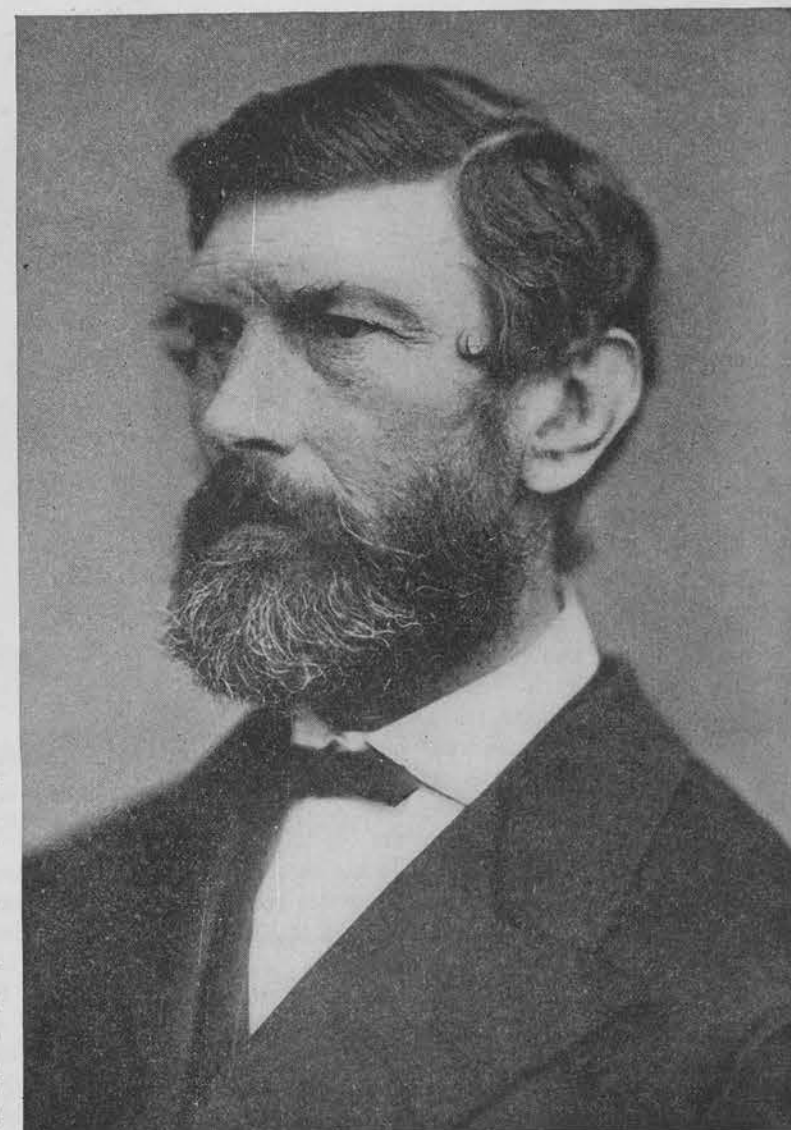
Spike" driven home, which united the eastern and western halves of the first transcontinental railroad and had continued their journey to the Pacific coast. Finding me absorbed in text as well as pictures, he welcomed me with enthusiasm into a companionship which has enriched my whole life.

Because I never went regularly to school, and encouraged by his interest I began then, at the age of ten years and wholly without guidance, to read Father's library through, starting at the ceiling, at the southwest corner of the study and continuing the process whenever we were at home until, at the age of seventeen, I entered Cornell University.

Father had taught me to read when I was seven years old, in a terrible little book with woodcuts of children no older than myself, balancing with their arms heavy loads of wet clay on their heads, in brickyards in England. They looked like little gnomes and trolls, with crooked legs, and splay feet large out of all proportion to their dwarfed frames. The text told of the hardships they were then suffering, nearly two decades after Lord Shaftesbury's bill to shorten the working hours of women and children in English factories had been enacted by Parliament. When my mother and grandmother remonstrated with him for darkening the mind of a young child with such dismal ideas, he replied seriously that life can never be right for all the children until the cherished boys and girls are taught to know the facts in the lives of their less fortunate contemporaries.

In after years, and as my work of factory inspector and advocate of labor laws took me to the sweat shops and mill towns of the industrial states, other images were to take their place beside these, images which stood out against backgrounds of garment factory and textile mill, machine shop and foundry with the poignant appeal of human flesh and blood. But my pictures of exploited children always ranged back to these boys and girls of the English industrial revolution which had preceded ours, and the vividness with which my father had described the children's plight.

