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Version 3
August 20, 2018

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BRIEF FOR

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

INCLUDING

THE ILLINOIS BILL

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 MADISON AVE. 139 NEW YORK

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The determination of what citizens may possess the right to vote for presidential electors rests with the legislatures of the several States. Any legislature may extend that privilege to women. Members of those political parties which in national and State platforms have endorsed woman suffrage by State action cannot logically withhold support to the extension of this form of suffrage to the women of their respective States. This proposal was first introduced in the Indiana legislature in 1873 and several States have had the measure under consideration since that time. It has frequently passed one House or the other, but hesitation upon the ground of the possible unconstitutionality of the law and the non-support of political parties has delayed its establishment. A bill containing a presidential suffrage clause passed both Houses of the Illinois legislature and became a law in 1913 and has since become known as the Illinois Woman Suffrage Law.

The question of the constitutionality of the Illinois Law has been raised in the courts several times and every time it has been sustained by the Supreme Court. One of these cases tested the constitutionality of the section of the law permitting the women to vote for presidential electors and the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the law. It was held by some persons that the vote of Illinois would not be counted in the presidential election of 1916 because women had shared in the election. The election passed and no question of throwing out the vote of the women or the State has even been proposed. The prompt passage of a presidential woman suffrage bill by the legislature of North Dakota is an indication of the changed attitude of public sentiment toward this form of suffrage for women and is unquestionably the beginning of a movement which will end only when the law has been passed by all State legislatures.

Briefly stated, the Constitutional foundations for a presidential suffrage law are as follows:

The Constitution of the United States provides:

Article II, Section I, II—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 source of this power of the State legislatures being the United States Constitution, the word "male" defining the qualification of the usual electors of a State does not preclude the vote for presidential electors being extended to women, for:

Article VI, Section II—This Constitution . . . shall be the Supreme Law of the Land.

The following is a verbatim copy of the Illinois Woman Suffrage Law:

SENATE BILL NO. 63. APPROVED JUNE 26, 1913.

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

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

Section 2. All such women may also vote for the following township officers: supervisors, town clerk, assessor, collector and highway commissioner, and may also participate and vote in all annual and special town meetings in the township in which such election district shall be.

Section 3. Separate ballot boxes and ballots shall be provided for women, which ballots shall contain the names of the candidates for such offices which are to be voted for and the special questions submitted as aforesaid, and the ballots cast by women shall be canvassed with the other ballots for such officers and on such questions. At such election where registration is required, women shall register in the same manner as male voters.

The first section only of the Illinois Law applies to presidential suffrage and this section furnishes a skeleton outline for any State presidential suffrage bill.

The other clauses in the Illinois Woman Suffrage Law give women the right to vote for all municipal, county and other local officers and measures not specified in the Constitution to be voted upon by the qualified electors of the State.

The second part of the Illinois Law is considered impossible under a few State constitutions. In any event the full text of a bill to extend other forms of suffrage than presidential should be carefully drawn by a lawyer of the State under whose constitution the law is to be enacted.

The following brief on the constitutionality of presidential suffrage was prepared by Mr. Charles LeRoy Brown of the Chicago Bar at the instance of Judge Hiram T. Gilbert of the Illinois Bar. Mr. Brown's brief is preceded by a short opinion by Judge Gilbert, himself, from a letter to Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch of New York on June 26, 1914.

BRIEF ON PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

Opinion of Judge Hiram T. Gilbert of the Illinois Bar

Clause second of Section 1 of Article II of the Constitution of the United States provides as follows:

"Second. 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; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

Presidential electors perform only duties pertaining to the government of the United States. They perform no duties pertaining to the government of the State. They are provided for, not by a State law, but by a United States law, to wit, the Constitution of the United States. Therefore, in providing for the appointment of presidential electors, the legislature of the State does not act under the authority and constitution of that State, but solely under the authority of the Constitution of the United States; and the latter instrument has placed the matter of appointing presidential electors in the hands of the State legislature and has given the latter full discretionary power with respect thereto.

It would be within the power of the legislature to provide that presidential electors should be appointed by a vote of a majority of its own members, or it could delegate the power of appointment to any class of persons whom it might see fit to select for that purpose. In fact, its power is plenary. For this reason, it is very clear that it has power to provide that presidential electors shall be appointed by means of a majority or plurality vote of such residents of the State, whether male or female, as it may designate for that purpose.

The only bearing the State constitution night have upon the question would be with respect to those provisions which regulate the manner and form of legislative acts. So long as the provisions of those sections are complied with, no valid objection can be taken to any act of the legislature regulating the appointment of presidential electors.

OPINION BY MR. CHARLES LEROY BROWN OF THE CHICAGO BAR

The question is whether the legislature of a State can pass a law authorizing women to vote at an election for presidential electors in a State when the constitution of that State confines the right of suffrage to male citizens.

If the source of the power of the State legislature to establish qualifications of voters is exclusively in the Constitution of the United States, then no provision in a State constitution with respect to suffrage has any bearing and a legislature is unhampered thereby. The second clause of the first section of Article II of the Constitution of the United States is as follows:—

"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; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

That the Constitution of the United States commits to the State legislature plenary power to determine the manner in which presidential electors shall be appointed, will be shown, first, by a review of the judicial decisions bearing thereon, and secondly, by a presentation of pertinent facts of the history and practical construction of this clause of the Constitution.

I

Judicial decisions construing the second clause of the first section of Article II of the Constitution are rare. Disputes over the validity of electoral votes have taken place in Congress in counting those votes, but a study of those disputes fails to disclose any action by Congress indicating a view that State legislatures do not have plenary power to provide for the manner of appointment of presidential electors.

Apparently the first case in the Supreme Court of the United States in which was considered at all the second clause of the first section of the second article of the Constitution is *In re Green*, 134 U. S. 377. Green sued out a writ of *habeas corpus* in the United States Circuit Court to test the validity of his conviction by a court of the State of Virginia on an indictment charging him with illegal voting at an election for a representative in Congress and for electors of president and vice-president. The United States Circuit Court held that the United States had sole and exclusive jurisdiction to hear and determine the matters

and things alleged in the indictment upon the ground that acts of Congress had defined the defense charged in the indictment and prescribed the penalty therefor. Representatives of the State government of Virginia appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, which reversed the judgment of the Circuit Court. The Supreme Court held that presidential electors were not federal officers and that States had the power to punish fraudulent voting in the choice of electors. What was said by the court in passing on the subject of presidential electors is in no manner inconsistent with the theory that the Constitution of the United States is the source of the right to direct the manner of the selection of electors. In fact, the Supreme Court in the *Green* case said that the electors are appointed and act under and pursuant to the Constitution of the United States. We quote all that was said by the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Green* case bearing on the subject under consideration:

"By the Constitution of the United States, the electors for president and vice-president in each State are appointed by the State in such manner as its legislature may direct; their number is equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State is entitled in Congress; no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector; and the electors meet and vote within the State, and thence certify and transmit their votes to the seat of government of the United States. The only rights and duties, expressly vested by the Constitution in the national government, with regard to the appointment or the votes of presidential electors, are by those provisions which authorize Congress to determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, and which direct that the certificates of their votes shall be opened by the president of the Senate in the presence of the two houses of Congress, and the votes shall then be counted. Constitution, art. 2, sec. 1; Amendments, art. 12.

The sole function of the presidential electors is to cast, certify and transmit the vote of the State for President and Vice-President of the nation. Although *the electors are appointed and act under and pursuant to the Constitution of the United States,* they are no more officers or agents of the United States than are the members of the State legislatures when acting as electors of federal senators, or the people of the States when acting as electors of representatives in Congress. Constitution, art. 1, sects. 2, 3.

In accord with the provisions of the Constitution, Congress has determined the time as of which the number of electors shall be ascertained, and the days on which they shall be appointed and shall meet and vote in the States, and on which their votes shall be counted in Congress; has provided for the filling by each State, *in such manner as its legislature may prescribe,* of vacancies in its college of electors; and has regulated the manner of certifying and transmitting their votes to the seat of the national government, and the course of proceeding in their opening and counting them. Rev. Stat. 131-143; Acts of February 3, 1887, c. 90, 24 Stat. 373; October 19, 1888, c. 1216, 25 Stat. 613.

Congress has never undertaken to interfere with the manner of appointing electors, or, where (according to the now general usage) the mode of appointment prescribed by the law of the State is election by the people, to regulate the conduct of such election, or to punish any fraud in voting for electors; but has left these matters to the control of the States.

Sections 5511 and 5515 of the Revised Statutes, referred to in the order of the Circuit Court, were, as observed by this court in *Coy's* case, 127 U. S. 731, 751, made for the security and protection of elections held for representatives or delegates in Congress; and do not impair or restrict the power of the State to punish fraudulent voting in the choice of its electors.

The question whether the State has concurrent power with the United States to punish fraudulent voting for representatives in Congress is not presented by the record before us. It may be that it has. *Ex parte Siebold,* 100 U. S. 371. But even if the State has no such power in regard to votes for representatives in Congress, it clearly has such power in regard to votes for presidential electors, unaffected by anything in the Constitution and laws of the United States; and the including, in one indictment and sentence, of illegal voting both for a representative in Congress and for presidential electors, does not go to the jurisdiction of the State court, but is, at the worst, mere error, which cannot be inquired into by writ of *habeas corpus. Ex parte Crouch,* 112 U. S. 178; *in re Coy,* 127 U. S. 756-759."

Elaborate consideration of the subject of the manner of appointing presidential electors was given by the Supreme Court of Michigan and the Supreme Court of the United States in litigation brought to test the constitutionality of a statute of Michigan passed in 1891 dividing the State into districts for the election of presidential electors. In that case the statute divided the whole State of Michigan into two districts for the election of one elector in each and also directed that each congressional district should elect one elector. This legislation in Michigan was a departure from the plan, which has prevailed with practical uniformity during the last half century, of selecting electors by and for the whole State. McPherson and other citizens of Michigan filed a petition in the Supreme Court of Michigan praying that the court declare the said statute void because in conflict with the second clause of section 1 of Article II of the Constitution of the United States and also in some of its provisions in conflict with the act of Congress of February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of electors of President and Vice-President, and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President, and the decision of questions arising thereon." The Supreme Court of Michigan held that the act was valid and that a minor provision in the act, which was in conflict with the act of Congress of 1887, had no other effect than to render that provision inoperative. The decision of the Supreme Court of Michigan in this case, which was entitled *McPherson v. Blacker,*

is reported in 92 Mich. 377; 52 N. W. 469; 16 L. R. A. 475; 31 Am. St. Rep. 587.) The Supreme Court of Michigan held that the words of the federal Constitution, "in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct," were clearly susceptible of a construction which confers upon the legislature power to say how the State action shall be voiced, and that as the Constitution was subject to such a construction it was proper to resort to contemporaneous construction. The Michigan Supreme Court then pointed out that the practical construction which has been placed upon the section under consideration was certainly such as to maintain the contention that the "contemporaneous interpretation was that by this section *plenary power was reposed in the several legislatures* to prescribe methods for choosing electors other than by a vote of electors of the entire State, *or by any agency which, in the performance of other public functions, represented the entire State.*" In view of the Michigan court's decision and of the subsequent holding of the Supreme Court of the United States in the same case, no significance attaches to the expression, "which in the performance of other public functions, represented the entire State." The Supreme Court of the United States 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, and the Supreme Court of the United States found nothing unconstitutional in ~~that practice~~ this procedure (146 U. S. 29-32).) It was held by the Supreme Court of Michigan that the legislature of Michigan had full power, under this clause of the federal Constitution, to select electors by districts. The Supreme Court of Michigan also held that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States did not affect the power of the State legislature to direct the manner of appointing presidential electors.

The decision of the Supreme Court of Michigan in *McPherson v. Blacker* was reviewed on writ of error by the Supreme Court of the United States, 146 U. S. 1. The United States Supreme Court report contains a full statement of the question and a comprehensive summary of the arguments of counsel. The Supreme Court of the United States considered the question at great length. The opinion was delivered by Chief Justice Fuller and was concurred in by all the members of the court. The decision of the Supreme Court of Michigan was affirmed.

The Supreme Court of the United States in *McPherson v. Blacker* held that the clause of the federal Constitution does not read that the *people* or the *citizens* shall appoint, but that "each State shall" and said that even if the words "in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct" had been omitted it would seem that the legislative power of appointment could not have been successfully questioned in the absence of any provision in the State constitution in that regard, but that when

those words were inserted *they operated as a limitation upon the State in respect of any attempt to circumscribe the legislative power.* The exact language of the Supreme Court of the United States on this point, which is conclusive of the question under consideration, is as follows (page 25):

"The clause under consideration does not read that the people or the citizens shall appoint, but that 'each State shall'; and if the words, 'in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct,' had been omitted, it would seem that the legislative power of appointment could not have been successfully questioned in the absence of any provision in the State constitution in that regard. Hence the insertion of those words, *while operating as a limitation upon the State in respect of any attempt to circumscribe the legislative power,* cannot be held to operate as a limitation on that power itself.

"If the legislature possesses plenary authority to direct the manner of appointment, and might itself exercise the appointing power by joint ballot or concurrence of the two houses, or according to such mode as designated, it is difficult to perceive why, if the legislature prescribes as a method of appointment choice by vote, it must necessarily be by general ticket and not by districts. In other words, the act of appointment is none the less the act of the State in its entirety because arrived at by districts, for the act is the act of political agencies duly authorized to speak for the State, and the combined result is the expression of the voice of the State, a result reached by direction of the legislature, *to whom the whole subject is committed.*"

The following is quoted from the opinion of Mr. Chief Justice Fuller in *McPherson v. Blacker:*

"The Constitution does not provide that the appointment of electors shall be by popular vote, nor that the electors shall be voted for upon a general ticket, *nor that the majority of those who exercise the elective franchise can alone choose the electors.* It recognizes that the people act through their representatives in the legislature, and *leaves it to the legislature exclusively to define the method of effecting the object.*

"The framers of the Constitution employed words in their natural sense; and where they are plain and clear, resort to collateral aids to interpretation is unnecessary and cannot be indulged in to narrow or enlarge the text; but where there is ambiguity or doubt, or where two views may well be entertained, contemporaneous and subsequent practical construction are entitled to the greatest weight. Certainly plaintiffs in error cannot reasonably assert that the clause of the Constitution under consideration so plainly sustains their position as to entitle them to object that contemporaneous history and practical construction are not to be allowed their legitimate force, and, conceding that their argument inspires a doubt sufficient to justify resort to the aids of interpretation thus afforded, we are of opinion that such doubt is thereby resolved against them, the *contemporaneous practical exposition of the Constitution being too strong and obstinate to be shaken or controlled.*"

The court then reviewed at great length the proceedings of the constitutional convention of 1787 and the methods employed by the States in the selection of electors in the earlier years of the nation.

These matters are reviewed elsewhere in this opinion. After reviewing the history of the electoral system, the court expressed its decision on the power of the State legislature to direct that electors be chosen by districts as follows:

"In short, the appointment and mode of appointment of electors belong exclusively to the States *under the Constitution of the United States.* They are, as remarked by Mr. Justice Gray in *In re Green,* 134 U. S. 377, 379, 'no more officers or agents of the United States than are the members of the State legislatures when acting as electors of federal senators, or the people of the States when acting as the electors of representatives in Congress.' Congress is empowered to determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they are to give their votes, which is required to be the same day throughout the United States, but otherwise the power and jurisdiction of the State are exclusive, with the exception of the provisions as to the number of electors and the ineligibility of certain persons, so framed that Congressional and Federal influence might be excluded.

"The question before us is not one of policy but of power, and while public opinion had gradually brought all the States as matter of fact to the pursuit of a uniform system of popular election by general ticket, that fact does not tend to weaken the force of contemporaneous and long continued previous practice when and as different views of expediency prevailed. *The prescription of the written law cannot be overthrown because the States have latterly exercised in a particular way a power which they might have exercised in some other way.* 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."

The court then considered at length the effect of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments on the power of the State legislatures to direct the manner of choosing electors. It was held that the second clause of the first section of Article II of the Constitution was not amended by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments and that those amendments do not limit the power of appointment to the particular manner pursued at the time of the adoption of the amendments or to secure to every male inhabitant of the State, being a citizen of the United States, the right from the time of his majority to vote for presidential electors. The court said that it was apparent that the authority vested in the legislatures by the second clause of section 1 of Article II has not been divested by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, except, of course, with respect to the exemption by the fifteenth amendment to all citizens of the United States from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Other features of the opinion in *McPherson v. Blacker,* treating of the historical phase of the subject, will be reviewed in Division II of this opinion.

It has repeatedly been held that the source of the right to suffrage in elections of the members of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States is in the Constitution of the United States.

In *Ex parte Yarbrough,* 110 U. S. 651, the question was whether Congress has the constitutional power to pass laws providing for the free and pure exercise of the right of electors to vote for members of Congress. It was contended in that case that the right to vote for a member of Congress was not dependent upon the Constitution or laws of the United States, but was governed by the law of each State respectively. The Supreme Court of the United States said:

"It is not correct to say that the right to vote for a member of Congress does not depend on the Constitution of the United States.

"The office, if it be properly called an office, *is created by that Constitution and by that alone. It also declares how it shall be filled, namely, by election."*

Its language is:

"The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature." Article 1, section 2.

"The States, in prescribing the qualifications of voters for the most numerous branch of their own legislatures, do not do this with reference to the election for members of Congress. Nor can they prescribe the qualification for voters for those *eo nomine.* They define who are to vote for the popular branch of their own legislature, and the *Constitution of the United States* says the same person shall vote for the members of Congress in that State. It adopts the qualifications thus furnished as the qualification of its own electors for members of Congress.

It is not true, therefore, that electors for members of Congress owe their right to vote to the State law in any sense which makes the exercise of the right to depend exclusively on the law of the State.

Counsel for petitioners, seizing upon the expression found in the opinion of the court in the case of *Minor v. Happersett,* 21 Wall, 162, that 'the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one' without reference to the connection in which it is used, insists that the voters in this case do not owe their right to vote in any sense to that instrument.

But the court was combating the argument that this right was conferred on all citizens, and therefore upon women as well as men.

In opposition to that idea, it was said the Constitution adopts as the qualification for voters of members of Congress that which prevails in the State where the voting is to be done; therefore, said the opinion, the right is not definitely conferred on any person or class of persons by the Constitution alone, because you have to look to the law of the State for the description of the class. But the court did not intend to

say that when the class or the person is thus ascertained, his right to vote for a member of Congress was not fundamentally based upon the Constitution, which created the office of member of Congress, and declared it should be elective, and pointed to the means of ascertaining who should be electors."

The Yarbrough case was quoted and followed in *Wiley v. Sinkler,* 179 U. S., 58, where the Court said:

"The right to vote for member of the Congress of the United States is not derived merely from the Constitution and laws of the State in which they are chosen, but has its foundation in the Constitution of the United States."

The two cases last cited were again followed by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Swafford v. Templeton,* 185 U. S., 487. (See also to the same effect *Felix v. United States,* 186 Fed., 685.)

The reason which led the Supreme Court of the United States to hold that the right to vote for a member of the lower house of Congress is fundamentally based upon the Constitution of the United States, namely, that it created the office, declared it should be elective, and pointed to the means of ascertaining how they should be chosen, all apply with equal force to the proposition that the Constitution of the United States is the exclusive source of the power to prescribe the manner in which presidential electors shall be appointed. The Federal Constitution being the exclusive source of the power, the constitutions of the several States cannot limit or regulate that power in any manner.

There are a number of decisions in Kentucky on the status of a presidential elector. These cases held that a presidential elector is a State officer within the meaning of a provision in the constitution of Kentucky as to the filling of vacancies in office occurring within a certain period prior to the next ensuing election of "State officers." In these Kentucky decisions it is held that an election at which members of Congress and presidential electors are chosen is an election of State officers, because presidential electors are State officers. These cases are: *Todd v. Johnson,* 99 Ky. 548, 36 S. W. 987, 33 L. R. A. 399; *Donelan v. Bird,* 118 Ky. 178; 80 S. W. 796; *Hodge v. Bryan* (Ky.), 148 S. W. 21. These cases are in no manner contrary to the views expressed in this opinion. In a sense presidential electors are State officers and this was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Green* case, 134 U. S. 377, but, as the Supreme Court of the United States in that case said, and as was said in the opinions of some of the judges in *Todd v. Johnson,* supra, they are State officers appointed and acting under and pursuant to the Federal Constitution. The action of the State appointing them derives its authority, not from the State constitution, but from the Constitution of the United States.