Father had told me of slave children who, born after I was and down to President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation, had been sold away from their parents to grow up in distant states, far from their brothers and sisters. He had talked about children in his own generation called "bound" boys and "bound" girls, who came from England under in-



William Darrah Kelley, Mrs. Kelley's father, whose name she has retained. Friend and adherent of Lincoln, Judge Kelley was for thirty years a member of Congress and known at the time of his death in 1890 as the "Father of the House"

Notes of Sixty Years

Mrs. Kelley has long been urged by her friends to set down the story of a life which has spanned and epitomized an epoch of supreme change in the fortunes of American women. A pioneer in breaking barriers which had closed the higher learning to her sex, she was conscious from early girlhood of what was befalling less fortunate women, with their shift from home to shop and mill and factory. Herself a professional woman and a mother, she has made the cause of wage earning women and children her life work, bringing to it extraordinary gifts, a brilliant mind and an irrepressible faith. Here we find inklings of those springs of purpose which have welled forth in her activities as the first woman Chief Factory Inspector of a great industrial State, as an indefatigable champion of child labor reform, and as secretary for a quarter century of the National Consumers' League.

denture to the people who brought them. They had to work long years without wages as household servants or unskilled farm help, to pay the costs of their journey to the land of the free.

To Father's mind these toiling English children were living evidence of the evils of Free Trade. He felt profoundly the evil of promulgating, for our new industry, the theory of *laissez faire*. He believed in forty

acres and a mule for freedmen, homesteads for immigrants, and tariffs for American manufacture. To my generation, other measures commended themselves and became my burning concern; but Father's charge had been to meet the issues of the ensuing decades with such light as might be ours.

In his study, from which I was never willingly absent when he was at home, and in long walks together after that fortunate birthday, there was always in his mind the leaven of that idea of a juster, nobler, happier life for all the American people once a firm industrial foundation, as he saw it, had been laid.

FATHER'S never failing, glowing interest in the misfortunes of defenseless women and children arose in part from his early experiences. He was born in Philadelphia in 1814, the youngest of four children, his three elders being sisters. His earliest clear recollection was of sitting on the lowest step of the stairs, by the open front door of his home, while his sister brushed the white marble steps, singing at the top of her voice:

There is a Fountain filled with blood
Drawn from Immanuel's veins.

As she finished the second line he ran out and down the street, calling back to her, "I don't want to hear about blood." That was the earliest recorded protest in his long life of protest and dissent.

While I was still a little girl, he told me the story of his mother's experience immediately following his father's death in 1816. There was then no lien law exempting for widows and their orphan children any remnants of possessions wherewith to begin life anew, no law protecting them from loss of the tools of the father's trade nor of the meager necessities of dependent children. There were no widows' pensions, no mothers' allowances, no scholarships payable out of taxes.

The family had been prosperous until my grandfather, David Kelley, a leading jeweler in Philadelphia, indorsed



A freshman at Cornell in 1876, the year the first women graduated from that university

the note of a brother-in-law, who long survived him, but whose failure to meet this note caused him to lose his business and his life. Grandfather Kelley died of apoplexy at the age of thirty-two years, when Father was two years old.

Out of that early prosperity there remained at his

death household silver, christening cups and porridge spoons, glass, china and linen, besides the larger furniture. These were to be sold at auction on a certain day by the holders of Grandfather's signature to the note. The family treasures were spread on tables, and the intending bidders were beginning to gather when a substantial looking member of the Society of Friends appeared with a large basket on each arm. She quickly filled her baskets with desirable objects of manageable size, and went her way, remarking to those who looked on: "It seems strange that Friend Hannah Kelley should not have returned precious heirlooms." She was known to several persons present, and her undoubted respectability prevented any attempt to interfere with her departure. Many weeks later the Friend returned with her baskets saying, according to family tradition: "Thee will have abundant use, Friend Kelley, for these belongings for thyself and thy children. I feel sure that

thee has not misconstrued my good intention."

Sectionary differences in those days were no less than they are now, and our grandparents were Presbyterian. The name of this truly Friendly neighbor has been handed down in the family, with the story of her practical protest against a law which gave to the creditor everything belonging to the deceased, and gave to his widow and orphaned children nothing.

Although he was too young to remember the episode of Friend Scattergood, the subsequent hardships experienced by his mother and her brood made a lifelong impression upon Father. This auction was often mentioned in his early childhood, and contributed to his perennial interest in measures intended to protect women and children by statute, by legal interpretation, and by enfranchising women.

With some help from her husband's brother, my grandmother managed to keep her brood together. But times continued hard long after the war of 1812, and at the age

of eleven, Father was obliged to go to work as errand boy in a printing house. From November until May his hours of work were from 6 a. m. to 8 p. m.; from May until November they were from light until dark. This beloved little only son found it impossible to keep awake toward the end of his working day,



Florence Kelley before the days of kindergartens

and a friendly printer told him to bring some green tea leaves and chew them as he worked. Father attributed the nervous excitability which distressed him throughout his long life to those early years of strain and fatigue. Here much nearer home than English brick-yards, I had a glimpse of the lot of less fortunate children.

Our earliest known ancestor was Thomas Kelley, first of three generations of Thomases. A Protestant from the North of Ireland, he sailed up the Delaware in 1662, and his son acquired some landed possession on the New Jersey side at a place now impossible to locate, but then known as Ruff's Landing. The line is straight and has been traced from that original Thomas Kelley of 1662 through John Kelley of Salem, New Jersey, who was a major in the Revolution, to his descendant, David Kelley (1784-1816), the Philadelphia jeweler, who was our father's father. All the known Kelleys of this line hailed from Londonderry, Ireland, except David Kelley's mother, Father's grandmother, Elizabeth Casteau, daughter of a Huguenot family, long settled in New Jersey.

To this respectable genealogy Father's mother, Hannah Darrah, added the record of her father, William Darrah, an officer in the French and Indian wars, and in the Revolution. He received eight hundred acres of land in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, as reward of his service in the earlier wars. In the Civil War, the family was represented by Father and our mother's two brothers, Henry W. and William R. Bonsall.

We are thus descended from people, Irish, English and Huguenot, who came to America to escape oppression, and to find freedom of worship and, as it turned out, to found families destined honorably to hold their own in the professions, in business and in the Government.

CHILDHOOD free as sunshine from fear of punishment, rebuke or criticism, was rare in the period between 1859 and 1870, yet such a childhood was mine to the age of eleven years. Conviction of sin was far, indeed, from our knowledge.

Father had been identified with the first Unitarian Church in Philadelphia, of which William H. Furness was pastor for more than a half century. Dr. Furness had married my parents in 1854, and participated in the service at

Father's funeral in 1890. It was a source of lasting satisfaction that shortly before the Civil War, when a meeting of the church members was held to consider a recent anti-slavery sermon delivered by Dr. Furness, Father spoke strongly in his support and for the anti-slavery cause. There was no censure of the sermon.

On the fringe of my childhood moved numerous aunts of assorted religious beliefs—Baptist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian. Out of all this variety there could obviously crystallize in my mind no fear of Hell fire or eternal punishment of any kind. Indeed, I can truly say that in those tender years I knew no fear except of my colored mammy's ghost stories until (when I was eleven years old) the loss of my fifth and last surviving sister robbed the sunshine of its glory and created a shadow lasting to this present day. But I was then too young to share Mother's permanent terror of impending loss. Our mother's own

parents had died in her early childhood. Her two brothers had died (one at our home) of lingering tuberculosis following service in the Civil War. Uncle William Bonsall served as a surgeon. Four of my little sisters had died in infancy, and this fifth loss of a daughter who had almost reached her seventh birthday brought to my mother, who survived her more than thirty years, a settled, gentle melancholy which she could only partly disguise for the sake of my two brothers and myself, her only surviving daughter.

Even conscientious adherence to the rule of the Society of Friends that Death, being a part of the Divine order of nature, should not be followed by mourning apparel or darkening of the home, brought only outward cheerfulness. Our home was, however, kept filled with young people. Indeed during the years when my brothers were students at the University of Pennsylvania, the breakfast table was never without an extra



Caroline Bartram Bonsall, Mrs. Kelley's mother

Does Congress Wish Babies to Die?

It is characteristic that Mrs. Kelley's plan to use one of her few opportunities for leisure to write the story of her life work has been interrupted. Last July, convalescent from a disabling attack of influenza, she had begun to write at her summer home on the Maine coast her Notes of Sixty Years. First, came failure of the Senate to pass, before adjournment, the needed authorization for further appropriations for the Sheppard-Towner Act for hygiene and welfare of maternity and infancy. Senator Bayard read into the Congressional Record on July 8 thirty-five pages of misinterpretations of the Act, charging Mrs. Kelley with serving as chief conspirator for Moscow. With six generations of American ancestors behind her, she rose to the challenge and has made this first installment of her reminiscences a call to action at the December session of Congress, and the coming winter's legislatures.



Florence Kelley at the age of three

place for the young friend whom each was free to bring home over night without notice, and it was characteristic of our mother's utter unselfishness that she assented to my going to Cornell, because I should there have abundant young companionship which my early childhood had so lacked.

I was the third of eight children, all fine, healthy boys and girls, of whom all but three died in infancy and early childhood from infections now universally recognized as preventable and actually prevented more effectually every year.

After the death in 1859, of my elder sister Elizabeth, aged two years, entries in the family Bible followed with pitiful frequency. There were, all told, five in twelve years: Marian in 1863, aged eleven months; Josephine in 1865, aged seven months; Caroline in 1869, aged four months; and Anna in 1871, aged six years.

All this grief, this anguish of frustrated hope occurred, not on the plains as a hardship of pioneer life, not in the Great American Desert where physicians were out of reach, but within four miles of Independence Hall, in one of the great and famous cities of the Nineteenth Century. These tenderly cherished young lives were sacrificed, not to the will of God, as mothers were taught throughout the long history of the race but, as we know now, to the prevailing ignorance of the hygiene of infancy.

As late as 1918 our Republic was laggard in the care of mothers and young children. We were number ten among the nations when measured by our infant deathrate. With great joy, therefore, I recognized that a new day had dawned and that, sooner or later, there would be an end to the nationwide tragedy of mothers bereft of their young children. For in July of that year Jeannette Rankin of Montana, the first woman member of Congress, introduced in the House of Representatives her bill for an appropriation by Congress to be distributed among the states, and by them administered in cooperation with the Children's Bureau or the United States Department of Labor. Three years later this bill, first known as the Rankin-Robinson bill and afterward as the Sheppard-Towner Act, was passed by Congress, and signed by President Harding on November 23, 1921.