Speaking of the foregoing Kentucky decisions, the author of a note in 43 L. R. A. N. S. 282 says:

"In *Todd v. Johnson,* supra, the decision was largely based upon the language of the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Green* case quoted above. The force of the decision is materially weakened, so far as being a general precedent is concerned, by a strong dissenting opinion by two judges, pointing out the fact that 'neither that (*Green*) case nor the *Blacker* case anywhere decides that electors are State officers,' and after quoting the United States Supreme Court language, they say: 'On the other hand, it may be said with equal truth that, when appointed and exercising their only power, they are no more officers or agents of the State than are the free electors of Kentucky when, under the section of the Kentucky constitution, they cast their votes for governor of the commonwealth. They are independent electors.' The contention of the minority is that they are neither Federal nor State officers, but independent electors.

And in *State ex rel. Spofford v. Gifford,* 22 Idaho, 613, 126 Pac. 1060, it was held that presidential electors are not State officers within the meaning of a statute providing that candidates for public office may be nominated by petition signed by voters as follows: 'The number of signatures, when the nomination is for a State office, shall not be less than 300,' etc.; hence electors cannot be nominated under the Idaho statute by a petition, but must be nominated as otherwise provided by statute."

In *State ex rel. Spofford v. Gifford,* 22 Idaho, 613, 126 Pac. 1060, the court said:

"The office of Congressman is clearly not a State office; it is provided for by the Federal Constitution, and the only thing left to the State to do is to hold the election (section 2, art. 1). The State provides the manner of appointment or election of electors, which has been done in this State by sections 351 and 459 to 465 of our Rev. Codes. Here it has been provided that they shall be elected by popular vote throughout the State at large. It is clear, however, that when elected, they are not *State officers,* and it follows therefore that no method has been provided by statute for nominating presidential electors by petition, and that no authority exists for so doing."

The author of the same note, on page 287 of volume 43 L. R. A. N. S., says:

"In many cases it has been, without the point being raised, assumed that the legislature has full power to prescribe the manner of election. *Todd v. Johnson,* 99 Ky. 548, 33 L. R. A. 399, 36 S. W. 987; *State ex rel. Dahlman v. Piper,* 50 Neb. 25, 69 N. W. 378; *State ex rel. Cook v. Houser,* 122 Wis. 534, 100 N. W. 964; *State ex rel. Spofford v. Gifford,* 22 Idaho, 613, 126 Pac. 1060; *State ex rel. Allen v. Bordigan,* —— Nev. ——, 125 Pac. 699; *Sharboro v. Jordan,* —— Cal. ——, 127 Pac. 170; *Hodge v. Bryan,* 149 Ky. 110, 148 S. W. 21; *Marshall v. Dillon,* 149 Ky. 1151, 148 S. W. 23; *Donelan v. Bird,* 118 Ky. 178, 80 S. W. 796; *State ex rel. Gray v. Olson,* —— S. D. ——, 137 N. W. 561; *Breidenthall v. Edwards,* 57 Kan. 332, L. R. A. 146, 46 Pac. 469."

All the foregoing cases have been examined and it seems to the writer that none of them can be regarded as a decision, either way, of the question whether a State legislature may, in prescribing the qualifications of voters at an election for presidential electors, disregard provisions on the qualifications of voters contained in a State constitution.

In the case of *Scown v. Zarnecki,* et al., decided by the Supreme Court of Illinois at the June term, 1914, the Supreme Court of Illinois upheld the validity of an act of the Illinois legislature (Laws of 1913, p. 333) granting suffrage to women to vote at elections for various officers, among which were presidential electors, and to vote upon all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of municipalities or other political divisions of the State. The intention of the Illinois legislature in passing this act was to give suffrage to women in elections not provided for by the constitution of Illinois. Section 1 of Article VII of the constitution of Illinois provides:

"Every person having resided in this State one year, in the county ninety days, and in the election district thirty days next preceding any election therein, who was an elector in this State on the first day of April, in the year of our Lord 1848, or obtained a certificate of naturalization before any court of record in this State prior to the first day of January in the year of our Lord 1870, or who shall be a male citizen of the United States, above the age of twenty-one years, shall be entitled to vote at such election."

The Supreme Court of Illinois held that the act was constitutional because it did not confer suffrage on women in elections of officers mentioned in the constitution. The court said, "None of the officers named in the act in question are mentioned in the Constitution, but all have been created by statutory enactments." No point seems to have been raised in the *Scown* case as to the power of the legislature to prescribe qualifications for those voting at elections of presidential electors, as distinguished from the other officers named in the act.

In *Carpenter v. Cornish,* 83 N. J. L. 696, 85 Atl. 240, the Court of Errors and Appeals of New Jersey held that women had no right in New Jersey to vote for various officers, among them presidential electors. The New Jersey constitution of 1844 gave to men only the right of suffrage at all elections of officers. (Same case, 83 Atl. 31.) In the opinion of the Court of Errors and Appeals it is said: "The legislature has tacitly, if not expressly, adopted the qualifications of Article 2 of the constitution except so far as it has permitted women to vote at school meetings." In view of the fact that the New Jersey legislature has never passed any act giving women the right to vote for presidential electors, they have no inherent right to vote for such electors. The New Jersey court mentions the subject of control of elections of presidential electors, but throws no light on the question here involved. It says:

"As to the right claimed to vote for presidential electors the matter is wholly within the control of the State. *McPherson v. Blacker,* 146 U. S. 1 (the Michigan electors' case)."

The court thus refrains from expressly deciding whether or not the provision in the New Jersey Constitution limits the power of the legislature, but we think that the clear inference is that the New Jersey court, when it said "within the control of the State," meant to say "within the control of the State legislature."

Minor v. Happersett, 21 Wall (U. S.) 162, has no bearing on this question, but as it has been cited in one of the foregoing cases, and as it related to suffrage, it may be well to state what it involved and what it decided. It was a suit by a woman again a registrar of voters in the State of Missouri to recover damages for wilfully refusing to place her name upon the list of registered voters. The suit involved the question whether the plaintiff, a woman, who was a citizen of the United States and of the State of Missouri, was a voter in that State notwithstanding the provision of the constitution and laws of the State, which confined the right of suffrage to men alone. It was contended that the provisions of the constitution and laws of the State of Missouri were in violation of the Constitution of the United States and therefore void. The Supreme Court of the United States held that the Constitution did not say who shall be entitled to vote. It was held that a woman was a citizen of the United States the same as a man. The Supreme Court of the United States said:

"If the right of suffrage is one of the necessary privileges of a citizen of the United States, then the Constitution and laws of Missouri confining it to men are in violation of the Constitution of the United States, as amended, and consequently void. The direct question is, therefore, presented, whether all citizens are necessarily voters."

The Supreme Court reviewed the constitutional provision and the history of suffrage in various States and held that neither the constitution nor the amendments thereto made all citizens voters. On pages 172 and 173 of the opinion, the court enumerated the qualifications of voters in each of the thirteen original States and showed that in all of them, save perhaps in New Jersey, the right of suffrage was bestowed only upon men and not upon all of them. It appears that in one and perhaps others of the original thirteen States the suffrage qualifications for members of the lower house of the State legislature were different from the qualifications required of voters for other offices. On pages 176 and 177 of the opinion, the court pointed out that after the adoption of the constitution and prior to the date of the decision, which was in 1874, no new State had been admitted in which suffrage had been conferred upon women. There is nothing in the case of *Minor v. Happer-*

sett which is adverse to our contention. It decided merely that the Constitution of the United States itself did not vest the right of suffrage in women. No point was raised in that case as to the power of a State by its constitution to limit the functions of the legislature in prescribing qualifications of voters for presidential electors.

In *Willis et al. v. Kalmbach,* 109 Va. 475, 64 S. E. 342, 21 L. R. A. N. S. 1009, the Supreme Court of Virginia held the provision in the constitution of Virginia prescribing the qualifications of voters for members of the Assembly and all officers elected by the people did not prevent the legislature from prescribing different qualifications for persons voting upon the question of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors, and held that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution did not limit the power of a State legislature to prescribe the qualifications of voters at a local option election. Other cases on this question are collected in a note to State of *South Carolina ex rel. v. State Board of Canvassers,* 78 S. C. 461, 59 S. E. 145, reported in 14 L. R. A. N. S. 850.

It has frequently been held that a State legislature has full power to pass laws prescribing the requirements of suffrage in elections of officers not provided for by the constitution of the State.

State ex rel. Lamar v. Dillon, 32 Fla. 545; 14 So. 383; 22 L. R. A. 124.

Cases in note, 21 L. R. A. 662.

Cases in note, 27 L. R. A. N. S. 522.

Cases cited in 15 Cyc. 299, note 21.

These decisions probably rest upon the elementary principle that a legislature may pass any acts that are not expressly, or by necessary implication, inhibited by their own constitutions or by the Federal Constitution. This is a generally accepted doctrine. It must be a necessary qualification on that doctrine that if a State constitution places a limitation upon the power of the legislature and that limitation prescribed by the State constitution is with respect to a subject within the exclusive province of the Federal Constitution, the limitation in the State constitution is wholly void, and, it being void, the legislature is as unrestricted as if such void provision in the State constitution did not exist. A provision in a State constitution in conflict with the Federal Constitution is as void as a statute enacted by a State legislature in contravention of the Federal Constitution. (Cooley on Constitutional Limitations, p. 62; *New Orleans Gas Co. v. Louisiana Light Co.,* 115 U. S. 650, 672; *Fisk v. Jefferson Police Jury,* 116 U. S. 131, 135.

II

In volume 2 of Lalor's Cyclopedia of Political Science, at page 60, in an article by Alexander Johnston, author of "History of American Politics," it is said:

"On no subject was there such diversity of individual opinion and of action in the convention of 1787 as on that of the mode of election of the president, for the office of vice-president was never thought of until nearly the close of the convention's labors. The two plans, the 'Virginia plan' and the 'Jersey plan,' submitted by the nationalizing and particularist elements of the convention at the opening of its work, agreed in giving the choice of the president to Congress; and Charles Pinckney's plan, which takes the medium between them, made no provisions as to the manner of the president's election. The debate had hardly opened when the diversity of opinion became apparent. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, wished to have a popular election by districts. Sherman, of Connecticut, wished to retain the choice by Congress. Gerry, of Massachusetts, apparently at first wished to have electors chosen by the States in proportion to population, with the unit rule; but he afterwards settled on a choice of the president by the governors of the States. Hamilton wished to have the president chosen by secondary electors, chosen by primary electors, chosen by the people. Gouverneur Morris wished to have the president chosen by general popular vote *en masse.* The Virginia plan, as amended and agreed to in committee of the whole, June 19, retained the election by Congress. July 17, popular election and choice by electors were voted down, and the choice by Congress was again approved, this time unanimously. Two days afterward, July 19, the choice by Congress was reconsidered, and a choice by electors chosen by the State legislatures was adopted. Five days afterward, July 24, the choice of electors was reconsidered and lost, and the choice by Congress revived. In this form it went to the committee of detail, was reported *favorably* by them August 6, and again referred to them unchanged August 31. In their report of September 4, less than two weeks before the final adjournment of the convention, this committee reported the electoral system very nearly as it was finally adopted, September 6. In this report of September 4 the office of vice-president was first introduced; indeed, the creation of this office was an integral part of the electoral system. Several amendments offered on the last two days of the convention were rejected, as too late, and the electoral system was a part of the constitution as offered to the State conventions and ratified by them. It will appear from a reconsideration that a choice by Congress was the steady determination of the convention for all but the last two weeks of its existence, excepting the five days during which it inclined toward a direct choice of electors by State legislatures; but that its final decision gave the choice of president and vice-president to electors, appointed 'in such manner as the legislatures of the States might direct.'"

The different proposals in the constitutional convention of 1787 are reviewed in *McPherson v. Blacker,* 146 U. S. 1, at page 28.

Hamilton regarded this clause of the Constitution as calling for an election of presidential electors by the people; he did not contemplate that electors would often be appointed by the legislatures. These facts appear from the sixty-eighth number of the "Federalist," which was written by Hamilton. Among the statements of Hamilton in that number of the "Federalist" are the following:

"It was desirable that the sense of *the people* should operate in the choice of the person to whom so important a trust was to be confided. This end will be answered by committing the right of making it, not to any pre-established body, but to men chosen by *the people* for the special purpose, and at the particular conjuncture."

"They have not made the appointment of the president to depend on any pre-existing bodies of men, who might be tampered with beforehand to prostitute their votes; but they have referred it in the first instance to an immediate act of *the people of America,* to be exerted in the choice of persons for the temporary and sole purpose of making the appointment."

"All these advantages will happily combine in the plan devised by the convention; which is, that *the people of each State* shall choose a number of persons as electors, equal to the number of Senators and representatives of such State in the national government, who shall assemble within the State and vote for some fit person as President."

All the early writers thought that the electors would be a body of men exercising an independent and untrammelled choice in their selection of a president. (Story, Constitution, 1473.) It does not seem to have been contemplated that the electors would be mere automatons registering the result of a popular vote confirming the nomination made by some political party. (Miller, U. S. Constitution, 149; Rawle, Constitution, 55; Bryce, American Commonwealth, p. 25.) For these reasons the theoretical views of the participants in the convention and of the early writers prior to the inauguration of the Federal government throw no light on the question to be considered.

However, the early operations under the Federal Constitution make it plain that the State legislatures were universally regarded as having complete power to select presidential electors in any manner they saw fit. Various modes of choosing the electors were pursued, as by the legislature itself on joint ballot; by the legislature through a concurrent vote of the two houses; by a vote of the people for a general ticket; by a vote of the people in districts; by choice, partly by the people voting in districts and partly by the legislature; and by choice of the legislature from candidates voted for by the people in districts. Still other methods were adopted. In North Carolina, in 1796, the legislature passed an act dividing the State into four districts, and directing the members of the legislature residing in each district to 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, directing that those named persons elect an elector for each of the three districts. The following is a summary of the manner in which electors were appointed when the method was otherwise than by a general vote of the people:

At the first presidential election the appointment of electors was made by the legislatures of *Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, New Jersey*

and *South Carolina. Pennsylvania,* by act of October 4, 1788, Acts, Penn. 1787-1788, p. 513, provided for the election of electors on a general ticket. *Virginia,* by act of November 17, 1788, was divided into twelve separate districts and an elector elected in each district, while for the election of Congressman, the State was divided into ten other districts. Laws Va., Oct. Sess., 1788, pp. 1, 2; Henning's Stat., 648. In *Massachusetts* the general court, by resolve of November 17, 1788, divided the State into districts for the election of representatives in Congress, and provided for their election December 18, 1788, and that at the same time the qualified inhabitants of each district should give their votes for two persons as candidates for the elector of President and Vice-President of the United States, and from the two persons in each district having the greatest number of votes, the two houses of the general court, by joint ballot, should elect one as elector, and in the same way should elect two electors at large. Mass. Resolves, 1788, p. 53. In *Maryland,* under act of December 22, 1788, electors were elected on general ticket, five being residents of the western shore and three of the eastern shore. Laws Md. 1788, Nov. Sess., c. 10. In *New Hampshire* an act was passed November 12, 1788, Laws N. H. 1789, p. 167, providing for the election of five electors by majority popular vote, and in case of no choice that the legislature should appoint out of so many of the candidates as equalled double the number of electors elected. There being no choice the appointment was made by the legislature. The Senate would not agree to a joint ballot, and the house was compelled, that the vote of the State might not be lost, to concur in the electors chosen by the Senate. The State of New York lost its vote through a similar contest. The Assembly was willing to elect by joint ballot of the two branches or to divide the electors with the Senate, but the Senate would assent to nothing short of a complete negative upon the action of the Assembly, and the time for election passed without an appointment. *North Carolina* and *Rhode Island* had not then ratified the Constitution.

Fifteen States participated in the second presidential election, *in nine of which electors were chosen by the legislatures. Maryland* (Laws Md. 1790, c. 16 [2 Kelty], Laws 1791, c. 62 [2 Kelty]), *New Hampshire* (Laws N. H. 1792, 398, 401), and *Pennsylvania* (Laws Penn. 1792, p. 240) elected their electors on a general ticket, and *Virginia* by districts, Laws Va. 1792, p. 87 (13 Henning, 536). In *Massachusetts* the general court, by resolution of June 30, 1792, divided the State into four districts, in each of two of which five electors were elected, and in each of the other two, three electors. Mass. Resolves, June, 1792, p. 25. Under the apportionment of April 13, 1792, *North Carolina* was entitled to ten members of the House of Representatives. The legislature was not in session and did not meet until November 15, while under the act of Congress of March 1, 1792 (1 Stat. 239, c. 8), the electors were to

assemble on December 5. The legislature passed an act dividing the State into four districts, and directing the members of the legislature residing in each district to meet on the 25th of November and choose three electors. 2 Iredell N. Car. Laws, 1715 to 1800, c. 15 of 1792. At the same session an act was passed dividing the State into districts for the election of electors in 1796, and every four years thereafter. Id., c. 16.

Sixteen States took part in the third presidential election, *Tennessee* having been admitted June 1, 1796. In *nine States the electors were appointed by the legislatures, and in Pennsylvania* and *New Hampshire* by popular vote for a general ticket. *Virginia, North Carolina* and *Maryland* elected by districts. The *Maryland* law of December 24, 1795, was entitled, "An act to alter the mode of electing electors," and providing for dividing the State into ten districts, each of which districts should "elect and appoint one person, being a resident of the said district, as an elector." Laws Md. 1795, c. 73 (2 Kelty). *Massachusetts* adhered to the district system, electing one elector in each Congressional district by a majority vote. It was provided that if no one had a majority, the legislature should make the appointmnet on joint ballot, and the legislature also appointed two electors at large in the same manner. Mass. Resolves, June, 1796, p. 12. In *Tennessee* an act was passed August 8, 1796, which provided for the election of three electors, "one in the district of Washington, one in the district of Hamilton, and one in the district of Mero," and "that the said electors may be elected with as little trouble to the citizens as possible," certain persons of the counties of Washington, Sullivan, Green and Hawkins were named in the act and appointed electors to elect an elector for the district of Washington; certain other persons of the counties of Knox, Jefferson, Sevier and Blount were by name appointed to elect an elector for the district of Hamilton; and certain others of the counties of Davidson, Sumner and Tennessee to elect an elector for the district of Mero. Laws Tenn. 1794, 1803, p. 109; Acts 2nd Sess. 1st Gen. Assembly Tenn., c. 4. Electors were chosen by the persons thus designated.

In the fourth presidential election, *Virginia,* under the advice of Mr. Jefferson, adopted the general ticket, at least "until some uniform mode of choosing a President and Vice-President of the United States shall be prescribed by an amendment to the Constitution." Laws Va. 1799, 1800, p. 3. *Massachusetts* passed a resolution providing that the electors of the State should be appointed by joint ballot of the Senate and House. Mass. Resolves, June, 1800, p. 13. *Pennsylvania* appointed by the legislature, and upon a contest between the Senate and the House, the latter was forced to yield to the Senate in agreeing to an agreement which resulted in dividing the vote of the electors. 26 Mile's Reg. 17. Six States, however, chose electors by popular vote, *Rhode Island* supplying the place of *Pennsylvania* which had heretofore followed that course. *Tennessee,* by act of October 26, 1799, designated persons by name to

choose its three electors as under the act of 1796. Laws Tenn. 1794-1803, p. 211; Acts 2nd and Sess. 2nd Gen. Assembly Tenn., c. 46.

Without pursuing the subject further, it is sufficient to observe that while most of the States adopted the general ticket system the district method obtained in *Kentucky* until 1824; in *Tennessee* and *Maryland* until 1832; in *Indiana* in 1824 and 1828; in *Illinois* in 1820 and 1824; and in *Maine* in 1820, 1824 and 1828. *Massachusetts* used the general ticket system, in 1804 (Mass. Resolves, June, 1804, p. 19), chose electors by joint ballot of the legislature in 1808 and 1816 (Mass. Resolves, 1808, pp. 205, 207, 209; 1816, p. 233), used the district system again in 1812 and in 1820 (Mass. Resolves, 1812, p. 94; 1820, p. 245), and returned to the general ticket system in 1824 (Mass. Resolves, 1824, p. 40). In *New York* the electors were elected in 1828 by districts, the district electors choosing the electors at large. N. Y. Rev. Stat., 1827, Part I, Title vi., v. 6. The appointment of electors by the legislature, instead of by popular vote, was made use of by *North Carolina, Vermont* and *New Jersey* in 1812.

In 1824 the electors were chosen by popular vote, by districts and by general ticket, in all the States excepting *Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, New York, South Carolina* and *Vermont,* where they were still chosen by general ticket in all the States excepting *South Carolina,* where the legislature chose them up to and including 1860. Journals 1860, Senate, pp. 12, 16; House, 11, 15, 17. And this was the mode adopted by *Florida* in 1868 (Laws 1868, p. 166), and by *Colorado* in 1876, as prescribed by § 18 of the schedule to the Constitution of the State, which was admitted into the Union August 1, 1876. Gen. Laws Colorado, 1877, pp. 79, 990.