For four years this life-saving measure has been administered with extraordinary intelligence and success by the Children's Bureau cooperating with the state health departments. Under its stimulus, public health nurses have been introduced in hundreds of counties where they had hardly been heard of. Clinics and classes for mothers and little children have been spread over backward states many of which, four years ago, had appallingly high death rates. State boards of health publish with pride the falling infant death rates, and stir in turn the professional pride of local officials and voluntary associations in this beneficent rivalry.

Of all the activities in which I have shared during more than forty years of striving, none is, I am convinced, of such fundamental importance as the Sheppard-Towner Act. It establishes the principle that the Republic shares with each state responsibility for the life and health of the children. Under it death rates are showing a downward trend, educational provisions under medical guidance are spreading, many of the fatal infections of childhood are increasingly controlled. Lonely ranches in Arizona and Idaho and slum dwellers in the most congested cities are increasingly able to command resources for safety of their young children, undreamed of by women of my mother's generation. Forty-three states and

Hawaii are cooperating, all the states except Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Maine and Massachusetts.

My own modest share in this life-saving measure is an abiding happy memory. When the Children's Bureau bill passed in 1912, I was consulted among its advocates as to the order in which the subjects assigned to the Bureau for enquiry should be taken up. I urged immediate study of infant mortality. Sir Arthur Newsholme's monumental volume, then recent, pointed the way, and revealed by contrast this Republic's deplorable ignorance concerning our young children. An admirable series of Infant Mortality Studies followed. By 1918, a foundation of facts had been made available by the Children's Bureau for the use of Congress, which carried conviction and greatly expedited the passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1921.

That Act is threatened with destruction. Congress adjourned in July without voting the appropriation necessary to its continuance. The House voted to continue the Act for two years; the Senate Committee reported the bill favorably, but with an amendment which would authorize the appropriation for only one additional year, i. e., to June 30, 1928. Supporters of the bill refused to accept this amendment. The measure was debated on June 15, but did not come to a vote and is thus left on the calendar for the short session beginning in December. The biennial legislatures meeting in January will need to know how far Uncle Sam is continuing his cooperation with them, in order to meet his requirements intelligently in their own appropriations.

On July 8, Senator Bayard of Delaware sponsored in the Congressional Record thirty-five pages in support of charges that this life-saving measure and three others constitute a conspiracy for nationalizing American children. The other three measures are the Children's Bureau bill, the Federal Department of Education bill and the Child Labor amendment.

The Congressional Record is privileged. No suit, civil or criminal, can be brought against it. For libel and scurrility it is, therefore, a safe refuge and has been repeatedly so used in the long struggle for safety of life of the children who will be this Republic when present senators have gone to their reward.

The Record is so queer and dull that Senator Bayard's action would ordinarily be dismissed with the old joke that, when counsel for the defense has no case, he abuses the plaintiff's attorney. But this year one third of the Senators come up for election in November, and candidates were franking copies to their constituents as early as July, knowing that interest even in the Record is keen this year.

At this crisis in the history of the Sheppard-Towner Act it behooves the citizens of this country to ponder these questions:

Are we the billionaire miser among the nations?

When a family lets a sick child die and deliberately calls in no physician, a charge of manslaughter lies, and no plea of religious conviction or of dire poverty suffices. Do we as a people belong in that company?

If the opposition should triumph at the coming session as it did at the last one, if the authorization should not be renewed, if the Act be starved to death, shall we not stand revealed as too mean to keep alive helpless future citizens when we thus reject the methods that we, ourselves, have found effective wherever we have applied them, and that are used by all enlightened nations?

How does Congress propose to defend itself when voting

mothers in all parts of the country ask again, as they did in 1919 and 1920, when the Sheppard-Towner bill was first pending, "Why does Congress wish babies to die?"

I should be false to the memory of a tender and grief-stricken mother if these pages were printed without reference to the need of action by Congress at the December Session.

FATHER built in 1850 a house in an ample square in West Philadelphia, four miles as the crow flies from Independence Hall, near what became, long after, Fairmount Park West. In that house I was born in September, 1859. It is now a hospital for women and children at Forty-first and Parrish Streets. The land had been a part of the estate of Judge Peters, and Father's plan was to participate in its development. He made his home there to the end of his life—forty years. Unfortunately the development lagged, and the story was often told in our family how, at Thanksgiving time, while I was a babe in arms, Mother called the members of her household to the front windows to see a flock of turkeys being driven into town to market for the holiday. She foretold that this was the last moving object they would see passing our house before Easter; and time proved the prophecy correct.

In this isolated home as time went on, my great resource was the library in the study. I have mentioned how on my tenth birthday I began to make its acquaintance in good earnest.

The top shelf was filled chiefly with modestly bound, small volumes of the Family Library. Though I understood almost nothing in these books of so-called Natural Science, and there were no illustrations to help, I did learn the names of Newton, Galileo, Giordano Bruno, Kepler, Copernicus and a few other astronomers, chemists and physicists whom I thereafter revered indiscriminately, classing them all with Dr. Priestley, who was a friend of Benjamin Franklin and, as will presently appear, a hero of the family.

Walter Scott, in nine large volumes of bad print, stood on a high shelf and was early reached. He saw me well along through the year of my twelfth birthday, partly because we left home in September and did not return until the following spring. That winter the Library of Congress afforded Dickens and Thackeray, along with Miss Alcott and Horatio Alger.

At home there was little poetry beyond Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Goldsmith and several anthologies dear to my memory. But there were long shelves of history. Full sets of the writings of President Madison, and Daniel Webster's orations, and the histories of Bancroft, Prescott and Francis Parkman, alone must have weighed hundreds of pounds.

Emerson's essays and Dr. Channing's sermons midway down the shelves, were identified, by their dates, with Father's sojourn in Boston as a young jeweler specializing in enameling. Indeed, when a costly set of gold cups were ordered for the Imaum of Muscat, Father's skill brought his employer a gold medal from the Massachusetts Mechanics' Association. But his free time was given to these leaders of thought in New England.

Fortunately for me, Emerson, Channing, Burke, Carlyle, Godwin and Herbert Spencer were near the floor, and I was nearly fifteen when I arrived at them. Even later, I encountered the toughest nut in that whole library, and soon gave up the tall, soberly bound volume as hopelessly beyond me. This was the collected plays of Wycherley, Congreve and

Farquhar. Later, when the books were divided among us after our father's death, a brother examining this volume asked sternly:

"Didn't Father once say that you had read all these books?"

When I replied that I had read all but the law books he exclaimed:

"If he, or we, had known when you came to this one, you would have been stopped right there." No harm had been done, however, for that volume had floored me completely and had been abandoned.

Only the circumstance that I was a very lonely child deeply ashamed of having no school experience, and was thereby goaded to strive against my consequent ignorance by my own unguided effort, could have kept me at work six years (nearly seven) upon this huge, indigestible, intellectual meal.

OUR mother's maiden name was Caroline Bartram Bonsall, and her best known Quaker ancestor was John Bartram, the botanist, whose famous garden is now Bartram Park in Philadelphia. John Bartram, with Benjamin Franklin and William Coleman, was third among the founders of the American Philosophical Society where he represented the science of botany. He was also an explorer and a maker of beautiful maps.

On a stone in the front wall of his house, John Bartram chiseled his simple creed:

'Tis God alone, Almighty Lord
The Holy One, by me adored

John Bartram 1770

He was one of the earliest emancipators of slaves in the colonies. To a friend he said: "With us they are now free. I give those whom Thee saw of mine eighteen pounds a year, with victuals and clothes, and all other privileges which white men enjoy."

On the death in 1838 of our maternal grandfather, Henry L. Bonsall, a direct descendant of John Bartram, his little daughter Caroline whose mother had died five years before, became by adoption (but retaining her name), the daughter of Isaac and Elizabeth Kay Pugh, who had been dear friends and neighbors of her parents.

Their peaceful home in Germantown, of which my earliest recollection was darkened by the death of President Lincoln, is to this day my ideal. Having none of their own they gathered in four little girls, of whom two were, like my mother, orphans. Never were father and mother more tenderly loved by children of their own flesh and blood than these.

Serene as was the daily life of this delightful home, it was animated by vital and lasting intellectual activities, rooted far back in England and America. Our grandmother, Elizabeth Kay Pugh, was born in a family of Unitarians, who came from England with Joseph Priestley, the chemist and Non-Conformist minister. In 1791, his chapel had been burned and his house sacked by a mob at Fairfield, Birmingham. He and his family escaped, but his material possessions and the records of chemical experiments, the labor of years, were annihilated. Going to London, he became preacher at Gravel Pit Church, Hackney, until 1794, when with his wife he emigrated to America. Sailing by the same vessel, as friends and sympathizers, were the parents and family of Elizabeth Kay.

Isaac Pugh, husband of Elizabeth Kay, was born in Pennsylvania in 1799, and was educated at Westtown Friends'

Boarding School. When late in life he became blind, he talked to us with pleasure of his school days there. The Society of Friends was perfectly consistent in educating children according to its conviction of the importance of simplicity. When as a schoolboy he was required to memorize Goldsmith's Traveller, he tied his book to the handles of his plough, and learned the poem as he made his contribution to the support of the school. There was a tradition that he and his schoolmates long preceded Emerson in breakfasting on apple pie, for which incidentally they had gathered and peeled the apples, and ploughed and helped to harvest the wheat. The serious and practical discipline of this honored school, inculcating by word and deed frugality and rectitude, contributed undoubtedly to that boys' sternly upright character under the strains of later life.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Isaac Pugh had become senior partner of a prosperous and enterprising firm manufacturing wall paper. They had large contracts with southern dealers. When the war brought bankruptcy to southern cities these contracts became valueless. As the eldest and most experienced of the three partners, Grandfather Pugh felt responsible, and refused to avail himself of the bankruptcy law. He shouldered the debts of the firm, sacrificed almost all his property and, helped unweariedly by our Grandmother, struggled and saved throughout fifteen years of continuous effort and succeeded, on the salary of a modest position in the Philadelphia post office, in paying principal and interest, before blindness made work impossible at the age of eighty-three.