The peculiar method followed by Tennessee shows beyond all question that the legislature may vest in any class of persons whatever the power to appoint presidential electors. In 1796 and in 1800 the Tennessee legislature designated certain persons by name to choose its three electors. The presidential election of 1800 was a notable one, and if there had been any doubt about the validity of the method pursued in Tennessee it probably would have been challenged in Congress. The acceptance by the national Congress of the Tennessee method shows a construction of the Constitution shortly after it was adopted which indicates clearly the belief that the legislature had plenary power over the subject.

Alexander Johnston, in his article on the Electoral System in Lalor's Cyclopedia, from which we have quoted in the foregoing, says:

"It is also plain that absolute control of the 'appointment' of the electors, with the exceptions hereafter noted, was given to the State legislatures. The people refused to exercise it themselves, either in their national or in their State capacity. *The words, 'in such manner as the*

legislature thereof may direct,' are as plenary as the English language could well make them. In whatever manner the legislature may direct the appointment to be made, by its own election, by a popular vote of the whole State, by a popular vote in districts, by a popular vote scrutinized by canvassing officers or returning boards, or even by appointment of a returning board or a governor without any popular vote whatever, common sense shows that *there is no other power than an amendment of the constitution's express language which can lawfully take away the control of the legislature over the manner of appointment.* Any interference with the appointment by Congress, in particular, either directly or under the subterfuge of an 'electoral commission,' is evidently a sheer impertinence and usurpation, however it may be condoned by popular acquiescence in the inevitable. Even the State court of last resort can only interfere so far as to compel obedience by State officers to the will of the legislature. One exception to the legislature's power, inserted to guard against executive influence, only makes the absoluteness of the rest of the grant more emphatic. The legislature is not to appoint any 'Senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States,' an elector. Where the legislature directs the appointment to be made by popular vote, it must be evident that votes cast for the appointment of a person whom the constitution expressly bars from appointment have no existence in law; and the person for whom they were cast cannot 'appoint' himself anew by resigning his office after the election and thus reviving invalid votes. How the vacancy, if any, is to be filled, must be regulated by the legislature, for the electors themselves have no such power by virtue either of their office or of the constitution." (Lalor's Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and United States History, Vol. 2, p. 61.)

In speaking of the constitutional provision above quoted, Tucker, in his Constitution of the United States, Vol. 2, p. 696, § 340, says: "What is the significance of 'in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct'? If the legislature chooses, may it not direct the appointment to be made by popular vote, or by the legislature, or by one branch of the legislature, or by the governor? Is there any restriction upon the State or its legislature as to the manner in which the State shall appoint these electors? It would seem not. . . . A State may therefore appoint electors or refuse to appoint, and in any manner that it may direct by its legislature; nor is there power which can control or nullify this action."

The author of the note on this subject in 43 L. R. A. N. S. 282, at page 285, says:

"A mere glance at the quotation from the United States Constitution, above, suffices to show that the State legislature has full power to prescribe the manner in which the electors are appointed or elected. It is so clear that the question has seldom been raised, but the State legislatures have always exercised that power."

Story on the Constitution was written nearly a half century after the adoption of the Constitution. Judge Story, after stating that "in some States the legislatures have directly chosen the electors by themselves; in others, they have been chosen by the people by a general ticket throughout the whole State; and in others, by the people of electoral districts, fixed by the legislature, a certain number of electors being apportioned to each district," adds, "No question has ever arisen as to the constitutionality of either mode, except that by a direct choice of the legislature. By this, though often doubted by able and ingenious minds (3 Elliott's Deb. 100, 101), has been firmly established in practice ever since the adoption of the Constitution, and does not now seem to admit of controversy, even if a suitable tribunal existed to adjudicate upon it." And he remarks that "it has been thought desirable by many statesmen to have the Constitution amended so as to provide for a uniform mode of choice by the people." Story Const., 1st Ed., § 1466.

Various amendments to the constitutional method of selecting presidential electors have been suggested in Congress. The many efforts to amend the Constitution so as to provide for a uniform method of selection in all the States are reviewed on pages 33 and 34 of the opinion in *McPherson v. Blacker,* 146 U. S. 1. (See also 2 Lalor's Cyclopedia, pp. 66-68.) In 1874 the Committee of Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate submitted to the Senate a report recommending an amendment to the Constitution dividing the States into electoral districts and providing that the majority of the popular vote of each district should give the candidate one presidential vote, but this proposal also failed to obtain action. The report of the committee was delivered to the Senate by the chairman of the committee, Senator Oliver P. Morton of Indiana. Besides the chairman, the committee consisted of Senators Matthew Hale Carpenter, John A. Logan, Anthony of Rhode Island, Alcorn, Mitchell, Wadleigh, William T. Hamilton of Maryland, and Eli Saulsbury. In that report it was said:

"The Constitution provides that '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 to the Congress.'

"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 legislature of the States by the Constitution of the United States, and cannot be taken from them or modified by their State constitutions any more than can their power to elect Senators of the United States. Whatever provisions may be made by the 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 never be taken away or abdicated.* In the

early presidential elections the electors were chosen in many States by the legislatures, and as late as 1824, in Delaware, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, New York and Vermont, they were chosen by the legislatures, and South Carolina continued this practice up to the war of the rebellion.

"Therefore, under the Constitution as it now stands, it is in the power of any legislature to repeal the laws providing for the election of electors by the people, and take such election into their own hands. It may be said, this is not likely to be done; but the answer is that it may and has been done; and who can tell what may be the future exigencies of parties and politicians, or what they may not do? As has been already remarked, South Carolina chose electors by her State legislatures up to the period of the rebellion, and at all presidential elections prior to 1852 the electors were variously chosen—some by the legislature in joint convention; others by the two houses, where they were divided in politics, acting separately and dividing the electors between them by contract. Other States chose electors by the general ticket system, others again by the single district system, and still others by the double or triple district system; that is, dividing the States into a smaller number of districts than there were members of Congress, and choosing two or three electors in one district." (Senate Reports, 1st Sess. 43d Cong. § 395.)

This report of the Senate Committee was quoted with approval by the Supreme Court of the United States in *McPherson v. Blacker,* 146 U. S. 1, at pages 34 and 35. It completely sustains our view.

On the point that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have no bearing on the power of the legislatures of the States to direct the manner of choosing presidential electors (except when the legislature does direct that the appointment shall be by the people, there shall be no discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude) the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in *McPherson v. Blacker,* 146 U. S. 1, is conclusive. The question was much debated by eminent members of the electoral commission of 1877. Their discussions of this question show that all recognized the plenary power of the legislature under the second clause of Section 1 of Article II of the Constitution, to direct any manner of choosing electors.

Commissioner Frelinghuysen, speaking of the power of the State to appoint electors, said: "Under this power, the *legislature* might direct that the electors should be appointed by the *legislature,* by the executive, by the judiciary, or by the people. In the earliest days of the republic electors were appointed by the legislatures. In Pennsylvania they were appointed by the judiciary. Now, in all the States except Colorado, they are appointed by the people."

Commissioner Hoar said: "Upon the whole matter, therefore, I am of opinion that the appointment of electors and the ascertaining who has been appointed is the sole and exclusive prerogative of the State. The State acts by such agencies as it selects." *Justice Field*

said: "The Constitution declares that each State shall appoint electors 'in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct.' . . . With the exception of these provisions, as to the number of electors and the ineligibility of certain persons, the power of choice on the part of the State is unrestricted. *The manner of appointment is left entirely to its legislature." Justice Miller,* commissioner, said: "If elected by the legislature, as they may be, an appropriate mode (of certifying the election) would be the signatures of the presiding officers of the two Houses to the fact of such appointment, or a certified copy of the Act by which they were elected."

The opinions of the members of the Electoral Commission appear in Part 4, Volume 5, of the Congressional Record of 1877 and have been published in a single volume.

Our contention finds support by analogy in a case of contested election in the United States House of Representatives. The first clause of Section 4 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the United States declares that "the times, places and manner of holding elections for . . . representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof." During the Civil War many State legislatures undertook by statute to authorize soldiers in the actual military service to vote in camp or in the field, beyond the boundaries of the State of their residence. In some of the States the constitutions designated the place of holding elections and required that electors should vote in the district or precinct in which they reside. The Michigan constitution contained such a provision, but its legislature in 1864 passed a statute authorizing its soldiers to vote in samp or in the field. In the Congressional election of 1864 Mr. Trowbridge received a majority of the votes of his district if the votes cast by soldiers outside the limits of the State could rightfully be counted for him. The Supreme Court of Michigan held that an elector was prohibited by the constitution of that State from voting outside the township or ward in which he resided. If the votes of the soldiers cast outside the State could not be counted, Mr. Baldwin had a majority of the vote. The contested election was considered by the House of Representatives and referred to the Committee of Elections. The majority of the committee sustained the right of the soldiers to vote and the House sustained the election of Mr. Trowbridge by a vote of 108 to 30. (Feb. 14, 1866.) The report of the case appears in 2 Bartlett's Contested Elèction Cases, at page 46. The report of the majority of the committee, which was followed by the House of Representatives, contained the following:

"Under this act of the legislature, a large number of votes was cast by soldiers outside the limits of the State. If these votes can be lawfully counted, Mr. Trowbridge has a majority of the whole, and is entitled to the seat; if not, Mr. Baldwin, having a majority of the home vote, is entitled to it. It will be observed that the elector is prohibited by the constitution of the State (taking the interpretation of its supreme court as

its power, as has also been shown, was just as ample as that of any subsequent legislature, and no more. The power to prescribe the place, whether called a qualification, limitation, or condition, is still vested in what the constitution calls 'the legislature,' and there it must remain. It cannot be divested by giving it another name, however apt it may be.

"The committee, then, submit the following resolution, and recommend its adoption:

"*Resolved,* that Rowland E. Trowbridge is entitled to a seat in this House as a representative in the thirty-ninth Congress from the fifth congressional district in Michigan."

In the debate in Congress attending the counting of the presidential electors elected in 1864 a question arose over whether the State constitution of Louisiana authorized the legislature of that State to select electors. Senator Lyman Trumbull said:

"The fact would be immaterial. I do not think there is any importance in the suggestion whether the constitution of the State of Louisiana provided for it or not. In fact I do not think the constitution of a State could provide for that. The electors in each State are to be chosen, according to my recollection of the constitution, in the manner prescribed by the legislature of the State, and therefore the State constitution could not regulate it."

Appleton's Presidential Counts, p. 190.

The people in adopting the Federal Constitution took away from the States, as such, all control over the manner of appointment of presidential electors. They provided that the electors shall be appointed in such manner as the legislature may direct. The words, "In such manner as the legislature thereof may direct," have been held by the Supreme Court of the United States to be a limitation upon the power of the States. As those words are a limitation upon the power of the States, nothing in any State constitution can divest the legislature of the power to determine at any time the manner of selecting presidential electors. In so far as provisions of a State constitution attempt to limit the right of suffrage to men in voting for presidential electors, such provisions of a State constitution are void. The legislature of each State has supreme and plenary power over the manner in which electors shall be chosen. That power necessarily includes the right to prescribe the qualifications of voters when the appointment of presidential electors is ordered by the legislature to be effected by a popular election. Any State legislature may itself retain that right of appointment or it may give it to all of its citizens, women as well as men, regardless of any provision in the State constitution.

CHARLES LEROY BROWN

correct) from voting outside of the township or ward in which he resides, but by the act of the legislature is allowed, when absent in the military service of the country, to vote even outside the State. Here is an unmistakable conflict of authority. The constitution plainly prohibits what the legislature as plainly permits. The one authorizes the election to be held only in the township or ward; the other at military headquarters. The power to act at all in the premises, so far as concerns representatives in Congress, is derived from Article I, Section 4, of the Constitution of the United States, which is as follows:

"The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing Senators.

"Here the power is conferred upon the *legislature.* But what is meant by 'the legislature'? Does it mean the legislative power of the State, which would include a convention authorized to prescribe fundamental law; or does it mean the legislature *eo nomine,* as known in the political history of the country? The committee have adopted the latter construction. At the time the Constitution of the United States was written, there existed in the thirteen States for which it was designed legislatures, created or restrained by some fundamental law, in the shape of charters or constitutions, very much as they exist in the several States now. With this fact before them, is it not probable that the framers of the Constitution, if they intended to confer this power upon State organic conventions, would have chosen some word less liable to misconstruction? It is also apparent from the manner in which this word is used in other parts of the instrument, that its framers recognized a wide difference between a continuing legislature and a convention temporarily clothed with power to prescribe fundamental law. Article V provides that Congress 'shall call a convention for proposing amendments . . . on application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States.' Also that amendments shall be valid when 'ratified by the *legislatures* of three-fourths of the several States, or by *conventions* of three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.' Article VII provides that 'the ratification of the *conventions* of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.' The convention closed their labors with the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the preceding constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled; and that it is the opinion of this convention that it should afterward be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each State by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its *legislature.*

"In these extracts the words 'legislatures' and 'conventions' are both used to denote different legislative bodies, and in such contrast as to clearly indicate that the former is employed in its historic rather than in its normal sense. In Article I, Section 2, the words of the Constitution are, 'the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for the most *numerous branch of the State legislature.*' Did anybody ever hear of a constitutional convention, in the history of this country, composed of two houses? Article I, Section 3, provides that 'the Senate shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the

legislature thereof.' In Article II, Section 1, it is said, 'each State shall appoint, in such manner as the *legislature* thereof may direct, a number of electors,' etc. In Section 8 of Article I, 'the consent of the *legislature* of a State' is required before the United States can purchase places for forts, etc. Again, in Article IV, Section 4, is said that 'on application of the *legislature,* or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), Congress shall protect each State against domestic violence.' It will hardly be claimed that a constitutional convention could perform the duties thus conferred upon the legislature; much less that it could forbid the legislature *eo nomine* from discharging them after its own dissolution. But the legislature of Michigan may be sustained as against the constitution of that State, even if the word legislature is to be taken in its most enlarged sense. Whatever power the convention of that State possessed to prescribe the places of holding elections for representatives in Congress was derived, not like its other powers, from the people, but from the Constitution of the United States, and that, too, because it was a *constructive legislature.* The power conferred is a continuing power. It is not used up when once exercised, but survives the dissolution of the convention. The words of the Constitution are as *potent* then as before, and if there is any legislative body in the State that can properly be called a *legislature,* they appertain to it as strongly as to any prior legislative body. They do not authorize any convention or legislature to tie the hands of its successors. The people authorize a convention to do that where they (the people) have power; but certainly the people of Michigan had no power to enlarge or restrict the language of the Constitution of the United States. This view of the case entirely harmonizes what was at first supposed to be a partially adverse precedent in the case of *Shiel v. Thayer,* from the State of Oregon.

"It was said in argument that the legislature might abuse this power; but that does not disprove its existence. It would be equally liable to that objection if lodged in any other department of government. It is not claimed, however, that in this instance the power was abused. Mr. Baldwin conceded that to allow a vote to be cast by a soldier detained in the service of his country was a very proper use of the power, provided the legislature possessed it. If, however, it should in the future be abused, Congress has entire authority to correct it.

"But, again, the contestant claims that a State has the power to prescribe the qualifications of electors, and may exercise it by an organic convention, to the exclusion of the legislature. The committee are not disposed to controvert this position. That power has been conceded to the States, and exercised by them in the manner suggested, from the beginning of the government to the present time. But it does not follow, as the contestant supposed, that the place of holding the election for a representative in Congress may be prescribed as one of the electoral qualifications. Control over the place of voting is lodged in the legislature by the unmistakable language of the Constitution, and cannot, however disguised by names or circumlocution of words, be transferred to another department of government. Now, the constitution of Michigan either fixes the place of holding the election or it does not. If it does not, there is no conflict between the law and the constitution, and the argument is at an end. If it does, then, as before shown, the convention which adopted it entirely exceeded its power, unless such convention is to be considered a *legislature by construction;* and in that event

State Constitutional Obstructions

By

MARY SUMNER BOYD

Secretary of the Data Department, National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

STATE CONSTITUTIONAL OBSTRUCTIONS*

MARY SUMNER BOYD

AT its last session the Arkansas Legislature passed a Woman Suffrage bill by a generous majority; in Kentucky a bill passed both houses and one house in five other states. One of these was Arkansas where a constitutional provision that only three amendments can be submitted to the people at once rendered of no avail the passage of the Legislature. In the five other states the enormous Constitutional majorities required in a legislative vote on amendments defeated the measure.

This is the story of a typical year and these are two of the difficulties which beset the gaining of suffrage "state by state." Year after year labor is thrown away and money wasted because actual minorities in legislatures can defeat constitutional amendments; or because once past the legislature, constitutional technicalities can keep them away from the polls; or because, safely past these hazards, a minority vote of the people can defeat a bill that has successfully reached the polls.

*Table of difficulties in each state is to be found in the Appendix.

Theoretically an amendment to a state constitution must have the approval of the Legislature, ratified by the approval of the people. This ratification is what differentiates it from a statutory law. This is the actual requirement, however, in but two of the male suffrage states, South Dakota and Missouri. In all the rest, except Delaware and New Hampshire, which have special methods of amending, much more than simple passage and ratification is required.

There are some half-dozen classes of technical requirements which make the amending of many state constitutions wellnigh impossible. Some states have never been able to amend; others have had to submit the same amendment again and again before it passed, even in the case of measures which were not unpopular. The Legislatures of Nebraska and Alabama have occasionally succeeded in passing amendments favored by politicians, by resorting to clever tricks to circumvent the constitutional handicaps. Only by outwitting the framers have they been able to make changes in their constitutions.

Among the common technical requirements

are the passing by a set proportion much larger than a mere majority of the legislature; the passing of the people's vote by a majority of those voting for candidates and not merely of those voting on the amendment itself; the setting of special time and other limits for the submission of amendments, etc. Many states combine three or more of these requirements.

No impediment seems more vexatious than that which prevented the Arkansas bill from coming before the people after the Legislature of 1915 had approved submission. Nor is Arkansas alone in limiting the number of amendments to be submitted to the people at one time; Kentucky goes farther and makes the limit two and Illinois allows but one at a time.

The other six states whose bill failed at the last session belong to a group of fifteen which require a special "constitutional majority" of two-thirds or three-fifths favorable in the vote of both houses on an amendment bill.* In South Carolina and Mississippi it must pass two legislatures by this large vote, one before

*South Carolina, Georgia, Illinois, Maine, Michigan, West Virginia, Louisiana, Texas and Mississippi—all a two-thirds vote, and Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, Maryland and Kentucky a three-fifths vote.

and one after the referendum; in Mississippi this means four years' delay for its sessions are quadrennial. In thirteen states the amendment bill must pass two legislatures, in some by a constitutional majority at one passage.*

Alabama is one of the states whose bill failed through the constitutional majority rule in 1915. In that state another suffrage bill must wait four years for the next legislative session. If this time it surmounts the hazard of a three-fifths favorable vote it will be faced by another hazard; for Alabama is one of nine states in which an amendment must pass the referendum not by a majority on the amendment but by a majority of all voting for candidates at this general election.†

This requirement by itself is regarded by one

*In Connecticut, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Vermont by a two-thirds majority of one Legislature or of one house or both; in Iowa, Indiana, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Wisconsin, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island by majorities. All but the last three have biennial Legislatures.

†These states are Arkansas, Illinois, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Rhode Island and Tennessee. Rhode Island sets a definite majority (three-fifths) of those voting at the election. Probably Texas and North Carolina should be included but the amendment clause in their constitutions is misleading and they may be given the benefit of the doubt; their clause reads: "An amendment shall be submitted to the voters and adopted by a majority of the votes cast."

authority on state constitutions* as making amendment practically impossible for it means that the indifference and inertia of the mass of the voters can be a more serious enemy than active opposition; the man who does not take the trouble to vote is as much to be feared as the man who votes against.

A majority vote is required by the constitution of Indiana that is so extravagant as to have caused contradictory decisions in the courts. The constitution reads: "The General Assembly * * * (shall) submit such amendment * * * to the electors of the state, and if a majority of said electors shall ratify." This was interpreted in one case (156 Ind. 104) to mean a majority of all votes cast at the election, but in a later case (in re Denny) it was taken, exactly as it reads, to mean all the people in the State eligible to vote—and this in the face of the fact that the number of people eligible to vote is unknown even to the Federal Census Department. Indiana also requires that while one amendment is under consideration no other can be introduced. She is,

*Dodd, W. F. Revision and Amendment of State Constitutions.

needless to say, one of the states whose constitution has never been amended.

Other states besides Indiana have time requirements to insure the immutability of their inspired state document. Thus the Vermont Constitution can be amended only once in ten years—it was last amended in 1913—and five others set a term of years before the same amendment can be submitted again. Among these are New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which having submitted the Woman Suffrage amendment in 1915 cannot do so again till 1920.*

In no state is the Constitution so safeguarded from change as in New Mexico, whose iron-bound rules are in a class by themselves. For the first twenty-five years of statehood a three-fourths vote of both houses of the Legislature ratified by three-fourths of the electors voting, with two-thirds at least from each county, will be required to change the suffrage clause. After twenty-five years the majority will be reduced to two-thirds. This is the state whose Constitution provides that illiteracy shall never be a bar to the suffrage; her democracy falls

*The five states are Illinois (four years), Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Kentucky (five years), and Tennessee (six years).

short only in the matter of women whom she makes it constitutionally impossible ever to add to her electorate.