Sarah Pugh, Grandfather's sister, born in 1800, and thus a year his junior, small and slight of figure while he was tall and gaunt, silent almost as himself, was an eager Abolitionist. If she had had her way, their ivy-clad, conventional looking old home for fifty years would have been a station of the Underground Railroad, harboring from time to time fugitive slaves on their way to Canada and freedom. Long after the Civil War, she was still gently grieved that the home of her deeply beloved brother had had no share in that secret, dangerous protest.

Naturally I remember only conversations after Mr. Lincoln's death, when his Proclamation of Emancipation had long put an end to that strange, systematic violation of the law, so successfully carried out by the most conscientious citizens conceivable!

To every suggestion of this lost opportunity, however, our grandfather replied, throughout his long life:

"The Civil War was fought to save the Union, and to prevent the extension of slavery to the free States. These ends were achieved without the use of this house."

Following this came quite regularly our grandmother's quiet comment:

"I have never been clear that it was not possible for this country to do as England did—buy the slaves and set them free without a war."

There was never any further conversation; each had borne testimony after the manner of the Society of Friends. Our gentle Grandmother's rule of action was: Nothing in life is so important as peace, especially peace in the home.

NOT until I had gone to college and come back to this harmonious trio, did the significance of the fact dawn upon my mind that Great-aunt Sarah, after teaching school a quarter century, had retired at the age of fifty years from her profession, to give her time entirely to promoting the anti-

slavery movement, peace, woman suffrage, the single standard of morals for men and women, and free trade.

Stenography was then unknown to women, if indeed stenography had become known beyond the bounds of Washington, D. C., where few Congressmen had secretaries competent to use it. All her work was done through letters in writing as clear as print. Scores of times have I heard her murmur to long-staying ladies calling upon our grandmother: "I am glad to have seen Thee; and now I have a little writing to do."

No physician performing operations at fixed times in a hospital and keeping office hours day by day; no lawyer moving from office to court-room and back again; no teacher in school, was ever more methodically active than the silent little Quakeress who sat at least half of every day at her desk, in her room, writing letters to Cobden and Bright, to John Stuart Mill, Lady Stanley of Alderley and the Duchess of Sutherland, and later on for many years, to Mrs. Josephine Butler, of sainted memory, throughout her terribly painful crusade to abolish the Contagious Diseases Acts in England.

A whole new world opened to me the day when I first observed that she never under any circumstances used sugar, even in tea. In Philadelphia Friends' parlance I asked:

"Aunt Sarah, why does Thee never eat sugar? and why are Thy underclothes linen even in winter?" I had seen her skillfully mending the fine linen while she talked to me about her English correspondents.

"Cotton was grown by slaves, and sugar also," she replied: "so I decided many years ago never to use either, and to bring these facts to the attention of my friends."

Not meaning to be impertinent, I said: "Aunt Sarah, does Thee really think any slaves were freed because Thee did not use sugar or cotton?"

Perfectly tranquil was her reply: "Dear child, I can never know that any slave was personally helped; but I had to live with my own conscience."

A DEAR and honored friend of the household in Germantown was Lucretia Mott, the internationally beloved preacher of the Society of Friends, who lived within easy driving distance and came occasionally on Sunday afternoon. In winter these two frail little figures sometimes sat in the charming back-parlor of the old house before a cheerful log fire knitting in protest against the prevailing rigid Sabbatarianism of Philadelphia. This must have been solely to appease their own consciences, for I cannot remember any other visitor arriving while they were thus occupied. Nothing in our grandmother's demeanor ever expressed the trial that she endured when these mild, protesting citizens carried, on their Sunday afternoon knitting on the porch, in the long spring, summer and autumn of the mild Philadelphia climate, visible to passers-by who might be shocked, but could never be enlightened by their procedure which they had no means of interpreting. Lucretia Mott's great-granddaughter, Marianna Parrish, is my sister-in-law, wife of my brother, Albert Bartram Kelley.

Under Aunt Sarah's exceedingly fine, close-fitting cap of almost transparent net, her silver hair was bobbed in all my memories of her. This was the nearest approach possible for her to freedom in dress. She had not, like Grandfather Pugh, married "out of meeting." She remained true to the rigidly simple garb of the Friends as long as she lived. But

so far as I know, she was unique in her half-century long silent protest against the compulsory usage of long hair for women.

From this grandaunt, Father's convictions that children must know the life of boys and girls less fortunate than themselves received strong confirmation, and was broadened to early concern for the lot of all women. To me she seemed conscience incarnate, and it was quite natural that, as a girl of fifteen years, I received from Aunt Sarah reprints of Mrs. Josephine Butler's addresses to the Queen and to Parliament, for immediate abolition of segregation of women in lock hospitals in England and India. In the vain effort to protect the health of the British army, these concealed, secreted troops of unfortunate women were permanently maintained out of English taxes.

The injustice, the suffering, the inevitably unsuccessful attempt in another country to reduce loathsome disease by oppressing women, haunted the conscience of this Pennsylvania Friend as though these evils had been present in Philadelphia where she lived. And like Father, she followed the principle that no deeply rooted evil can ever be finally eradicated except by stirring the minds of the on-coming generation to abiding awareness of the changes that they will have to complete.