Where constitutions can be revised by the convention method as well as by amendment there is some hope; if amendment fails revision holds out a chance. But twelve states* hold no constitutional conventions; in Maryland conventions are twenty years apart and in many other states it is as difficult to call a constitutional convention as to revise the Constitution by amendment.

New Hampshire amends by constitutional convention alone and these conventions are held infrequently.

Only in Delaware is the Constitution amended to-day by act of the Legislature without the people's vote and without any technical requirements except a large Legislative majority.

Yet in twenty-four states† before the Civil

*Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, North Dakota, Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Virginia.

†New Hampshire, South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Georgia, New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Vermont, Kentucky, Florida, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri and Arkansas.

War the foundations of male suffrage were laid by legislature or constitutional convention alone, and in many cases, furthermore, the conditions of suffrage were dictated by the Federal Government. Even as late as the '90's five State Constitutions were adopted, suffrage clause and all, by State Legislatures or constitutional conventions without the referendum.*

In the other states universal male suffrage came easily at a time when thinly populated states wanted to hold out inducements to male immigrant labor. To-day any male once naturalized, and in some states before he is naturalized, becomes automatically a voting citizen of any state in the Union after he has fulfilled the state residence requirements and, in some states, an educational requirement.

The one word "male" shut women out in the old days from these easy avenues to citizenship and to-day her path by the state by state method is beset by almost insuperable difficulties.

*Many reconstruction constitutions also but these were not permanent. The five constitutions in the 90's were Mississippi, South Carolina, Delaware, Louisiana and Virginia, and Kentucky made changes after the constitution had been submitted.

APPENDIX

(In the table below, the 36 male suffrage states are grouped under classifications which represent, as far as can be represented in a table, the various degrees of difficulty met in the amending clauses of State Constitutions.)

A.—Amendment passed by the Legislature or Constitutional Convention:

Delaware: Amendments are not put to the referendum vote.

They must pass two legislatures by a two-thirds majority each time. The Legislature sits biennially. A Constitutional Convention can also pass amendments without reference to the people.

B.—Passed by majority one Legislature and majority vote of people on the referendum or by constitutional convention with referendum:

Missouri—Biennial Legislature. Initiative petition also possible.

South Dakota—Biennial. Constitutional Convention hard to call.

C.—Large Legislative vote necessary:

Florida, three-fifths, biennial.

Georgia, two-thirds, annual.

Maine, two-thirds, biennial.

Michigan, two-thirds, biennial. Initiative petition also possible.

North Carolina, three-fifths, biennial.

Ohio, three-fifths, biennial. Initiative petition also possible.

West Virginia, two-thirds, biennial.

D.—Same as C., but no, or infrequent Constitutional Conventions:

Louisiana, two-thirds, biennial, no Constitutional Convention.

Texas, two-thirds, biennial, no Constitutional Convention.

Maryland, three-fifths, biennial, 20 years interval between Constitutional Conventions.

E.—Difficult States:

Alabama—Legislature: three-fifths vote of one Legislature (quadrennial). People: Majority of all votes cast at the election.

Iowa—Legislature: Majority of two Legislatures (biennial). People: Majority of all voting for representatives.

Minnesota—Legislature: Majority vote of one Legislature (biennial). People: Majority of votes at the election.

New York—Legislature: Majority of two Legislatures (annual). People: Majority voting on amendment.

Virginia—Legislature: Majority of two Legislatures (biennial). People: Majority of people voting on amendment.

Oklahoma—Legislature: Majority vote of one Legislature (biennial). Initiative petition possible. People: Majority voting at election.

North Dakota—Legislature: Majority of two Legislatures (biennial). Initiative petition possible. People: Majority voting on the amendment. No Constitutional Convention.

South Carolina—Legislature: Two-thirds of two Legislatures (annual).—One before submission to people; the other after ratification by them. People: Majority voting for representatives.

Wisconsin—Legislature: Majority of two Legislatures (biennial). People: Majority voting at the election.

F.—Very Difficult States:

Arkansas—Legislature: Majority vote of one Legislature (biennial). People: Majority of all voting at election. Only three amendments at once. No Constitutional Convention.

Connecticut—Legislature: Majority vote of one Legislature; two-thirds vote a second Legislature (biennial). People: Majority votes of the people on the amendment. No Constitutional Convention.

Kentucky—Legislature; three-fifths vote of one Legislature (biennial). People: Majority of people voting on the amendment. Not more than two amendments at once.

Massachusetts—Legislature: Majority in Senate and two-thirds House in two Legislatures (annual). People: Majority voting on the amendment. No Constitutional Convention.

New Jersey—Legislature: Majority of two Legislatures (annual). People: Majority voting on amendment. Same amendment can be submitted only once in five years. No Constitutional Convention.

Mississippi—Legislature: Two-thirds vote of one Legislature; majority of a second, after the referendum vote (quadrennial). People: Majority voting at the election. No Constitutional Convention.

Pennsylvania—Legislature: Majority of the two Legislatures (biennial). People: Majority of people voting at election. Same amendment can be submitted only once in five years. No Constitutional Convention.

Rhode Island—Legislature: Majority of two

Legislatures (annual). People: Three-fifths of all voting at election. No Constitutional Convention.

Tennessee—Legislature: Majority vote in one Legislature, and a two-thirds vote in a second (biennial). People: Majority of all voting for representatives. Same amendment can be submitted only once in six years.

G.—Most Difficult States:

Vermont—Legislature: Majority in House and two-thirds in Senate in one Legislature; majority of both houses in a second (biennial). People: Majority voting on the amendment. No Constitutional Convention. Constitution can be amended only once in ten years.

New Hampshire—Constitutional Convention alone can propose amendment. This convention is held once in seven years. People: Two-thirds majority vote on amendment.

Illinois—Legislature: Two-thirds vote of one Legislature (biennial). People: Majority voting at the election.
Only one amendment at a time.
Same amendment only once in four years.

Indiana—Legislature: Majority vote of two Legislatures (biennial). People: Majority of voters in state. While one amendment awaits action no other can be proposed. No Constitutional Convention.

New Mexico—Legislature: Three-fourths vote of one Legislature (biennial). People: Three-fourths of those voting at election; two-thirds from each county.

Federal Action and State Rights

By

HENRY WADE ROGERS

Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals,
New York City, and Professor in the
Yale University School of Law.

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

FEDERAL ACTION AND STATE RIGHTS

HENRY WADE ROGERS

Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, New York City, and Professor in the Yale University School of Law

I DO not propose to discuss the subject of woman suffrage in the abstract. I am content with saying as regards the general question that in a republic which theoretically is founded upon the principle that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed I think it illogical, unreasonable and an injustice to deny the vote to adult women who are citizens. With that statement I shall address myself to the suggestion of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that Congress should propose to the States an amendment to the Constitution which shall in effect provide that no State shall deny to any person the right to vote on account of sex. And as respects that suggestion I shall deal with a single phase of the matter. It seems to be sup-

posed in some quarters that if such an amendment were to be adopted it would involve a breach of faith with the dissenting States, or violate some unwritten principle of local self-government, or conflict with the historic doctrine of State Rights.

I have no hesitancy in saying that I have for years believed and still believe that there is a constitutional doctrine of State Rights which cannot be safely or rightfully ignored. Many of the foremost men in both parties share that belief. It must be admitted, however, that this doctrine sometimes has been so perverted, misapplied and carried to such extreme limits as seriously to prejudice many worthy and intelligent citizens against its true merit and value. This fact makes it all the more necessary on the part of those who would save the doctrine from absolute repudiation to be careful when and how and to what purpose it is invoked.

There has recently been published a book entitled "Woman Suffrage by Constitutional Amendment." The author of that book, the Hon. Henry St. George Tucker of Virginia, was at one time a member of Congress, and has

been president of the American Bar Association. He was invited to deliver a course of five lectures, in 1916, before the School of Law of Yale University on the subject of "Local Self-Government." In one of the lectures woman suffrage by Federal Amendment was discussed and the theory was advanced that the attempt to bring about the right of suffrage by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States was opposed to the genius of the Constitution and subversive of the principle of local self-government. In his opinion, woman suffrage by Federal Amendment is contrary to the rightful demarcation of the powers of the Federal and State governments under the Constitution of the United States.

I may remark in passing that the title of the book is liable to mislead the public into thinking that Mr. Tucker was invited to Yale to discuss woman suffrage, whereas the fact was that that was only an incident in his discussion of Local Self-Government.

But is woman suffrage by Federal Amendment contrary to the genius of the Constitution and contrary to the rightful demarcation of the powers of the Federal Government?

In considering the question involved it is to be noticed in the first place that a difference exists between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. In the Articles of Confederation it was in the Thirteenth Article expressly provided that no alteration should be made in any of the Articles "unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State." This provision was an element of weakness and recognized as such by the men who sat in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. As the Articles constituted a league between independent states it was deemed necessary to make it incapable of alteration except by unanimous consent of the states in order to preserve to each state all of its rights.

When the convention of 1787 met to agree upon a Constitution to submit to the States one of the questions they had to consider was whether it should be made capable of amendment. They agreed that it was the part of wisdom to provide that the States might modify the system of government the Constitution

established when in the progress of time to do so seemed desirable. Mr. Madison accordingly proposed what with some modifications became the Fifth Article.

The Congress was given power by that Article to propose amendments by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses and amendments so proposed were to become valid to all intents and purposes as parts of the Constitution when ratified by three-fourths of the several States. This is not the only method by which the Constitution may be amended. For it is provided that the States may themselves propose amendments through a convention called by two-thirds of the States, and it is also provided that proposed amendments may be submitted for ratification to conventions in the several States instead of to the Legislatures of the States if Congress so directs.

When the Constitution of a State is amended care must be taken to see to it that the amendment proposed does not involve a violation of the Constitution of the United States. For a constitution adopted by the people of a State in so far as it violates the Constitution of the United States is void, for exactly the same rea-

son that an Act passed by a State Legislature is void if it is contrary to some provision in the Constitution of the United States. This is so because the Constitution of the United States in the Sixth Article directs that "This Constitution * * shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

But any amendment with a single exception, which is proposed by Congress, no matter what it may be, if it has received the two-thirds vote of both Houses and has been ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, or of three-fourths of the conventions in the several States, according as Congress has submitted it in the one way or the other, is valid irrespective of any provision that can be found in any State Constitution or law. The one exception to which reference has been made is that no change can be made which would deprive a State of its right to equal representation in the Senate. As it is, the Senate is composed of two Senators from

each state. New York and Nevada, the one with a population of 9,113,614, and the other with a population of 81,875 are entitled to equal representation in that body, and that equality of representation cannot be destroyed by any amendment not assented to by all the States. The reason is that the Constitution expressly declares in the Fifth Article—the one which deals with amendments—"that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." This provision was incorporated into the Constitution at the suggestion of Roger Sherman of Connecticut. Certain other restrictions were imposed which now have become unimportant, but which at the time were of the greatest possible importance. It was provided that no amendment was to be made prior to the year 1808 which should prohibit the States from further importation of slaves, and that no capitation or other direct tax should be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the states in which three-fifths only of the slaves were included. So we see that the founders withdrew from

the possibilities of amendment the subjects regarding which they were unwilling amendments should be made. The understanding of the States therefore must have been that as respects all subjects not so withdrawn the right of amendment might be exercised whenever the States desired to exercise it. Whenever they do see fit to exercise it they are not breaking faith with each other, or doing anything wrongfully.

The mode of amending the Constitution is in strict accordance with the doctrine of State Rights. The amending power is not to be exercised by the collective people of the United States acting as a majority. It can only be exercised by three-fourths of the States acting as States in their sovereign capacity. If three-fourths of the States desire to amend the instrument then the one-fourth must submit to the will of the three-fourths. There is no principle in the doctrine of State Rights which is violated when the Constitution is amended by the three-fourths, for all the states have agreed that the three-fourths shall possess the power to do so and that the minority will consent to be bound by action so taken. The

principle that the minority must submit to the majority is a principle which the States apply to the government of their local communities and to the people of their several commonwealths. And it is a principle which the States as sovereigns have agreed shall be applied to themselves in their relations to each other and to the Federal Government. In creating the amending power the framers of the Constitution were careful to remove it from the people of the nation and to lodge it in the State sovereignties. That is all that the believers in the doctrine of State Rights asked. They could not wisely ask, and they did not ask, more. They only asked that in so important a matter as the amendment of the fundamental law the minority should not be compelled to submit to a mere majority, but only to three-fourths of the whole.

If it be assumed simply for the purpose of this discussion, that the amendment of the Constitution is not wholly a political question, no one can seriously contend that the amendment the National American Woman Suffrage Association urges violates any principle of law, written or unwritten. Mr. Tucker makes no

such claim. His argument, as I understand it, is that woman suffrage by Federal Amendment is a departure from the original thought of the makers of the Constitution; that they left the subject of suffrage along with most other subjects to be regulated by State action and that their decision upon that question was wise and should not be disturbed. The same argument exactly was made against the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and without effect. It can be made against any amendment which can be proposed which deprives the States of any power which they now possess.

When the Constitution was adopted it is true it did not confer the right of suffrage upon any class, but left the subject to each state to regulate in its own way. The members of the House of Representatives were to be chosen by the people of the several States and it was simply provided that "the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." Senators were to be chosen by the

State Legislatures. The President and Vice-President were to be chosen by electors, who were to be appointed in each state "in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct." These were at the time very wise regulations, for they showed, as James Wilson, a member of the Constitutional Convention, said, the most friendly disposition toward the governments of the several States, and they tended to destroy the seeds of jealousy which might otherwise spring up with regard to the National Government. At that time the framers of the Constitution did not deem it wise to limit in any respect the control of the States over the subject of suffrage. There was then no uniformity regarding the suffrage in the several states. A property qualification was usually prescribed, but the amount of property it was necessary to hold varied considerably in different states. For instance, in Maryland all freemen, above 21 years of age, having a freehold of fifty acres of land in the county in which they resided, and all freemen having property in the state above the value of thirty pounds current money and who had resided in the

county one year, could vote. In New Jersey "all inhabitants" of full age worth "fifty pounds, proclamation money clear estate within that government," could vote. In New York "every male inhabitant of full age" who had resided within the county for six months immediately preceding the day of election could vote if he had been a freeholder possessing a freehold of the value of twenty pounds within the county or had rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of forty shillings, and had been rated and actually paid taxes to the state. In a number of the States the right to vote was restricted to taxpayers. In Pennsylvania every freeman of 21 years who had resided in the state two years next before the election and within that time had paid a State or a county tax could vote.

There is today a wide divergence in the qualifications required in the various states to entitle one to vote. In a few States there are educational qualifications, as in California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Washington, and North Carolina. In some States one cannot vote unless he has paid certain taxes, almost

always poll taxes. In certain States Indians who are not members of any tribe can vote. And in a number of the States every male of foreign birth, 21 years of age, who has declared his intention to become a citizen according to the naturalization laws of the United States can vote.

These differences exist because the Constitution remains, so far as this subject is concerned, as it was originally adopted, except that the Fifteenth Amendment provides that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." It is, however, an anomalous condition that the right of citizens of the United States to vote remains wholly dependent on the laws of the States, subject only to the restriction that in the regulations the States establish they cannot discriminate against any citizen on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. If woman suffrage is a sound principle in a republican form of government, and such I believe it to be, there is in my opinion no reason

why the States should not be permitted to vote upon an Amendment to the Constitution declaring that no citizen shall be deprived of the right to vote on account of sex.

Objections

to the

Federal Amendment

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

OBJECTIONS TO THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

I. States Rights. This Objection is Urged by ALL Opponents of Woman Suffrage, but is Either a Barricade to Defend Themselves from the Necessity of Exposing the Fact That They Have no Reasons, or is a Play to Postpone Woman Suffrage as Long as Possible. By a Few it is Urged Conscientiously and With Conviction.

That there are many problems whose treatment belongs so appropriately to state governments that any infringement of that right by the Federal Government would be an act of tyranny, no American will question. But assuredly woman suffrage is not one of these. One by one classes of men have been granted the vote until women are the only remaining unenfranchised class. States have set up vari-

ous restrictive qualifications so that criminality, idiocy, insanity, pauperism, drunkenness, foreign birth are accepted as ordinary causes of disfranchisement. Yet not one of these conditions is common to all the states. The foreigner votes on his first papers in eight states and a five years' residence will usually secure his naturalization and a consequent vote in any state. The criminal, idiot and insane are not denied a vote in several states, and in most a large class of ignorant un-American men with no comprehension of our problems, our history, or ideals, are conspicuous voters on election day. Millions of new voters have entered our country and without the expenditure of time, money or service have received the vote since the pending Federal Amendment was first introduced.

For two generations groups of women have given their lives and their fortunes to secure the vote for their sex and hundreds of thousands of other women are now giving all the time at their command. No class of men in our own or any other country has made one-tenth the effort nor sacrificed one-tenth as much

for the vote. The long delay, the double dealing, the broken faith of political parties, the insult of disfranchisement of the qualified in a land which freely gives the vote to the unqualified, combines to produce as insufferable a tyranny as any modern nation has perpetuated upon a class of its citizens. The souls of women which should be warm with patriotic love of their country are growing bitter over the inexplicable wrong their country is doing them. Hands and heads that should be busy with other problems of our nation are withheld that they may get the tools with which to work. Purses that should be open to many causes are emptied into suffrage coffers until this monumental injustice shall be wiped away. Woman suffrage is a question of righting a nation-wide injustice, of establishing a phase of unquestioned human liberty and of carrying out a proposition to which our nation is pledged; it therefore transcends all considerations of states rights. This objection comes chiefly from Southern Democrats, who claim that it is a form of oppression for three-fourths of the states to foist upon one-fourth measures of

which the minority of states do not approve. Yet the provision for so amending the Constitution was adopted by the states and has stood unchallenged in the Constitution for more than a century. If it be unfair, undemocratic or even unsatisfactory, it is curious that no movement to change the provision has ever developed. The Constitution has been twice amended recently and it is interesting to note that it happened under a Democratic Administration. More, the child labor and eight-hour bills, while not constitutional amendments, are subject to the same plea that no state shall have laws imposed upon it without its consent. Both measures were introduced by Southern Democrats. The pending Federal Prohibition Amendment was also introduced by a Southern Democrat and is supported by many others. Upon consideration of these facts, it would seem that "states rights" is either a theory to be invoked whenever necessary to conceal an unreasoning hostility to a measure or that those who advance it are guilty of extremely muddy thinking.

The Constitution of the United States as now

amended provides that no male citizen subject to state qualifications shall be denied the vote by any state. Were all the state constitutions amended so as to enfranchise women, the word male would still stand in the National Constitution. Men and women would still be unequal, since the National Constitution can impose a penalty upon a state which denies the vote to men, but none upon the state which discriminates against women. A woman comes from Montana to represent that state in Congress. The State of Montana has done its utmost to remove her political disabilities, yet should she cross the border of her state and live in North Dakota, she loses all that Montana gave her. Not so the male voter. Enfranchised in one state, he is enfranchised in all (subject to difference of qualification only). The women of this nation will never be content with less protection in their right to vote than is given to men and there is no other possible way to secure that protection except through amendment to the National Constitution. No single state, nor the forty-eight collectively, can grant that protection except through the Federal Constitution.

As granting to half the population of our country the right of consent to their own government, whose expenses they help to pay, is a question of fundamental human liberty, Congress and the legislatures should be proud to act and to add one more immortal chapter to America's history of freedom.

II. Southern Members of Congress Very Generally Urge That They Oppose the Federal Amendment Because it Will Confer the Vote Upon the Negro Women of Their Respective States; and That That Will Interfere With White Supremacy in the South.

It is difficult to believe this objection to be sincere, since facts do not support the contention. The facts are that woman suffrage secured by Federal Amendment will be subject to whatever restrictions may be imposed by state constitutions (provided those restrictions are in accord with the National Constitution) in precisely the same way as woman suffrage secured by state constitutional amendment. No larger number of negro women can be enfranchised by Federal Amendment than will be enfranchised by State Amendment. If the women of the South are ever to be enfranchised, it must be by (1) Federal Constitutional Amendment, or (2) State Constitutional Amendment. If their franchise is obtained by the former method, it will come by the votes of white men in Congress and legislatures; if by the second, they will be forced to appeal to voting Negroes to elevate them to their own political status. One would suppose the first would be the preferable method from the Southern viewpoint. It is possible that behind this commonly spoken objection, lies a hope and belief that Southern women will remain disfranchised forevermore. A man unfamiliar with political history, psychology, and the science of evolution might cherish such a belief in fancied security, but ideas cannot be shut outside the borders of a state. There is no Southern state in which women of the highest families are not giving their all in order to propagate this cause, and they are doing it with so noble a spirit and so eloquent an appeal that final surrender of the citadel of prejudice is only a question of time. No one has

ever questioned the "fighting ability" of the South. That ability is not confined to men. Courage, intelligence, conviction and willingness to sacrifice characterize the suffrage movement in every state, and the South is no exception. The women of that section will vote; the question is how long must they work, how much must they sacrifice to win that which has so freely been granted to men of all classes?

White supremacy will be strengthened, not weakened, by woman suffrage. In the fifteen states south of the Mason and Dixon line are:

8,788,901 white women,

4,316,565 negro women, or

4,472,336 more white than negro women.

The total negro population is 8,294,274, and white women outnumber both negro males and females by nearly half a million. In two states only, South Carolina and Mississippi, are there more negro than white women, and in these states there are more negro men than white men. In South Carolina, voters must read, own and pay taxes on $300 worth of property. In Mississippi, voters must read the Constitution. The other four states of the "black belt"—Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana—impose an educational test. Women voters would be compelled to submit to the same qualifications. In the other nine states white women exceed the total negro population. Woman suffrage in the South would so vastly increase the white vote that it would guarantee white supremacy if it otherwise stood in danger of overthrow. If a sly dread of female supremacy is troubling the doubter he may find comfort in the rather astonishing fact that white males over 21 are considerably in excess of white females over 21 in all except Maryland and North Carolina; negro females over 21 exceed negro males in Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, but the restrictions in these states of property ownership represented by tax receipts, education and various other tests, would fall more heavily upon women than men, and thus admit fewer women than men to the vote. If the South really wants White Supremacy, it will urge the enfranchisement of women. The following table offers insuperable proof:

STATES	Per Cent. of Negroes in Population All Ages	WHITE 21 Years and Over		NEGROES 21 Years and Over	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Delaware	15.4	52,804	50,160	9,050	8,281
Maryland	17.9	393,561	399,897	63,963	63,899
District of Columbia	28.5	75,765	81,622	27,621	34,449
Virginia	32.6	363,659	353,516	159,593	164,844
North Carolina	31.6	357,611	358,583	146,752	159,236
South Carolina	55.2	165,769	162,025	169,155	181,264
Georgia	45.1	353,569	343,187	266,814	269,937
Florida	41.0	124,311	105,662	89,659	72,998
Kentucky	11.4	527,661	506,299	75,694	73,413
Tennessee	21.7	433,431	419,646	119,142	122,707
Alabama	42.5	298,943	284,116	213,923	217,676
Mississippi	56.2	192,741	180,787	233,701	231,901
Arkansas	28.1	284,301	248,964	111,365	102,917
Louisiana	43.1	240,001	222,473	174,211	172,711
Texas	17.7	835,962	722,063	166,393	161,959
Missouri	4.8	919,486	874,997	52,921	48,057
Oklahoma	8.3	393,377	311,266	36,841	30,208
West Virginia	5.3	315,498	270,298	22,757	14,667

Speaking of the probable enforcement of the National Constitution against the "Grandfather clause" in Southern constitutions, Walter E. Clark, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, said:

"In North Carolina such a decision would readmit to the polls 125,000 negro votes. What preparation have we made to meet such a possible result? I know of but one remedy. The census shows that the white population of North Carolina is seventy per cent. and the colored population thirty per cent. It follows that the white adult women of North Carolina are more in numbers than the negro men and negro women combined. *The votes of 260,000 white women can be relied on to stand solid against any measure or any man who proposes to question Anglo-Saxon supremacy.*

"I am not intimating that the admission of the white women to the polls will secure democratic supremacy (they will not impair it), nor that it will prejudice the republican element. The equal suffrage movement has never proceeded on party lines and the women would scorn to be admitted unless they were as free in their choice of party measures and candidates as the men. But what I am saying is that if the negroes are readmitted by a decision of the Federal Court to suffrage, the 260,000 votes of the white women of the State will be one solid obstacle to any measure that would impair either for them or their children the continuance of white supremacy."

III. Women Do Not Want to Vote and Hence it is Unfair to Thrust the Vote Upon Them by Federal Amendment.

We have two classes of voters in the United States, young men who automatically become voters at twenty-one, and naturalized citizens. No one among them has ever been asked whether he wishes the vote. It was "thrust upon them" all as a privilege which each would use or not as he desired. To extend the suffrage to those who do not desire it is no hardship, since only those who wish the privilege will use it. On the other hand, it becomes an intolerable oppression to deny it to those who want it. The vote is permissive, not obligatory. It imposes no definite responsibility; it extends a liberty. That there are women who do not want the vote is true, but the well-known large number of qualified men who do not use the vote, indicates that the desire to have someone else assume the responsibility of public service is not confined to women. It is an easy excuse to say "wait until all the women want it," but it is a poor rule which doesn't work both ways. Had it been necessary for members of Congress to wait until all men wanted the vote before they had one for themselves, we should be living in an unconstitutional monarchy. More, had it been necessary for women to wait until all women approved of college or even public school education for girls, property rights, the right of free speech, or any one of the many liberties now enjoyed by women, but formerly denied them, the iniquities of the old common law would still measure the privileges of women, and high schools and colleges would still close their doors to women.

A certain way to test whether any class of people want the vote is to note the numbers of those who use it when granted.

As men and women voters do not use separate boxes and as initials are often employed by both sexes in registration, election officials invariably reply to queries as to the number of women actually voting in their respective states, that positive figures are not obtainable. Yet the testimony, while lacking definite statement, is overwhelming that women in all lands vote in about the same proportion as men.

Women in Illinois, not being possessed of complete suffrage rights, have voted in separate boxes, and figures are therefore obtainable. The report from the City of Chicago for 1916 as submitted by the Chief Clerk of the Board of Election Commissioners is as follows:

REGISTRATION

Men	Women	Total
504,674	303,801	808,475

VOTES CAST NOV. 7

Men	Women	Total
487,210—96.5%	289,444—95.2%	776,654—96%

VOTES CAST—DEMOCRATIC

Men	Women	Total
217,328	133,847	351,175

VOTES CAST—REPUBLICAN

Men	Women	Total
235,328	141,533	377,201

PROGRESSIVE AND SOCIALIST

48,278

Although New York City is nearly two and a half times as large as Chicago, the registration of the latter exceeded that of New York by 69,307.

The following is quoted from an official statement issued by the California Civic League on what the women of California have done with the vote:

"There has been some attempt on the part of those opposed to women voting to make it appear that in San Francisco particularly, women were slow to register and loth to vote. The fact is always suppressed that there are never less than 132 men to every 100 women in the city and that women therefore should properly be only forty-three per cent. of the total number of voting adults. At the last mayoralty election the women unquestionably re-elected the incumbent as against Eugene Schmitz of graft-prosecution fame, who tried to 'come back.' In this election women constituted thirty-seven per cent. of the total registered vote and the women of the best residence districts voted in the proportion of forty-two to forty-four per cent. of the total vote cast in those precincts; while in the down-town, tenderloin and dance-hall districts women constituted only twenty-seven per cent. of the registration and negligible portion of the vote. These proportions have been substantially maintained in minor elections since, and were slightly increased in the National election of November, 1916, when they comprised thirty-nine per cent. of the registration and voted within two per cent. as heavily as men."

From no state comes the report that women have not used their vote. The evidence that they do use it has been so largely distributed through the press, that more definite proof seems unnecessary, even were it possible to

secure it. The following bits of testimony taken from press reports are of interest:

In WYOMING, out of 45,000 registered voters, 20,000 are reported as women. But Wyoming has 219 men to every 100 women of voting age. Therefore to compare favorably with Wyoming's 20,000 women voters there should the 53,800 men.

In MONTANA, one-third of a registration of 255,000 is made up of women. Montana has 189.6 men to every 100 women. As there were only 81,741 women of voting age in Montana in 1910, the present number, 85,000, must mean that nearly every woman in the state voted in 1916.

About 40% of UTAH'S 130,000 registration is made up of women. Utah has 6 men of voting age to every 5 women, 20% more men than women.

In IDAHO, out of a registration of 95,000, there are 40,000 women. Idaho has more than half as many again men as women. Therefore to have a fifty-fifty representation at the

polls, Idaho should have registered 60,000 men instead of 55,000 to match its 40,000 women.

IV. CONSTITUENCY HAS INSTRUCTED AGAINST SUFFRAGE.

This objection is urged by members in whose states there have been referenda on the subject in recent years with adverse results. Members of Congress are apportioned among the several states according to population and are constitutionally obligated to represent women as well as men. As the electors of no constituency have voted solidly against woman suffrage, such objectors are accepting instructions from less than half their adult constituents and often from less than one-fourth. Women have had no opportunity to speak for themselves. As a matter of very suggestive fact, thirty-five members of Congress, who upon interview have expressed opposition to the Federal Amendment, were elected by minorities. Some of these represent states which have had a referendum on woman suffrage and were elected by a smaller number of total votes than their respective districts gave the suffrage amendment These are such curi-

ous facts, that it is difficult to believe in the sincerity of the objection. That men and elements which have contributed money and work to secure the election of a member of Congress instruct him how to vote is more believable. For the sake of the common welfare of the American people, it is well, that the number of such members is probably few.

V. Political Expediency. The South professes to fear the increased Negro vote; the North, the increased Foreign vote; the rich, the increased labor vote; the conservative, the increased illiterate vote. The Republicans since the recent presidential election fear the increased Democratic vote; the Democrats fear the woman voters' support was only temporary. The "wet" fears the increased dry vote; the "dry" the increased controlled wet vote. Certain very numerous elements fear the increased Catholic vote and still others the increased Jewish vote. The Orthodox Protestant and Catholic fear the increased free-thinking vote and the free-thinkers are decidedly afraid of the increased church vote. Labor fears the increased influence of the capi-

talistic class, and capitalists, especially of the manufacturing group, are extremely disturbed at the prospect of votes being extended to their women employees. Certain groups fear the increased Socialist vote and certain Socialists fear the "lady vote." Party men fear women voters will have no party consciousness and prove so independent as to disintegrate the party. Radical or progressive elements fear that women will be "stand-pat" partisans. Ballot reformers fear the increased corrupt vote and corruptionists fear the increased reform vote. Militarists are much alarmed lest women increase the peace vote and, despite the fact that the press of the country has poured forth increasing evidence that the women of every belligerent country have borne their full share of the war burden with such unexpected skill and ability that the authorities have been lavish in acknowledgment, seem certain that women of the United States will prove the exception to the world's rule and show the white feather if war threatens.

Ridiculous as this list of objections may appear, each is supported earnestly by a consid-

erable group, and collectively they furnish the basis of opposition to woman suffrage in and out of Congress.

The answer to one is the answer to all.

Government by "the people" is expedient or it is not. If it is expedient, then obviously *all* the people must be included. If it is not expedient, the simplest logic leads to the conclusion that the classes to be deprived of the franchise should be determined by their qualities of unfitness for the vote. If education, intelligence, grasp of public questions, patriotism, willingness and ability to give public service, respect of law, are selected as fair qualifications for those to be entrusted with the vote and the opposite as the qualities of those to be denied the vote, it follows that men and women will be included in the classes adjudged fit to vote, and also in those adjudged unfit to vote. Meanwhile the system which admits the unworthy to the vote provided they are men, and shuts out the worthy provided they are women, is so unjust and illogical that its perpetuation is a sad reflection upon American thinking.

The clear thinker will arrive at the conclusion that women must be included in the electorate if our country wishes to be consistent with the principles it boasts as fundamental. The shortest method to secure this enfranchisement is the quickest method to extricate our country from the absurdity of its present position.

VI. The Low Standards of Citizenship which lead to controlled votes, bribery and various forms of corruptions, will be accentuated by woman suffrage with the doubling of every dangerous element, hence any effort to postpone its coming is justifiable. Woman suffrage will increase the proportion of *intelligent voters*. According to the Commissioners of Education there are now one-third more girls in the high schools of the country than boys. In 1914, the latest figures, 64,491 boys were graduated from the high schools of the United States and 96,115 girls. In the normal schools the educational report for 1915 states that 80 per cent. of the pupils were girls. The Census of 1910 reports a larger number of illiterate men than illiterate women.

Woman suffrage would increase the *moral* vote. Only one out of every twenty criminals are women. Women constitute a minority of drunkards and petty misdemeanants, and in all the factors that tend to handicap the progress of society women form a minority; whereas in churches, schools and all organizations working for the uplift of humanity, women are a majority. In all American states and countries that have adopted equal suffrage the vote of the disreputable woman is practically negligible, the slum wards of cities invariably having the lightest woman vote and the respectable residence wards the heaviest. Woman suffrage would increase the number of *native born voters* as for every 100 foreign white women immigrants coming to this country there are 129 men, while among Asiatic immigrants the men outnumber the women two to one, according to the Census of 1910.

Woman suffrage would help to *correct election procedure.* In all states where women vote, the polling booths have been moved into homes, church parlors, school houses or other similar respectable places. Women serve as

election officials and the subduing influence of woman's presence elsewhere has had its effect upon the elections. Women greatly increase the number of competent persons who can be drawn upon as election officials. No class of persons in the nation is so well trained as school teachers for this work. The presence of women as voters and officials would in itself eliminate certain types of irregularity and go a long way toward establishing a higher standard of election procedure. Woman suffrage cannot possibly make political conditions worse, since all the elements which combine to produce those conditions are less conspicuous among women than men. On the other hand the introduction of a new class possessing a very large number of persons who would unwillingly tolerate some of the conditions now prevailing offers evidence that a powerful influence for better things would come with the woman's vote.

VII. Prohibition Has Outstripped Suffrage, Therefore Suffrage Sentiment is Less Strong.

It should be remembered that prohibition

may be obtained by statutory enactment, a privilege denied woman suffrage; that it has been largely established by local option, another privilege denied woman suffrage. These facts account for the larger success as indicated by relative territory covered by prohibition and woman suffrage.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY FEDERAL AMENDMENT

WHY?

SIX REASONS

1. Keeping pace with other countries demands it.

Suffrage for men and suffrage for women in **other** countries with few and minor exceptions has been granted by parliamentary act and not by referenda. Shall American women be penalized for being Americans?

2. Equal Rights demands it.

Men of this country have been enfranchised by various extensions of the voting privilege but **in no single instance** were they compelled to appeal to an electorate containing groups of unnaturalized foreigners, Negroes, Indians and illiterates. Shall American women be denied by the Federal Government which freely gives the vote to foreigners?

3. Relief from unjust State Constitutional obstructions demands it.

Many State Constitutions have made amendment so difficult that they either have **never** been amended or have not been amended when the subject is in the least controversial. Women of these States can **only** be enfranchised through Federal action.

4. Protection from inadequate Election Laws demands it.

The election laws of all States make inadequate provision for safeguarding the vote on constitutional amendments. There are vague uncertain laws for contesting fraudulent elections in most States and no laws at all for redress in twenty-four States.

5. Equal Status of men and women voters demands it.

Men's right to vote is protected by the Federal Constitution while the State by State enfranchisement of women would not give this protection to women since a woman who changes her residence from an Equal Suffrage State to a male suffrage State thereby becomes disfranchised.

6. The national significance of the question demands national action.

If women voters help elect a President of the **Nation** and choose a **National** administration, while women of other States are denied this voting privilege, **do not these political inequalities render our government unrepublican, undemocratic and unfair?**

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue 142 **New York City**

Printed Feb., 1917

WHAT IS THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT?

An amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon **Women the Right of Suffrage.**

Article

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

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

This amendment was first introduced in 1878 by Senator Sargent of California.

This amendment when passed by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the Legislatures of the States will enfranchise the women of the whole country.

Women in twelve States voted for President in 1916. These States are Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

One-quarter of the Senate
One-sixth of the House
One-fifth of the Electoral College
} Come from States where women vote.

These States comprise one-half of the territory of the United States, 15 per cent. of the population of the United States and one-quarter the total number of States.

The Constitution of the United States (Article 4, Section 4) guarantees a **Republican** form of government in which (Article I, Section 2) the **People** of the States elect their Representatives.

Until the **Women-People,** as well as the **Men-People,** elect their Representatives our government is Republican in form but not in fact.

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Federal Suffrage Amendment

NECESSARY BECAUSE OF DIFFICULTY OF AMENDING STATE CONSTITUTIONS

Large Majority in Legislature

In New Mexico for the first twenty-five years of Statehood a three-fourths vote of both houses of the Legislature, ratified by three-fourths of the electors voting with two-thirds at least from each county, is required to change the suffrage clause. In fifteen States an amendment bill must pass the Legislature by a two-thirds or a three-fifths vote. These States are South Carolina, Georgia, Illinois, Maine, Michigan, West Virginia, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, Maryland and Kentucky. In South Carolina and Mississippi it must pass two legislatures by this large vote; in Mississippi this means four years' delay for its sessions are quadrennial.

Large Majority of Popular Vote

In Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Tennessee and probably Texas and North Carolina an amendment must pass the referendum by a majority of all voting for candidates at this general election. This requirement alone by itself is regarded as making amendment impossible. In Indiana an amendment cannot pass unless ratified by a majority of all the electors of the State, whether voting or not, though not even the Census Bureau knows how many electors there are in any State.

Limit to Number of Amendments

Indiana allows only one amendment before the Legislature at once. Illinois, Kentucky and Arkansas limit the number that can be placed before the people at once. In Arkansas in 1915 the woman suffrage amendment passed both Legislatures but was thrown out because it was the fourth amendment.

Limit of Time

The Constitution of New Hampshire can be amended only by convention which meets every seven years. Five States have time requirements before an amendment can be introduced a second time. These are Illinois (four years), Pennsylvania, Kentucky and New Jersey (five years), and Tennessee (six years).

Constitutional Conventions

In some States the difficulties of amending by Legislature and people can be got around by constitutional revision by convention. Twelve States—Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Louisiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Mississippi, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas and Vermont—hold no constitutional conventions and in many other States the calling of a convention is very difficult.

The Woman Suffrage Amendment has been defeated again and again by these technicalities.

Since many State Constitutions are well-nigh impossible to amend, the women of these States must turn for enfranchisement to the

FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue 142 New York City
Printed Feb., 1917

FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

DO YOU KNOW?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of one-fourth of the States of the Union voted for President in 1916 and that these States are: Illinois, Montana, Wyoming, Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Oregon, Nevada and Arizona?

DO YOU KNOW that it is nothing less than a national scandal that the women of the East and South remain unenfranchised while the women of the Equal Suffrage States in the West have the right to vote?

DO YOU KNOW that there are two ways in which women may get the vote? One is by asking consent of all the men of the United States, rich or poor, native born or naturalized, good or bad, intelligent or ignorant; the other is by a Federal Amendment.

DO YOU KNOW that the descendants of early land holders in the thirteen original colonies got their vote by Colonial Constitutions?

DO YOU KNOW that the foundations of Male Suffrage were laid in twenty-four States before the Civil War and in five States since then by legislatures and constitutional conventions whose constitutions were not submitted to the people's vote?

DO YOU KNOW that the easy road to self-government which was thus opened to men is in every State but Delaware, now closed to women?

DO YOU KNOW that no disfranchised class of men in the United States has been compelled to appeal to a vast body of voters for their enfranchisement?

DO YOU KNOW that three-fourths of the present voters got their vote through naturalization or the naturalization of their ancestors?

DO YOU KNOW that foreigners who become citizens of the United States are naturalized by the FEDERAL GOVERNMENT? Indians are enfranchised by the FEDERAL GOVERNMENT? Negroes were enfranchised by the FEDERAL GOVERNMENT?

Why should a government which gives the vote to all men deny the easiest process for women to work for theirs?

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue **New York City**
Printed Feb., 1917

Do You Know?

DO YOU KNOW, That the women of Great Britain (England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales) have suffrage on equal terms with the men, with the sole exception of the vote for members of Parliament, and that the British Government has pledged itself to give that as soon as the war ends, if not before?

DO YOU KNOW, That the women of the British Colonies, Australia and New Zealand, have had full suffrage on equal terms with men for many years?

DO YOU KNOW, That the women of Canada have received full suffrage from the Pacific Coast to a point due north from central New York within the past six months?

DO YOU KNOW, That the women of Russia will vote for the first Constituent Assembly and that the provisional government has pledged them permanent suffrage?

DO YOU KNOW, That the women of Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland have universal suffrage and that those of Sweden have all suffrage rights except a vote for members of Parliament?

DO YOU KNOW, Any reason why the women of the United States should be less trusted than those of other lands and especially those of our former Mother Country, Great Britain? Then help get them the vote *now*.

DO YOU KNOW, That the women of other countries got their suffrage in all cases by act of Parliament? That is why it should come in the United States by *amendment* to the *Federal Constitution,* subject to ratification by the legislatures of the several states.