Aunt Sarah never wrote for publication or spoke in meetings, and her money contributions from her salary as a teacher, from which she conscientiously saved for her old age (she died at eighty-three) must have been most modest. Her influence both within and without the Society of Friends was exerted largely through personal friendships which she cultivated assiduously.

In our era of amplifiers, radio inserts in moving picture shows, full-page advertisements in metropolitan dailies, and all the troop of libelers and villifiers, spreading their perversions over a continent, it is hard, indeed, to recreate in imagination the faith and patience of reformers using such quiet methods in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. Yet it is a matter of history that, in 131 years the protests of Pennsylvania Friends never ceased—between 1732 when Friends in Rittenhouse Meeting adopted a minute that "It is the sense of this meeting that it is unseemly for Friends to hold human beings, as chattels," and forthwith set free all their own slaves—in 1863, when President Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Emancipation. And their methods, which never provoked opposition or resistance, were far more effectual than appeared upon the surface.

Our mother's own father, Henry L. Bonsall, married "out of meeting" and we, his grandchildren, were therefore never "birthright" Quakers. Our mother's father by adoption, Isaac Pugh, having married into the Unitarian family of Kay, close and intimate friends of Dr. Priestley, was also "out of meeting." It is characteristic of Friend Isaac Pugh that he gave our mother, in 1839, a piano as a birthday present and thereafter, having thus again disregarded the tenets of the Society of Friends, continued to sit throughout the Sunday meeting on the last seat at the rear of the meeting-house, except when he accompanied our grandmother to the Unitarian Church whose minister was Samuel Longfellow, brother of the poet, succeeded for several years by Mr. Charles Gordon Ames.

In this atmosphere of peace, affection, obedience to conscience, and faithful adherence to conviction, our mother grew up, and it was in this Quaker home in Germantown that I spent most of the happiest days of my childhood.

Partly because of my mother's fear of the possible loss of her last surviving daughter, and no less because of my unusual susceptibility to infection, my school life was almost nil. I could never attend regularly or complete a school year; my longest uninterrupted attendance being five or six months beginning with my thirteenth birthday, at Miss Marianna Longstreth's school for girls in Philadelphia. A few weeks in a delightful little school in Germantown when I was eight years old had ended in bed and a winter of rheumatism. Attendance in 1868, at the Friends' School at Fifteenth and Race Streets, Philadelphia, was cut short by scarlet fever, due doubtless to travel in the filthy horse-cars.

Fortunately this disease did not occur until I had garnered several precious memories. Never to be forgotten are the Fourth Day meetings in the austere simplicity and peaceful quiet of Friends' meeting-house, boys sitting on one side, girls on the other, and Friends facing the school, awaiting in reverent silence the possible moving of the Spirit, to bear testimony to the Truth in the presence of the young. The benches were of wood, uncushioned; the weekly hour seemed endless and was brightened only by the flickering hope that the Spirit might begin promptly, so that belated admonitions could not interfere with the out-door play hour that followed the service.

Some one had given me, as a philopena gift, an almost invisibly tiny diamond in a thin thread of a gold ring. In order that my nine years old thoughts should not be distracted, this was left every Fourth Day (Wednesday) morning with a teacher who stood at our entrance. It was duly returned to me at the close of the session.

An interesting item of the Friends' School life was the pupils' share in continuous help to the school for the children of Freedmen (former slaves emancipated in 1863). This school was maintained by two women on St. Helena island off the coast of South Carolina.* There were frequent requests from our teachers for garments and books that *we* liked ourselves. It was carefully explained that while gifts might be sent that were outgrown, there was never any sending of things that were out-worn or cast off. This practical sharing in the early efforts to educate the Negroes has led many boys and girls to keep on helping throughout life. To it, in part, I trace my active participation during the past sixteen years in the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A painful incident of this brief school attendance was passing a large, forbidding looking brick building and seeing from the car window on our homeward way, when we had half-day sessions ending at noon, little skinny girls waiting on the sidewalk before the closed doors. The building was a textile mill, and the children were "hands" returning from their noon half-hour for dinner.

At that time children, even in Massachusetts, could work ten hours a day in a cotton mill, at the age of ten years; and Pennsylvania had no limit upon ages or hours of work by day or by night.

In 1871 the family were spending the autumn in the Alleghenies, to give our mother a change of scene after the latest dreadful bereavement. We were within easy reach of the Pennsylvania railroad station at Altoona, and of several steel towns. Our father used the opportunity to show me a

*Penn. School, the oldest school for Negroes in the South, founded by Dr. Towne of Philadelphia, and her associate, Miss Murray. The work is carried forward today by their successors, Rossa B. Cooley and Grace Bigelow House; and readers of *The Survey* will recall Miss Cooley's series of articles in 1923-24 in the *Survey Graphic*, to be brought out this fall as a New Republic book: *Homes of the Freed*.

spectacle which had the interest and charm of novelty—the manufacture of steel by the newly introduced Bessemer process. It was, indeed, a terrifying sight. An enormous pear-shaped vessel filled with iron ore was heated many hours and then, at a signal, all people except the minimum number of employes responsible for the dangerous manipulation, were ordered to the outside edge of the circular building. At a second signal, the monster vessel was inverted and the molten metal, white hot and fluid, was turned into molds of sand waiting for it on the earthen floor of the building. These molds were of the same size throughout the industry, and were known throughout the English-speaking world as “pigs.” This branch of manufacture was known as the pig iron industry, although the technical name of each piece of steel at the completion of the process was *ingot*.