Before we go into the world war "to make the world safe for democracy" the United States should be true to its own principle and should abolish the denial of self-government to half its people. The way is by submission of a Federal Constitutional Amendment.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
171 Madison Avenue 154 New York
Printed by N. W. S. Pub. Co.
May, 1917

DIRECTIONS

TO

Federal Amendment Petition Workers

National American Woman Suffrage Association
171 Madison Avenue, New York

154

Printed by N. W. S. Pub. Co., Inc.

May, 1917

Directions to Federal Amendment Petition Workers

For County and Local Chairmen

1. Procure "foolscap" paper and paste the petition heads at the top. There will be six different heads and an equal number of sheets should be prepared. These sheets should accommodate from twenty to thirty names.

2. Familiarize yourself with the petition heads. Two petitions, one signed by women printed in blue ink, one by men printed in black ink, must go to the Member of Congress from the District in which the petition is circulated. Two petitions, one signed by women printed in red ink, one by men printed in black ink, must go to each of the United States Senators.

3. Fill in names of Member of Congress and Senators, name of County and State before circulating.

4. Call together your workers and explain the details of the work. Each worker will carry six petitions, three for the men and three for the women. Each signer will sign three, one to the Member of Congress of the District and one to each of the two Senators. Provide each worker with explanatory fliers **"Do You Know"** for distribution among the persons solicited. Provide each worker with a map of North America, which she can exhibit to show the amount of suffrage territory already established in our neighbor country.

5. Assign to one worker or group the clergymen and others interested in religious work, such as Y. M. C. A., social settlement workers etc. Another, business men; another, doctors and professional men. When a good list of these men of high standing has been secured with as many women, go to the County Chairman of the political party of the Member of Congress and beg hard for his signature; entreat him to use his influence with the Captains or Chairmen of all the election districts or precincts in the County to sign also. Then go to the opposing party and get all the names of the machine men also. These political names are worth more than any others but they probably can not be secured without the aid of a good list to precede them. The object is not to secure many names but influential names.

6. After assigning your workers to groups of persons to be seen or places to visit, arrange to have them begin on a certain day. A few days in each town will finish it.

7. The minimum to be assigned to each County should be 100, the maximum required 1,000 except in large cities. These should be divided about equally between men and women. If impossible to get persons of large influence, get anyone who represents the "popular will."

8. When petitions are completed send them all to your Congressional District Chairman.

9. In October and November call upon your newspaper editors and ask them to publish an editorial favorable to the Federal Amendment. Give them the literature you have circulated, together with **"Perhaps,"** which will be provided. Ask them to print the petition head with space for signature as a coupon, with request that it be clipped, signed and sent to the newspaper. These coupons should be collected by the County Chairman, can be kept separate from the main petition but presented with the petition to Senators and Member, two of course receiving copies only.

Catholic Opinions

HIS EMINENCE JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS: "The Church has taken no official attitude on the subject, but leaves the matter to the good judgment of her children as to what they think best. The statement that the Church is opposed to the enfranchisement of women is incorrect."

MOST REV. FRANCIS REDWOOD, ARCHBISHOP OF WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND: "Women have had the vote in New Zealand for many years, and it has been proven that they use it wisely and judiciously, and for the greatest common good; and if anything, they are better wives and home conservers."

THE LATE MOST REV. PATRICK W. RIORDAN, ARCHBISHOP OF SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.: "Our Catholic people should be not only law-abiding citizens, but should take part in the making of the laws under which they live, and in the election of officers worthy to administer the laws when made. This is true for women as well as for men."

RT. REV. PAUL P. RHODE, AUXILIARY BISHOP OF CHICAGO, ILL.: "The Catholic women owe it to the principles of their religion to take a dignified and modest and yet an active interest in the politics of their city. In receiving the franchise they have a debt of gratitude to pay to the community for the benefits they have enjoyed from it."

REV. JOSEPH H. McMAHON, Ph.D., NEW YORK CITY: "Restrict the suffrage if you will, but do not be guilty of the absurdity and injustice of establishing sex as a barrier, when under actual conditions woman is so important a factor in every relation of modern life."

REV. J. ELLIOT ROSS, Ph.D., C.S.P., CHICAGO, ILL.: "There is no argument against equal suffrage. When you carry the war into the enemy's country and demand an argument against votes for women that does not equally apply to votes for men, you get only inconclusive vaporings."

REV. GEORGE M. SEARLE, C.S.P., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.: "It is quite plain that with regard to moral questions, the interests of morality would be advanced by woman suffrage."

REV. JOHN A. RYAN OF ST. PAUL'S SEMINARY, ST. PAUL, MINN.: "I am in favor of woman suffrage, because I believe that its net results would be beneficial to the community as a whole, and to working women in particular."

REV. JOHN L. BELFORD, BROOKLYN, N. Y.: "The words written in the Book of Genesis, 'It is not good for man to be alone' have a deeper and fuller meaning than usually given them. They mean that man needs not merely the companionship of woman, but he needs all that she can supply in the way of head and heart and hand. As we look around us on conditions as they exist—the evils, the vices, the inconsistencies—it is not good for man to be alone in government. . . . I believe that women are going to obtain the privilege they seek. I believe that if they do acquire it they will exercise the right not merely well, but nobly, and that there are certain evils which they will not brook."

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

505 Fifth Avenue 377 **New York City**

File copy

WANTED

-JUST ONE GOOD REASON WHY I AM NOT ENTITLED TO A VOICE IN THE GOVERNMENT.

STILL LACKING

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue 142 New York City

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PAULINE REVERE

(Adapted by permission New York World)

"We do know that it is little short of national scandal that women should be allowed to vote in some States and not in others."

NEW YORK HERALD.

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

TWENTY FACTS ABOUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fact No. 7.—In Sweden, England and Wales, Ireland, Scotland and the provinces of Canada women have municipal francise. Sweden is on the point of extending full suffrage to women. In 1916, four Canadian provinces, Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan and British Columbia granted full suffrage to women.

Fact No. 8.—An amendment to the United States Constitution providing for the sweeping away of the sex barrier to suffrage all over the United States was voted on in the Senate at Washington on March 19, 1914, and in the House on January 12, 1915. It obtained a majority of one vote in the Senate; while in the House the vote stood 174 to 204.

Fact No. 9.—Over a million and a quarter votes were cast for woman suffrage in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1915. This was 190,000 more than in all previous votes on the subject.

Fact No. 10.—In no country, state or community which has granted women a measure of suffrage has it ever been voted away from them, and in most cases the original franchise right has been enlarged and extended.

HOW WOMEN VOTE

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

Fact No. 12.—The gist of an extensive questionnaire recently sent out by the Evening Sun (of New York City) was "Do women who have the vote, vote? What laws have their votes passed? Is woman suffrage considered a success by the states that have it?" The Sun summarized the results of the investigation made by its correspondents, as follows:—"Women who have the vote do vote. Their ballot has already passed a considerable body of law. The suffrage states seem to be satisfied to have women go on voting." A summary of the many splendid laws for women and children directly attributed to the ballots of women was printed by the Evening Sun.

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

Fact No. 14.—Both Houses of the Australian Parliament have passed resolutions declaring woman suffrage an unqualified success in that country.

Fact No. 15.—Arizona, California, Colorado and Washington are the only states in the Union which have eight-hour laws for working women.

Fact No. 16.—California, Colorado, Oregon, Washington and Kansas have commissions with power to fix a minimum wage in industry. Utah has a minimum wage law. In Idaho, a commission appointed by the legislature, is forming a law. Of the other four equal suffrage states, two have practically no women employed in industry, one has been an equal suffrage state only since 1912 and the other two only since November, 1914. The only non-suffrage states with minimum wage commissions are Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Arkansas.

Fact No. 17.—In all the equal suffrage states women teachers have more nearly men's rate of pay. Many have equal pay statutes and in nearly all women are as often appointed to the higher positions as men. In four the head of the public education system of the State is a woman.

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

Fact No. 19.—In all the equal suffrage states the age of consent for girls is eighteen except in Oregon and Nevada, where it is sixteen. In five non-suffrage states the age of consent is only fourteen, and in one only ten; while only eleven non-suffrage states give effective protection to the age of eighteen.

Fact No. 20.—All the equal suffrage states (though in Arizona the law has been declard unconstitutional) have passed mothers' pension laws. California, Colorado, Idaho, Oregon, Washington and Utah have laws for the protection of children far in advance of the legislation in most of the non-suffrage states.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.,

171 Madison Avenue **New York City**

Printed January, 1917

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AN ECONOMY

TAX-RATE.

The tax-rate of the equal suffrage states shines by comparison with that of male suffrage states. California has no state tax. Five equal suffrage states have rates of between $1.20 and $3.34 per $1,000. Only four have a rate as high as $5 or over. Two have $8. Exactly half the male suffrage states have a rate as high as $5 and over. Ten show tax rates in the teens, the twenties and the thirties. The tax rate of Denver is 12.25 per $1,000; of Albany, Syracuse and New York it is double that amount.

BONDED DEBT.

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

WEALTH.

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

ELECTION EXPENSE.

The State Treasurers of every suffrage state have declared that woman suffrage has not appreciably increased election expenses. Denver, last year, recorded the lowest per capita (of population) cost of voting (14c) of the larger cities of the United States. In Cheyenne, Wyoming, voting costs 10c per capita (of population), a less sum than in any city of its size. In the same year, New York paid 27c per capita and Chicago, 32c, but for the five cents which Chicago paid more than New York, she voted men and women—the largest number of voters ever voted in any city in America. Thus, while the cost per capita (of population) in New York is 27c, the cost per voter is $1.60; while the cost per capita in Chicago is 32c, the cost per voter is only 57c. In the 1916 presidential election in Chicago, the expense for women was only one-third the total.

The woman vote enables the voting precinct to use what it is paying for. The fewness of voters in some counties in New York made the cost rise to as high as $2.50 to $4.00 per voter, whereas in counties where more voted the cost was as low as 14c. or 15c. Election machinery is seldom used to capacity because most business men can vote only before or after business hours.

In Chicago before woman suffrage, election precincts could only take care of 300 to 400 voters. In 1916 they took care of 600 to 800 because women were able to vote before and after "rush hours" when the officials were at leisure.

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

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

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OUR REAL ENEMY

By Carrie Chapman Catt.

Rich women, protected and serene, or women well paid by rich women, have grown bolder and more skilful in their unspeakable treachery to their sex. There have been those willing to vilify their sister women from ocean to ocean, and to declare them too incompetent mentally and too unclean morally to be trusted with the privilege of self-government. Their motives suffragists will never understand.

The liquor forces have developed an organized opposition, apparently supported by large funds, which has been an active factor in every campaign except two since 1890, and in those two we won. The secretary of one of the state liquor associations recently said to a man of honor that they would not allow another state to be carried for suffrage within the next ten years. Still another representative of the same force said to another man that they could gather ten millions of dollars if necessary to throw into any state which gave indications of a suffrage victory. These are doubtless wild threats, but the fact remains that a powerful force is arrayed against our cause, and it scruples at nothing.

In every precinct there seems to be a few men willing to sell their citizen's right, and these may be numerous enough to become a balance of power which, added to the normal conservative vote, may defeat our amendments. This "triple alliance"—the women who work in the open, appealing to the respectable conservative element, and the liquor forces, secretly conniving with the purchasable vote—forms a combined foe very difficult to combat, since its attack is subterranean.

Opposition in the open, which meets our arguments with arguments, our claims with defense, must always be welcome. Truth has ever followed in the wake of free and honest discussion. But an opposition which conspires behind closed doors to buy its victory with money or spoils is a criminal so black, so indescribably hideous, that it fills the soul not with discouragement for our cause, but with shame for our republic. We shall never know how many campaigns

have been lost by such conspiracies, but it is my own sincere conviction that there have been several.

We know that in the Colorado campaign the brewers of Denver printed false statements and caused them to be put under the door of every house in the city. We know that in the last unsuccessful campaign in Oregon the order went out from the liquor forces to the saloons of the state to deliver a stated number of votes in opposition to the suffrage amendment. Every suffragist in Michigan seems to agree that the amendment was counted out in the first campaign, and that the ballots were stuffed in the second, and that the agents were the liquor forces. The Attorney-General who was serving at the time of the Nebraska campaign has declared that he believes the amendment was counted out there, and again the charge lies at the same door. The wet counties in Iowa certainly defeated the amendment there. The Boston & Maine Railway contributed to defeat the suffrage question in the constitutional convention of New Hampshire, and afterward it was found that it had been done in collusion with the liquor lobby. The brewers arrested upon the federal charge of conspiracy in elections, and brought to trial in Pittsburgh this year, are supposed to have contributed large sums to defeat the question in the four eastern campaign states, and, although this remains unproven, it is true that their business was conducted in so irregular a fashion that check-books and stubs had been destroyed. It was true in New York that men visited trade unionists and told them that woman suffrage meant the certain loss of positions in all trades allied to the liquor business. It is true that in New Jersey the woman poll workers were appalled at the seemingly endless number of illiterate, drunken and degenerate types who were lined up to vote in opposition to the amendment in that state. It is true that the four men, representing Texas, Indiana, Georgia and New Jersey, respectively, who signed the minority report of the Resolutions Committee in St. Louis, which would have taken the suffrage plank out of the Democratic platform, are all well-known henchmen of the liquor interests. It is well known that a group of liquor men have issued newspaper plate matter, under the imprint of an alleged farmers' association, and have sent it broadcast to rural papers, its contents purporting to be of interest to farmers, but always containing anti-suffrage articles.

The liquor interests have been driven to the aggressive defensive by the inroads of the prohibition movement. They are obsessed by the idea that woman suffrage is only a flank prohibition movement. They have the American's right to fight for their own. We cannot relieve them of their notion that woman suffrage will promote prohibition, and hence must accept their opposition as normal. But when that opposition ceases to be honest and resorts to conspiracy and bribery to gain its ends, it becomes criminal.

Since this kind of opposition had occurred to a greater or lesser extent in all our campaigns, suffragists must be prepared to meet it in future. What, if any, underground connection there may be between the women antis and the liquor antis no one knows. Some of the women are conscientious and honest, I am sure; but the obvious fact remains that these women secure what they want—that is, their own disfranchisement—by the aid and the evident conjunction of the liquor forces, with the purchasable, controllable vote, and in several campaigns their posters, their literature and buttons were circulated through saloons. This may have been done without the knowledge or consent of the women, but the fact remains that the saloons and the women antis agree that votes in the hands of women are a "menace."

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

government as it was for many years. Since women began to be represented in Washington, there has been a change. After many years of urging, Congress, in 1912, established a **Children's Bureau** and $25,000 a year was appropriated. In 1915 this was increased to $165,000.

HERE IS A LIST OF NATIONAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1915:†

Bureau of Animal Industry	$4,597,966
Bureau of Plant Industry	2,880,875
Forest Service	3,243,096
Bureau of Chemistry	644,301
Bureau of Soils	299,815
Bureau of Entomology	450,370
Hog Cholera	600,000
Children's Bureau	164,265

$165,000 a year to protect our babies and $600,000 a year to protect our hogs!

In addition to the inhumanity it is bad business. The National Conservation Commission estimates that an individual is worth $2,900 to society. At this rate the 300,000 babies represent a yearly loss of $870,000,000.

When, of all the civilized world, the country that has had the **women suffrage** the **longest** has the **lowest death rate,** and the **five** countries with the **next lowest** rate **all** have **woman suffrage,** can there be a doubt that woman suffrage has brought about better and healthier living conditions for all the people?

Isn't it evident that when mothers are represented in government and their opinions and interests are consulted, babies have a better chance? Isn't is proved that women with the ballot do **not** neglect their home and babies?

Giving the **ballot** to **women** not only **helps** them to **do** their **own work** more **effectively,** but **actually increases** the **wealth** of the **nation.**

*Children's Bureau Pub. No. 6 & 15.
†Digest of Appropriations for U. S. Government for Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1915.

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc.
171 Madison Avenue **New York City**

Printed by N. W. S. Publishing Co., Inc.

Better Babies

Permission "Woman Voter"

"I wish my mother had a vote—
to keep the germs away."

Better Babies

300,000 babies die every year in the United States before they are one year old.

The death of a baby in at least 50 per cent. of the cases is due to **preventable causes.**

Five times as many babies die in crowded tenement districts as in a well-to-do quarter of a city. Lack of air and sunshine, poor food, bad sanitation, overwork of the mothers, both before and after marriage, above all **ignorance** on the part of the **mother,** are responsible for most of these deaths.

Comparison of the Infant death rate of Civilized Nations. Number of deaths under one year per 1,000 births.*

New Zealand (1912)	51
Norway (1912)	68
Australia (1912)	72
Sweden (1911)	72
Denmark (1913)	94
England and Wales (1913)	108
Finland (1912)	109
United States (1911)	124

(This is only approximate as registration of births is incomplete.)

Italy (1912)	130
Spain (1907)	158
Germany (1911)	192
Russia (1909)	248

The lowest death rate of babies in the world is in New Zealand.

Why?

Because the government realizes the value of babies and does everything in its power to **educate** the **mothers** and **protect** the **baby.**

WOMEN HAVE HAD THE VOTE IN NEW ZEALAND FOR TWENTY YEARS.

The **first three countries** with the **lowest death rate** are all **Woman Suffrage countries.**

In all of the seven which have a lower death rate than the United States women have at least the municipal vote. In Italy, Spain, Germany and Russia where the death rate is highest, women have even less say in regard to public affairs and hygiene than they have in the United States.

In New Zealand, in every town and village, and in the remotest country district, government nurses give instructions and aid to mothers, who are visited both before and after the baby comes. Young girls are taught baby hygiene and feeding. Advice from the best medical authorities is printed and distributed free. Government Maternity Hospitals, government Registration of Nurses, and complete government Registration of Births, all aid in the low death rate.

Comparison of the infant death rate of some American cities with that of Dunedin, New Zealand. Number of deaths under 1 year per 1,000 births.

Dunedin (The lowest in the world)	38
New York City	125
Washington, D. C.	152
Syracuse	160
Buffalo	162
Lowell, Mass.	231

In the United States, California has become the Banner Baby State. It has the **highest birth rate** in the Union and a very **low death rate.**

In Los Angeles the infant death rate is 87 per 1,000 births, in Oakland it is 87.2. The lowest infant death rate in the United States, 82, is in Seattle, Washington. Kansas has reduced its infant death rate from 120 to 90 since it adopted a Public Nursing Association in 1913. **Washington** gave **women** the vote in **1910, California** in **1911,** and **Kansas** in **1912.**

In the United States every care is given to animal and plant life, but the government concerns itself little with babies.

"What has the United States Government to do with women and children?" as one Congressman tersely put it, expressed the attitude of the

Do You Know?

Do You Know?

DO YOU KNOW that the question of votes for women is one which is commanding the attention of the whole civilized world; that woman suffrage organizations of representative men and women exist in twenty-seven different countries; that in this country alone there are more than 1,000 woman suffrage organizations; that there is an International and a National Men's League for Woman Suffrage and numbers of local men's leagues; that the number of women who are asking for the vote in this country is larger than the number of men who have ever asked for anything in its entire history; that more and larger petitions asking for votes for women have been sent to legislative bodies than for any other one measure, and that the press of this country is giving more space to woman suffrage than to any other one public question?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of one-fourth of the states of the Union voted for President in 1916 and that these states are: Illinois, Montana, Wyoming, Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Oregon, Nevada, Arizona?

DO YOU KNOW that it is nothing less than a national scandal that the women of the Equal Suffrage states in the West should have this right while the women of the East and South remain unenfranchised?

DO YOU KNOW that there are two ways in which women may get the vote?

One is by asking consent of all the men of the United States, rich or poor, native-born or naturalized, good or bad, intelligent or ignorant; the other is by a Federal Amendment.

DO YOU KNOW that the question of Woman Suffrage has been submitted to the voters in many states and the women have been distressed to find that thousands of the ignorant and vicious were lined up by hostile interests to vote against it, thus making the defeat unfair and un-American?

DO YOU KNOW that the foundations of Male Suffrage were laid in 24 states before the Civil War and in 5 states since then by legislatures and constitutional conventions whose constitutions were not submitted to the people's vote, and that the conditions of male suffrage in some of these constitutions were dictated by the United States Congress?

DO YOU KNOW that the easy road to self-government which was thus opened to men is in every state but Delaware now closed to women?

DO YOU KNOW that in almost all the states where constitutional amendments are now submitted to the people the process is made so difficult by a half-dozen technical requirements as to make revision of the Constitution impossible?

DO YOU KNOW that an amendment in New Mexico must pass by a three-fourths vote of the Legislature, ratified by a three-fourths vote of the people, including a two-thirds vote in each county,

and that an amendment must be ratified in Indiana by a majority of all voters in the state, not merely those voting or those registered, but all who could vote if they wanted to, whose numbers are not even known to the Census Bureau? The Indiana Constitution has never been amended.