No weirder scene could be conceived than the general dark interior and the locally blinding glare of the furnace that supplied heat for melting the iron ore. Then the moment of frightful suspense when, if anything had gone wrong, several lives must inevitably have been lost. That has occurred more than once in the long course of development of the Bessemer method of transforming iron ore into steel; and still occurs from time to time under the newer methods.

It had been carefully explained to me in advance how vast a step forward this invention was, substituting as it did the single procedure for the earlier usage of turning ore into iron first, and then as a second step, iron into steel. It was explained to me on the spot how iron and steel were products of near-by coal and iron mines of Pennsylvania; how manganese, a Swedish product, was brought to this country because we had not yet discovered any in this hemisphere; and how immigrant laborers were sought like manganese; and how, population and industry, thus stimulated, were increasing the greatness of this industrial Republic.

I did not know at the time how significant it was that no one brought to my attention the thing that interested me most, and that I quickly discovered. This was the presence and activity of boys smaller than myself—and I was barely twelve years old—carrying heavy pails of water and tin dip-pers, from which the men drank eagerly. It was nearly two o'clock in the morning, the first time I had ever consciously been awake at that hour, when the steel was turned out into the molds. The attention of all present was so concentrated on this industrial novelty that the little boys were no more important than so many grains of sand in the molds. For me, however, they were a living horror, and so remained until the laggard State of Pennsylvania forbade, thirty-eight years later, in 1909, the presence of children below the age of sixteen years in any place of manufacture in the late night or early morning.

During the same fall another nocturnal visit, this time to a glass factory near Pittsburgh, confirmed my astonished impression of the utter unimportance of children compared with products, in the minds of the people whom I was among. Incredible as it seemed to me then, even my father's mind was completely preoccupied with technical and financial development of the great American industries: the conservation of the human element was to remain a charge on the oncoming generation. In the glass works the spectacle was less paralyzing than in the Bessemer steel works. Children were, however, far more numerous in proportion to men and for twenty to thirty years thereafter, this industry continued to build on their labor: and was to prove one of the most bitter opponents to protective laws.

In front of the blower's oven stood the blower with his long blow-pipe and, at his feet sat the blower's boy, crouched so that his head was sometimes lower than the oven-opening with its molten glass. I did not then know that the trade name of these boys was “blower's dog,” given them probably because they were compelled to respond instantly to the blower's whistle. The function of this boy was to take the blower's mold the instant the bottle or tumbler was removed from it, scrape it and replace it perfectly smooth and clean for the next bottle or tumbler which the blower was already shaping in his pipe.

I have never found any one who could tell me the limit of heat to which these pitiable victims could be exposed at the mouth of the blower's oven. How their little heads survived one night of exposure at close range, to that fearful glare I cannot imagine as I think of the picture presented to me in 1871. Twenty years later, I was to encounter it again and again when as Chief Inspector of Factories of the State of Illinois, I investigated the glass houses and sought to obtain child labor laws to put an end to the practice. Just as, nearly forty years after that first Pennsylvania visit, I was to find as a colleague in the Pittsburgh Survey, the earliest scenes continuing in the steel mills and glass houses of Western Pennsylvania.

In the following years, my childhood horizons were first stretched beyond the bounds of my native state. In 1872, I accompanied Father to the far West with the family, visiting Denver, Salt Lake, Los Angeles, Laramie. Father visited, while a member of Congress, every state and territory then existing, his keenest interest in his later years being the industrial development of the Southern states about which, in the 'eighties, he published a little volume entitled *The New South*. He was convinced that the unity of the Republic would become complete and permanent only as iron, coal, waterpower and all the other non-agricultural resources of the South were developed, and every step in this direction fascinated him.

It was never my good fortune to share one of the southern journeys, but in 1873 I had the pleasure and honor of traveling to Bismarck, North Dakota, then the end of the railroad, in company with Father and his beloved and revered friend and teacher, the internationally known Philadelphia economist Henry C. Carey.

These expeditions, in such companionship, afforded national vistas, reaching far indeed beyond the Philadelphia of my childhood. These vistas were to be further lengthened by university life here and in Europe. But in Father's library, in the tranquil home at Germantown, in the conscience-searching Fellowship of the Friends, I had divined depths and breadths of human experience in the universe lying beyond our sheltered household life. My Father's boyhood struggle, my mother's tragic loss of five little children, the serene front of my grandparents toward the misfortunes of middle life gave me, as a cherished child, inklings of hazards in the lives of my less fortunate contemporaries. There was Aunt Sarah's conviction that deep rooted evils could be eradicated only by stirring the minds of the oncoming generation; there was Father's charge to prepare for great tasks awaiting his children. And moving through a child's imagination were Free Soilers and Revolutionary ancestors, Quakers and Abolitionists and Non-Conformists, family figures who had put their consciences to the test both of endurance and action. Such were the homes and heritage of one Philadelphia child of sixty years ago.