DO YOU KNOW that one of the half-dozen hazards which a constitutional amendment has to pass is the requirement in 11 states of a majority of all voting at the election instead of all voting on the amendment? Of this an authority has said that it alone made amendment of the Constitution impossible. In Alabama and Nebraska the Legislatures have had on several occasions to resort to special tricks and devices to get amendments favored by politicians passed.

DO YOU KNOW that in Arkansas in 1915 an amendment passed both houses of the Legislature by generous majorities, but all this labor was wasted, for the bill could not go to the polls because three other amendments had precedence, and in that State only three can be submitted at once?

DO YOU KNOW THAT WOMEN OF ALL states may be enfranchised by an amendment to the United States Constitution when such amendment has been ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures of the states, and that a resolution for a Woman Suffrage amendment is now before Congress which reads: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote

shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex?"

DO YOU KNOW that all men born in other countries who become citizens of the United States are naturalized by the **Federal Government?** Indians are enfranchised by the **Federal Government.** Negroes were enfranchised by the **Federal Government.**

DO YOU KNOW that fair play demands that the vote be given to women by the same easy process that gave it to these groups of men?

DO YOU KNOW that wherever women have the vote they use it as generally as men; that while the vote of the states whose women got full suffrage between 1910 and 1914 increased more than in proportion to the number of women enfranchised, the vote of four of their male suffrage neighbors actually went down in 1914?

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

DO YOU KNOW that every governor, chief justice and other prominent officials in our suffrage states have repeatedly declared that woman suffrage is so entrenched in the approval of the people that no power will ever remove it?

DO YOU KNOW that in all the white territory in Canada and the United States on the map below, men and women vote on equal terms; in the gray territory women have some suffrage privileges, and in the black none? Note that the black territory is Central America, the frozen North, and the very conservative East

and South. Women vote in nearly half the territory of the United States.

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

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

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

DO YOU KNOW that in the 1916 presidential campaign every candidate for President endorsed suffrage for women and every national party platform contained a suffrage plank?

DO YOU KNOW that the Denver Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution endorsing suffrage a few months ago, and that later, for the same purpose, seventy of the most representative men of Denver, including twelve bank presidents, issued the following statement:

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

by the intelligent and public-spirited men of the State of Colorado.

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

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

DO YOU KNOW that Colorado, where women have voted for twenty-three years, is enjoying a period of greater prosperity than ever before in her history? That she has grown steadily by long strides from poverty to great wealth under woman suffrage? The public institutions of Colorado are worth $254,000,000. Her bonded debt is small; her tax rate is notably low. Denver, her largest city, is so economical in her expenditures that she is listed by the Bureau of the Census as one of seven cities which have an excess of revenues over expenditures. The banking business in 1916 has increased by twenty million

over the business done in 1915. The reserve now in the banks is 10 per cent greater than that required by law, which indicates that the growth is sound. The banks report that people all over the state are paying old accounts and lifting mortgages in unprecedented numbers.

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

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

DO YOU KNOW that since women have had the vote in California one legislature passed more constructive legislation than had been passed in the previous

decade? At the same time, though these laws necessitated new government activities, government expenses increased at a 5 per cent lower rate than in the previous five-year period.

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

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

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

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

International Council of Women, representing over 7,000,000 women.
General Federation of Women's Clubs, representing over 2,000,000 women.
Every State Federation of Women's Clubs where women vote, and many where they do not vote, 34 in all.
National Women's Trade Union League.
National Order of Maccabees.
International Council of Nurses.
World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
American Nurses' Association.
National Women's Relief Corps.

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

National Education Association (the teachers of your land).
National Grange (men and women farmers).
Farmers' National Congress.
American Federation of Labor.
United Mine Workers of America.
National Purity Conference.
National Association of Letter Carriers.
National Association of Post Office Clerks.
International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.
Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers.
Negro Educational Congress.
National American Retail Jewelers' Association.
Patrolmen's Benevolent Association.
Lieutenants' Benevolent Association.
The Anti-Saloon League of America.
Patriotic Order Sons of America.
Grand Council of United Commercial Travelers.

The National Conference of Unitarians.
The Catholic Prohibition Conference.
Yearly Meeting Society of Friends.
General Conference Methodist Episcopal Church.
All Political Parties of Nation in 1916.

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

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

DO YOU KNOW of any instance where women have tried to get bad laws

enacted; or of any instance where women didn't support an effort to get good laws made and enforced?

DO YOU KNOW that the legislatures of some of the suffrage states, the Australian Parliament, numbers of the most representative people, both men and women, in all the suffrage states and countries have testified time and again in print and over their own signatures, that woman suffrage has brought none of the evils which its opponents fear, but has, instead, been productive of much positive good; that it has enlarged the outlook of women, increased their intelligence and self-reliance, rendered homes happier, ennobled men and dignified politics; that more than five hundred organizations—state, national and international, other than woman suffrage associations—aggregating approximately a membership of over 50,000,000, have officially endorsed woman suffrage?

DO YOU KNOW any sound, logical reason why women should not have the vote? You can have no such reasons, for they do not exist.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

171 Madison Avenue, New York

Printed by N. W. S. Pub. Co., Inc.

Edition, December, 1916

damned. What could he do—a shattered wreck—but be the joke of the hardier lads?

Suddenly he heard the low tones of a woman's voice above him. He heard the scrape of a plow and the slow tread of oxen's feet. Cautiously he raised his head from the "dugout" and looked through the darkness. At last he could see distinctly the form of a woman following the plow. Away down the field she went, disappearing into total darkness. Now and then she returned to the end of the furrow next to the last trench. She kept at this steadily through the dark hours of the night. At the first faint signs of dawn she went away. His courage came back. He knew that if a woman could plow these fields within range of the enemies' guns, he could walk into the jaws of death without flinching to hold the fields for her. He learned from his comrades that on every dark night the women of France followed the plow right up to the firing line. By harvest time the women believed that their men would drive the enemy back and the land would be reclaimed. Such are the women of France.

And such have been the women of the American farms since our earliest pioneer days. They have been right behind their husbands and sons, ready to do everything which their strength would permit. The farm women were right behind the men in the Revolution and in the Civil War. And they were right behind the men in the milk strike. They are right behind the farmers in this fight with the food speculators.

Why don't you muster them in as voters? You can do it! You have a long fight ahead of you—a fight with experienced lobbyists whose machine guns are skillfully aimed. Your enemies are better financed than you. But with more votes and a united vote, what couldn't you do?

Enfranchise the women of the State and you have a power which can control the market conditions of the greatest market places on this continent. Woman suffrage means more and more a great get-together movement for the American home. We appeal to you to help the women in their fight for the vote, and we promise you that they will be **right behind you on the firing line** whenever attacks are made upon their homes.

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

File copy

On the Firing Line

By Amelia MacDonald Cutler

Reproduced from the N. Y. Evening World

A friend who has just returned from France told me this story of the war. Her nephew, a quiet, book-loving lad from a Canadian university, enlisted when the call for volunteers came. Within four months from the time of enlistment, he had been through a most deadly bombardment, was wounded and taken to a field hospital. In due time he recovered and was sent back to his regiment which was still on active duty in the trenches. On the first night of his return, his courage deserted him. He could not sleep. He saw again the horrors of his comrades' death. He heard again the screech and din of the shells. He suffered all of the torments of the

Women think nothing of transacting ordinary commercial business, of working alongside of men, of playing their part in the practical business of life. They do not mind going to the box office of a theatre to purchase tickets for the play. There is very little difference between doing that and putting their vote in a ballot box. The men about the booths show them every courtesy, the officials are anxious to make things easy for them and the whole business of voting does not occupy more than five minutes. The woman who thinks she is making herself unwomanly by voting is a silly creature."

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

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N.
930 NICOLLET AVE.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

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WHICH CARDINAL KNOWS BEST?

In a letter to the Convention of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in Washington in December, 1916, Cardinal Gibbons, opposing woman suffrage, said: "It would rob woman of her grace of character and give her nothing in return but masculine boldness and effrontery. Any occupation . . . which draws woman's attention from her exalted duties of motherhood will result in detriment to the nation and the race. I regard 'woman's rights' women . . . as the worst enemies of the female sex."

Cardinal Gibbons never saw woman suffrage in practice. Cardinal Moran, of Australia, where all women have had the complete franchise since 1902, and used it as extensively as have the men, said in his official organ, "The Catholic Press," of Sydney, New South Wales:

"What does voting mean to a woman? Does she sacrifice any dignity by going to the polls? The woman who votes only avails herself of a rightful privilege that democracy has gained for her. No longer a mere household chattel, she is recognized as man's fellow worker and helpmate and credited with public spirit and intelligence. As a mother she has a special interest in the legislation of her country, for upon it depends the welfare of her children. She knows what is good for them as much as the father, and the unselfishness of maternity should make her interest even keener. **She should deem it one of the grandest privileges of her sex that she can now help to choose the men who will make the laws under which her children must live,** and can exert her purer influence upon the political atmosphere of her time. How can she sacrifice any dignity by putting on her bonnet and walking down to the polling booth?

PRESIDENT WILSON SAYS

Woman Suffrage Is a War Measure

President Wilson to Memoralists of Foreign Countries:

"I agree without reservation that the full and sincere democratic reconstruction of the world, for which we are striving, and which we are determined to bring about at any cost, will not have been completely or adequately attained until women are admitted to the suffrage."

President Wilson to Senator Shields, Tennessee:

"I feel that much of the morale of this country and of the world will repose in our sincere adherence to democratic principles—will depend upon the action which the Senate takes in this now critically important matter." (the federal woman suffrage amendment)

President Wilson to Senator Baird, New Jersey:

"The whole subject of woman suffrage has been very much in my mind of late and has come to seem to me part of the international situation, as well as a question of capital importance to the United States. I believe that our present position as champions of democracy throughout the world would be greatly strengthened if the Senate would follow the example of the House of Representatives in passing the pending amendment."

Stand for the Federal Suffrage Amendment and Ratification by the Wisconsin Legislature

Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association 428 Jefferson Street, Milwaukee

25

In Utah male citizens pay as citizens, but "this tax," says the Attorney General, "has no relation to the right to vote and hold office," except in so far as males are concerned, and it has for this reason not been extended to the women citizens of Utah.

So the answer, when the antis tell of this burden on the women voters of today, is that *not one woman is today paying a poll tax as a voter.* The women who do pay the tax are only continuing to pay exactly the same tax they paid before they had the vote; and the facts just given show that voting women are now paying the poll tax in eight non-suffrage states. In only two states in the Union, Rhode Island and Oklahoma, will they ever have a head tax imposed upon them as a direct penalty for the right to vote. They will vote at some future day in Rhode Island at the cost of $1.00 per year—in Oklahoma at a cost of $2.00.

The poll tax, being based on no tangible object but on the person himself, is easy to evade, and being unpopular on account of its undemocratic basis, it is notoriously evaded. In 1914, in spite of the many million adults throughout the Union subject to state poll taxes a total of only two million dollars was collected.

For this reason all but six* of the states that impose such a tax, whether on adults, male adults or male citizens, have cannily provided that at least one section of the population shall prove that they have met their obligation to the state by showing their poll tax receipt before they vote. This means simply that in the eight non-suffrage states where women are now liable for this tax they will, when they are enfranchised, be held up at the polling booth to prove pre-payment of a debt that they owe the state whether voters or not. It does not mean that in those states where males only are subject to the tax the fact that women become voting citizens will make them also subject.

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*Utah, West Virginia, North Dakota, Maine, Idaho and Wyoming.

Reprints of other articles compiled by Mary Sumner Boyd, Secretary of the Data Department, National American Woman Suffrage Association

DOUBLE LEAFLETS

[Price postpaid, $2.50 per 500; exp. col., $3.50 per 1,000.]

Must Women Serve on Juries?
Prosperity in Colorado.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue 154 **New York City**
Printed February, 1917

File copy

WHO PAYS THE POLL TAX?

By Mary Sumner Boyd.

Popular misconception appears to identify the polls, the place for counting the privileged heads of voters, with the poll tax, a remnant of that antiquity when there was no voting, and men had to add to payments of produce and of labor, a payment for their heads—that is, for the very right to live in the realm.

The constitutions of twenty-nine states makes mention of this tax—four* to prohibit it as contrary to democratic ideals. "The levying of taxes by the polls is grievous and oppressive and ought to be prohibited," says the Constitution of Maryland.

The United States Government imposes a head tax of $4.00 on every immigrant at the time of landing.

Twenty-five state constitutions either impose a poll tax, or authorize their legislatures to impose one at need. The amount varies from one to four dollars in the different states.

It is imposed in ten states** on all adults; in nine*** on all male inhabitants; in four**** on all male *citizens*, and only in Oklahoma and Rhode Island on all *electors* as such.*****

The assertion is constantly made by anti-suffragists that women as voters pay poll taxes in all equal suffrage states, and that they will be forced to do so in all other states as they become enfranchised. Let us test this by the facts given above.

Of the twelve suffrage states, eight levy no poll taxes whatever. Utah, Nevada, Wyoming, and Idaho are permitted by their constitution to levy polls. The Nevada poll tax falls on all male residents except uncivilized Indians, whether citizens or not, and between the ages of 21 and 60. Wyoming levies a tax regardless of sex, and in Idaho the legislature may levy such a tax at need on all adults. In neither of these states does the tax have any relation to the right to vote.

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*Oregon, Ohio, Maryland and California—the latter, by an amendment in 1915.

**Texas, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Idaho, Wyoming, Kentucky, South Carolina, Florida and Georgia.

***Louisiana, Arkansas, Nevada, Alabama, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, North Dakota and Mississippi.

****Utah, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Tennessee.

*****In a few states some forms of partial suffrage, granted not by the constitution, but by act of legislature, are made dependent on poll tax payment.

File Copy

Women, Home and Government

(*From the Baptist Commonwealth. Reprinted by permission.*)

An Address Delivered by PROF. E. B. POLLARD, of Crozer Theological Seminary, Before the Baptist Ministers of Philadelphia.

The recent agitation in behalf of woman suffrage is not a passing fad. While every reform develops its fanatics, this movement to give women the ballot is not "simply an evidence of feminine hysterics," but a part of the rising tide of democracy, which for more than a century has been rolling swiftly in. It is a part of a natural evolution which has been going on for more than a thousand years, if not since the dawn of civilized life upon the globe. It is the struggle of woman to find her proper place in a man-made but rapidly changing world-order.

Government was formerly conceived of as resting altogether upon force. Only the men could, therefore, have a place in its maintenance. Now it is thought of as based upon "the consent of the governed," upon justice, right and mutual interests. Government must be representative; and a government in which just one-half of its adult citizens are not represented at all can hardly be a government "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

Governments were once chiefly engaged in protecting people and property from violence; hence they were concerned chiefly with armies, courts, police, and, of course, in collecting revenues to support these agencies of protection. Naturally the men alone attended to such matters. But the functions of government have been gradually and vastly enlarged. Now when we think of government we think also of good roads, clean streets, pure food, good water supply, housing conditions, sanitation, charities and corrections, adequately equipped school houses, with good teachers and proper ventilation, of playgrounds, of conservation of life; of child-labor laws, of laws for safety of life and limb in industry, of workmen's compensation, of public safety, of marriage and divorce laws, of women in industry, of laws affecting prices of foodstuffs, of honest weights and measures, of births and deaths, of infant mortality, of public amusements, of juvenile offenders, of almshouses and asylums—and of a thousand and one other things concerning which it would be positively absurd to declare that in them woman has no interest, or to which woman's knowledge could make no contribution. The home interests have been projected into politics in thousands of matters which once were no concern of government whatever. Wherever the home goes it is certain that woman will go, for *home is her specialty*. The Earl of Salisbury, when Prime Minister of England, said in a company of suffragists: "I am for woman suffrage, because I believe in a representative government. We have in Parliament every

interest represented except the greatest interest of all—the labor interest, the farming interest, etc., but not the home interest. . . . The women would naturally represent home and childhood and the things next to them in their lives. Therefore, I favor your cause."

There has taken place also vast industrial changes which make woman suffrage inevitable. Women invented the industries at a time when man's occupation was chiefly hunting, fishing and fighting, and for centuries industry was carried on entirely in the home. Through the invention of machinery and the rise of modern capitalism, practically all the industries were carried out of homes into factories. When we speak of "the unfortunate fact that women have pressed into the industries," or say that women are competing with men in the industries and driving them out, we are not quite speaking the truth, for the men entered the industries of the women, who were the bakers, the dairy maids, the tailors, the weavers, the spinners, etc. Women simply followed their home occupations out into the factory, because they could not afford to be idle. These working women feel the need of the ballot for their protection and development. But there are also thousands of women who, released from the cares of the old home industries, are not compelled to enter the factory for a livelihood—women whose hands have been, as it were, set free, so that they have ample time for social chit-chat, bridge whist and social clubs, poodles and parrots, which time might be far better spent in some serious aid given to solving the problems of civic improvement and political reform. Between these two classes are thousands of women whose hands are busy bringing up their children and making their homes happy; who, like great multitudes of our busy men of business, could give some thought to their country's welfare, and when their husbands deposit their ballots for laws that will make for business prosperity, they, the wives, can deposit theirs in favor of the prosperity of their homes.

No less significant are the changes that have taken place in woman herself. She was once regarded as simply an appurtenance to man, or as his property; she was classed along with his ox and his ass and anything else that was his. She received recognition alone by virtue of her relation to a man, either as mother or as wife or as sister. Woman was simply *wifman*. Now she is recognized as a person. Among sensible people she is not a clinging vine, nor a cross between an angel and an idiot. It has been discovered that she has a mind that is capable of the highest development and of grappling with the most difficult problems.

This suggests the evident fact that modern education has wrought a wonderful change in womanhood. Man is no longer the educated sex. Today more women are taking advantage of public education than men. Twice as many girls graduate from our high schools as boys. They are graduating from our colleges and universities, after thorough courses in history, economics, political science and sociology. If we would exclude them from taking part in government, we have begun too late. To equip our women for making a contribution to the government of their country and then to say they shall not is at once cruel and futile.

From the very nature of the case, the home has been, and will always be, the *focus* of woman's life. About the home her activities will always nucleate. The Germans have a saying that woman's sphere consists of three K's, *Kinder, Kleider* and *Kueche*—children, clothes and cooking. Conceding, for the moment, this definition of woman's sphere, let it be remembered that children were once *home-grown;* their religion, their schooling, their friendships, their labors, their amusements were in the home. Today the home has been projected in multitudinous ways out into the larger environment of a very complex world. If women are to look after their children, they must grapple with forces far wider than four walls. They must be concerned with the public school system, with the physical and moral atmosphere that their children breathe daily, in the totality of their larger environment, which may in a day or a night undo all the very best efforts put forth around the hearthstone. It is grossly unfair to the woman to make her responsible for the children, and then tie her up to a sphere of four walls, while her children must of necessity be under a thousand influences other than hers, concerning which she has absolutely no controlling voice. We are beginning to see this.

Then, there is the clothing, much of which is today made not in the home, but in the sweat-shop and the factory. Mothers used to make all their children wore. Now, if the mother would look after her children's clothing she must be concerned with laws that regulate factories, thus guard against communicable diseases, that insure her that the garments she buys have not wrung blood from others, nor brought disease and death to her own door. And there is the cooking. What woman today can be sure of what she is giving her family to eat—in this day of canned goods and predigested foodstuffs? Shall we make the mother responsible for her kitchen and her table, and give her no voice concerning cold storage and pure-food laws; factory inspection, and tariffs that regulate the prices of everything she must buy? The idea is now seen to be untenable and preposterous.

The home has been socialized, and woman cannot remain the only unsocialized force. Home is her sphere, and she must follow it wherever it goes, having a voice in controlling and directing all the fates that make or unmake it. Home is her game, and she must have a vote in determining the rules by which the game is to be played.

It is a glaring error to suppose that politics is corrupting. Politics is the science of government, and is of itself no more corrupting than sociology, the science of society, or any other science. Politics does not corrupt men, *men corrupt politics.* The great body of our womanhood will neither corrupt politics

nor be corrupted by it. Show me a single sphere into which woman has gone that she has not improved! *Find out which way the bad men and the corrupt politicians are going in this matter of woman's suffrage, and you may be assured that the opposite is the true road for decent men and women.*

While man asks, "How will this or that affect business?" woman will ask, "How will this or that affect the home, the child, the man?" The liquor traffic, for example, has long appeared to men as a "good business proposition"; to most women it appears a bad *human* proposition.

It is sometimes declared that men will become less chivalrous. But a woman is a woman whether she be in the street or in the parlor, in the counting-room or in the voting-booth, and if a man treat a respectable woman in any other way than that of a gentleman, whether it be in the one place or the other, it is *his manners,* not hers, that need reforming. I deny that a true woman is less to be respected in shop or voting place, where the serious things are being enacted for family and nation, than she is in the parlor or the club.

But would not woman better perform her duties to the state *indirectly,* through her husband, her brother or her sweetheart? This fallacy of indirect influence began when the husband owned the wife, or she achieved significance through some male member of the family. From slavery through capture or purchase, the woman came to a place of subjection; from subjection she advanced to subserviency, from subserviency to dependency, and at length this theory of womanhood is taking its final stand in the refined fiction called "indirect influence."

For one, I refuse to believe that the Almighty ever intended that any of his creatures should make their contribution to human welfare indirectly, when that contribution can be made directly. It is almost an insult to the Maker to declare that woman is at her best when her thoughts and feelings have been strained through a masculine percolator. The world is too sorely in need of the water of life which woman can give to compel the refreshing draught to pass through man's very inadequate filtration plant. Power without responsibility is not wholesome, but a menace. If woman is to exert political influence, she must be politically responsible.

The world needs woman's untrammeled testimony. Both manhood and womanhood must be allowed freely to function. We need the feminine as well as the masculine interpretation of life in every department of it, for governments today need mothering as well as fathering.

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

On hand 1916

Opinions of Eminent Club Women on Woman Suffrage

Compiled by Alice Pierson

Officers of General Federation whose departments enable them to speak from experience endorse Equal Suffrage.

Helen Louise Johnson, Chairman of Home Economics Department, General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Zona Gale, Chairman Civics Department, General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Every President of the State Federations in the twelve States where women vote says Equal Suffrage is a success.

Mrs. E. D. Knight, President, California Federation of Women's Clubs.
Katherine Ammon Morton, President, Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mrs. Solon Shedd, President, Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mrs. Charles H. Castner, President, Oregon State Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mrs. H. D. Ross, President, Arizona State Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mrs. W. R. Garretson, President Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mrs. Charles P. Squires, President, Nevada State Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mrs. John P. Vollmer, President, Idaho State Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mrs. C. H. Zimmerman, President, Illinois State Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mrs. J. M. Miller, President, Kansas State Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mrs. Elmer C. Corfman, President, Utah State Federation of Women's Clubs.
Mrs. E. L. Houston, President, Montana State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Endorsement of Equal Suffrage by Federations:

General Federation of Women's Clubs, Biennial Convention, Chicago June, 1914.

State Federations:

In all the twelve States where women vote

Arizona	Colorado	Illinois	Montana	Oregon	Washington
California	Idaho	Kansas	Nevada	Utah	Wyoming

In twenty other States

Arkansas	Kentucky	Michigan	Nebraska	New York	South Dakota
Florida	Louisiana	Minnesota	New Mexico	Ohio	Texas
Indiana	Massachusetts	Missouri	North Dakota	Pennsylvania	Wisconsin
Iowa					West Virginia

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS ENDORSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE

"Of course, we all know that a woman's place is in the home, and we further realize that she wants to be there. There is a seeming and wholly unwarranted belief extant that women are seeking 'busyness' and idleness elsewhere. The fact is that women outside, as well as inside, are labouring and seeking to support,

maintain or gain homes. The woman who does not desire this is so rare we need spend no time on her.

"But HOME is no longer a thing of four walls in which all woman's work is done apart from that of the outside world. At every turn the home concerns are found to be bound up with legislation. Where home economics ends and public health begins, we have yet been unable to define.

"Home economics is definitely concerned with the conservation of human life, and public health with its preservation. These cannot be separated. Home economics comprehends the details of food, clothing and shelter, not alone as these relate to the individual unit, the child, the youth and the adult, but to the group, be it a family or a city. All these matters are tied up with legislation. They are matters upon which men vote, yet women must, should and do, know.

"The water supply is of interest to men, because they use it in drinking and in some processes of manufacture. But it is of hourly concern to women, because they use it in nearly all household processes, and upon its quality so much depends. Yet, water boards are composed of men, and men alone determine the source and kind of supply. I cannot comprehend the woman who does not realize that her home in all its details, to say nothing of all that affects the children in it, is definitely administered by laws in which she *ought* to add her woman's part, for without this they are necessarily faulty or one-sided. It is no more a criticism on the good intents and honest vision of men to wish to assist in these things, than it is to take a part in ordering the coal, ice, or making of the garden." Signed, HELEN LOUISE JOHNSON,

Chairman of Home Economics Department,
General Federation of Women's Clubs.

February 16, 1916.

"As Chairman of the Civics Department of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, I found that civic workers were constantly hampered by inability to help to form the laws governing the conditions we are trying to revise. For this reason, it becomes necessary to endorse any legitimate effort to bring the indirect service of civic work close to the direct service of national, state and municipal legislation, including especially the tool of the franchise for women.'

Signed, ZONA GALE,
Chairman of Civics Department, General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Portage, Wisconsin, Feb. 15, 1916.

"Suffrage has in no way interfered with the function of women as home-makers. On the contrary, it has made women feel a much keener interest in the sense of responsibility toward all civic questions, including the greatest of all civic responsibilities, MAKING of the HOME. The possession of the vote has made us a power individually and collectively, and the work of the Federated clubs has profited in effectiveness thereby. With the exception of one bill, every important measure initiated by women's organizations of the State successfully passed the last legislature. Signed, HELEN M. KNIGHT,

President, California State Federation of Women's Clubs.

San Francisco, California, February 6, 1916.

"We have had the suffrage since 1869, and we would be very indignant if it were suggested that we are not as successful home-makers as the women of any other State. We have more influence than we would have if we were voteless. The woman-vote is always taken into consideration. One of the laws which we were influential in getting through the last Legislature was the Widows' Pension."

Signed, KATHERINE AMMON MORTON.
President, Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs.

"Suffrage has helped women to be better home-makers. It has created for them interest in those things in which the husband is interested, has broadened their outlook and their sympathies to the extent that they desire to promote the welfare of all children—not only their own. The vote certainly makes the work of the Federated Clubs more effective. When we, in Washington, make a request of our State officers or our Legislature, we are given a hearing and proper consideration. The women have advocated and been instrumental in putting through laws regarding Child Marriages and Mothers' Pensions."

Signed, MRS. SOLON SHEDD,
President, Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Washington, February 15, 1916.

"When I am asked, 'Has suffrage in any way interfered with the work of women as home makers?' I always answer, 'Not in the least. Moreover the vote has helped to make the Federated Clubs more effectual for we are now considered a power in the State. We have been able to get through the following laws by endorsement: Minimum Wage Bill, Widows' Pension Bill, and a bill requiring a health certificate before marriage for men.'"

Signed, THERESE M. CASTNER,

Hood River, Oregon, February 7, 1916. President of Oregon S. F. W. C.

"Woman Suffrage, while making the work of the Federated Clubs more effectual, has not in any way interfered with the work of women as home makers."

Signed, MARGARET WHEELER ROSS.

Phoenix, Arizona, February 7, 1916. President. Arizona S. F. W. C.

"Suffrage, instead of interfering with the work of women as home makers, has developed their thinking powers and made them more rather than less, helpful. Colorado homes are beautiful. Where women vote their opinions are counted and respected. With votes behind us our ideas are endorsed. As a Federation we are non-partisan and vote for measures which will better conditions in our State, especially for women and children. The following are some of the laws which we have helped to put through: Red Light Abatement Law, Pure Food Law, Anti-Tuberculosis, Fumigation, Child Labor Laws, Prohibition Law, Eight Hour Law for women and children." Signed, W. R. GARRETSON,

Denver, Colorado, February 15, 1916. President. Colorado S. F. W. C.

"Here in our little Nevada towns almost every woman is her own maid, and I cannot see but what these maids are just as efficient with the ballot as without it. I haven't heard a single husband complain of their inefficiency as a cook, laundress or as a wife or mother. Certainly they are in a position now to make the community a fit place in which to make a home and rear their children. A woman with a vote, that is worth just as much as a man's, is listened to and her wants are considered. Our State Federation has been able to do much more effectual work in its departments than ever before, especially along the lines of civic improvements, laws relating to public health and morals, etc. I hope the first big thing we shall be able to do will be making Nevada 'dry.' "

Signed, DELPHINE SQUIRES,

Las Vegas, Nevada, February 7, 1916. President, Nevada S. F. W. C.

"The woman's vote in Montana is so new they have not yet had the opportunity to help laws but I believe they will at the next session of the Legislature."

Signed, E. L. HOUSTON,

Bozema, Montana, March 1, 1916. President, Montana S. F. W. C.

"The vote has helped to make the work of the Federated Clubs more effectual."

Signed, J. M. MILLER,

Council Grove, Kansas, February 28, 1916. President, Kansas S. F. W. C.

"The women of Illinois realize their responsibility and are earnestly trying to better conditions. With women's natural instinct for house-cleaning we are by means of the ballot, improving local conditions at a tremendous rate and are letting daylight into the dark corners of vice and crime."

Signed, MAE A. ZIMMERMAN,

Chicago, Ill., March 1, 1916. President, Illinois S. F. W. C.

"The woman's vote is a power for good. They have corrected many mistakes."

Signed, E. C. CORFMAN,

Provo, Utah, March 3, 1916. President, Utah S. F. W. C.

"Suffrage decidedly has not interfered with the work of women as home makers. This ancient idea of Anti-Suffragists is a joke in Idaho. The vote has helped our Federation particularly in legislative and civic work. Some of the laws we have been instrumental in getting through are: "Law providing Commissions to investigate questions of Wages, Hours, Conditions of Living, etc., for Women and Children. Injunction and Abatement Law, Child Labor Law and Juvenile Delinquency Law."

Signed, J. P. VOLLMER,

Lewiston, Idaho, February 28, 1916. President, Idaho S. F. W. C.

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

The National Grange in Favour of Votes for Women

By Alice Pierson

The following sweeping endorsement was passed at the Convention held in Oakland, California, November, 1915:

Resolved:

1. That the National Grange reaffirm its unqualified endorsement of woman suffrage and urge all state granges to take similar action.
2. That the National Grange endorse and support the movement to secure universal suffrage by amendment of the Federal Constitution.
3. That the Legislative Committee be instructed and empowered to take charge of the campaign work for woman suffrage on behalf of the National Grange, this Committee to make every effort to co-operate with all other bodies working for the same end.

The Following is a Quotation from The National Grange Monthly, October, 1915, Published by Authority of The National Grange Patrons of Husbandry

"It is not the present purpose to discuss the question nor to advance arguments in behalf of equal suffrage: The merits of the case are readily apparent. But the *National Grange Monthly* deems it fitting that everybody shall understand exactly the Grange position on the suffrage question, because that position has been squarely and unqualifiedly taken and there should be no misunderstanding about it. At the Wilmington session of the National Grange one year ago this resolution was adopted without one dissenting vote: '*Resolved*: That the National Grange declares emphatically and unqualifiedly in favor of woman suffrage.'

"Upon that vote the Grange is recorded and no loyal Patron can present, or even intimate, any other position for this fraternity. Its own method of organization a half-century ago, and its continuous administration ever since, its declarations over and over again and all the influence of the organization in every direction—all these are consistently back of the Wilmington declaration, in making the Grange position plain. It is therefore entirely proper, upon any occasion, to

quote the Grange upon the suffrage question and array its vast prestige and power in behalf of this great cause, which is so soon, in so many States, to go to the polls for decision."

The Committee Statement at the Oakland Convention, in November, 1915, was as follows:

"On behalf of the National Grange your committee views with keen satisfaction the present encouraging position of the woman suffrage movement. We are proud of the fact that the Grange was the first great body in this nation to adopt woman suffrage, and to safeguard it by providing for the equality of women with men in the exercise of all rights, privileges and governing powers in its organic laws. Thus, the Grange, having, both by precept and example, been the pioneer in this 'New Freedom,' it is eminently fitting it should take a foremost stand in the movement to give to all women their right to suffrage."

OPINIONS OF PROMINENT PATRONS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES

Testimony of Worthy Masters in Equal Suffrage States

P. B. KEGLEY, State Master, Washington

(Woman Suffrage Granted 1910)

We of the West, are proud of the record our women have made in the use of the ballot. It is no longer an experiment. It has been thoroughly tried out. There is nothing to fear. The woman voter has proved to be the most safe and sane of voters, and we hope the men of the Grange, who know this will see to it that woman suffrage is carried to speedy victory in every Grange State. In this, as in all great measures of general betterment, the grange should lead the way.

THOMAS E. GUNSON, State Master, Wyoming

(Woman Suffrage Granted 1869)

I would advise that Connecticut and all the East follow the example of Wyoming and give to their women the vote.

MRS. BOND, Lecturer of Oregon State Grange

(Woman Suffrage Granted 1912)

In telling of the special study of child welfare and the good work done in home economics, at the Oakland Convention said: "All these things have happened in Oregon since women have been given the ballot!"

A. P. REARDON, National Chaplain and State Master of Oregon

(Woman Suffrage Granted 1912)

The women of Kansas are a power in forcing all parties to put up their best men; no man whose record is shady can get a nomination; polling places are cleaner; rowdyism and vice are prohibited, and suffrage is now receiving the support of the better element which first opposed it. The Grange is distinctly the home organization. In America, husband and wife are one. Their hearts are absorbed in the welfare of their children. The nation as it stands is but a home on a larger scale. Therefore husband and wife should share an equal responsibility for governmental affairs. For community progress, man has no greater duty in these directions than has woman.

O. E. YOUNG, Master of State Grange of Montana

(Woman Suffrage Granted 1914)

At the last election, women were given the right of suffrage. At the coming election next year the abolishment of the sale of intoxicating liquors will be submitted to the people with a strong probability of a favorable vote. After 1919, when the proposed amendment goes into effect, the State will become dry.

H. HARLAND, State Master of Idaho

(Woman Suffrage Granted 1896)

To the women of Idaho must the larger share of credit be given for making our State dry and it will be the same women, backed up by some of the mere men folks, who will see to it that Prohibition does prohibit.

Testimony from Other Eminent Patrons of Husbandry

CHARLES M. GARDNER, High Priest, Demeter

I stand absolutely and unqualifiedly in favour of equal suffrage for women, and desire that any influence I may have shall count in this direction. With all the helpfulness which Woman has exerted for years in meeting the great problems of life, there is no reason why we should not have her assistance in facing the serious problems of government. To neglect longer doing this, is depriving ourselves and the nation of a great available source of strength. This is exactly in line with the established Grange position of half a century, which has been more than a matter of precept, for the organization in actual practice from its very beginning granted woman equal participation in all its administration. I see no other consistent position for any Grange to take than to stand absolutely for equal suffrage, and it would be the cause for very great pleasure to me if every grange would thus consistently declare itself."

C. S. STETSON, State Master, Maine

The Maine Grange stands squarely pledged to equal suffrage for women. The arguments for this reform have been presented so many times and are so conclusive, that it seems almost unnecessary to go into the matter at this time. Thinking people have arrived at the place where they can see no valid reason against submitting such an amendment to the people. Legislatures who will allow political or personal bias to influence them in their decision and who will not represent their constituency by listening to this insistent call are unworthy servants of the people. This injustice to women has been tolerated too long. In arriving at a decision we ask our people to remember that some woman went down into the valley of the shadow of death that each one of us might live; that woman watched over and guided our footsteps from infancy to manhood; that she had more to do in forming our characters and preparing us to meet successfully the responsibilities of life than did any other person. And are not these people, citizens of our State in the broadest sense of the term, entitled to all the rights and privileges of citizenship?

J. D. REAM, State Master, Nebraska

The Nebraska State Grange is squarely on record in favor of woman suffrage and we will be disappointed if the Grange is not an important factor in the 1916 campaign for equal suffrage.

GEORGE W. DIXON, State Master, South Dakota

We recognize the statewide prohibition movement and aid it and the woman suffrage movement in every possible way.

A little over thirty years ago when the question of organizing a Grange in Connecticut was first agitated, according to the words of the Worthy Past Master Patterson of Connecticut, there was much opposition, and it was emphatically said that the farmers did not want such an organization. Today, the thousands of members in the Grange show how much the farmer needed and wanted it, when he understood what it offered. Other States have had a similar experience, not only with the Grange, but also with woman suffrage. Thousands of men who opposed votes for women before equal suffrage was granted are now heartily in favor of it. Its value cannot be known until it is tried; but where it has been tried, it is overwhelmingly endorsed.

Facts and Dates to Remember

The Extent of Equal Suffrage All Over the World

By FRANCES MAULE BJÖRKMAN

FULL SUFFRAGE EXTENDED TO WOMEN

Place	Date
BRITISH EMPIRE:	
Australian Federation	1902
New Zealand	1893
Isle of Man [1]	1881
SCANDINAVIA:	
Finland	1906
Norway [2]	1907
Iceland [3]	1913

Place	Date
UNITED STATES:	
Alaska	1913
Arizona	1912
California	1911
Colorado	1893
Idaho	1896
Kansas	1912
Oregon	1912
Utah	1896
Washington	1910
Wyoming	1869

MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE EXTENDED TO WOMEN

BRITISH EMPIRE: [4]		
Canada [5]	Alberta	1888
	British Columbia	1888
	Manitoba	1888
	New Brunswick	1886
	Nova Scotia	1887
	Ontario	1884
	Prince Ed. Island	1888
	Quebec	1892
	Saskatchewan	1888

BRITISH EMPIRE:		
Great Britain [6]	England	1869
	Ireland	1898
	Scotland	1881
	Wales	1869
SCANDINAVIA:		
Denmark [7]		1908
Sweden [8]		1862
UNITED STATES:		
Illinois		1913

SCHOOL SUFFRAGE EXTENDED TO WOMEN IN U. S.

Place	Date
Connecticut	1893
Delaware	1898
Kentucky	1838
Massachusetts	1879
Michigan	1875
Minnesota	1875
Mississippi	1880
Montana	1887
Nebraska	1883
New Hampshire	1878

Place	Date
New Jersey	1887
New Mexico	1910
New York	1880
North Dakota	1887
Ohio	1894
Oklahoma	1890
South Dakota	1887
Vermont	1880
Wisconsin	1900

(For notes see reverse side)

Suffrage on Taxation or Bonding Propositions Extended to Women in U. S.

Place	Date
Louisiana	1898
Michigan	1908
Montana	1887
Iowa	1894
New York	1901

OTHER FORMS OF SUFFRAGE

In certain districts of Austria, Germany, Hungary and Russia women who own property are permitted to cast their votes on various communal matters, either by proxy or in their own persons. In Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Roumania and Switzerland, women have no political rights whatever, but are permitted to vote for certain state boards—educational, philanthropic, correctional or industrial.

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[1] In 1881 the right to vote for the independent Manx Parliament was granted to women property-owners; and in 1892 extended to women who pay rent or taxes.

[2] The Municipal vote was extended to tax-paying women in Norway in 1901. In 1907, the Parliamentary vote also was granted to tax-paying women. In 1910 the tax-paying qualification was removed from the municipal franchise and in 1913, from the Parliamentary franchise, so that now all Norwegian women have full suffrage.

[3] Only women over forty years of age have the full Parliamentary vote, but tax-paying women over twenty-five years have the municipal franchise.

[4] In scattered British possessions all over the world women have municipal franchise rights. In the cities of Belize in Honduras; Bombay and Baroda in India; and Rangoon in Burmah, they share the limited political rights possessed by the men.

[5] Only tax-paying widows and spinsters have the municipal vote in all the provinces mentioned but Nova Scotia, where married women are included if their husbands are not voters. On New Year's Day, 1914, the municipal vote was extended to married tax-paying women in the City of Toronto, Province of Ontario.

[6] Women have the municipal vote on the same terms as men, but the male franchise is limited by a variety of restrictions.

[7] Tax-paying women and the wives of men who pay taxes alone have the municipal franchise.

[8] Municipal suffrage was granted tax-paying widows and spinsters in 1862, and in 1900 extended to all women.

[9] In 1913, the State Legislature of Illinois passed a law extending to women all the franchise rights within the power of the legislature to bestow which included all the offices not created by the State Constitution. These are: Presidential Electors, Members of State Board of Equalization, Clerk of Appellate Court, County Surveyor, Members of Board of Assessors, Members of Board of Review, Sanitary District Trustees, all officers of cities, villages and towns, except police magistrates, all questions submitted to electors of political divisions of the State.

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Eminent People Declare For Equal Suffrage

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.—I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women.

DR. HARVEY W. WILEY.—If woman suffrage were not desirable for any other reason, it would be worth while merely because it would ensure better pure-food legislation.

JANE ADDAMS.—City housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.—Everything in the movement to give women the suffrage appeals to my reverence and sense of justice.

TOM L. JOHNSON.—A truly enlightened and democratic form of government would, of course, recognize the equal rights of women.

M. CAREY THOMAS, President of Bryn Mawr College.—It is only necessary for generous and unprejudiced women to realize the present economic independence of millions of women workers for woman suffrage to seem to them inevitable.

MRS. FLORENCE KELLY.—Until women are enabled to perform their full duty in the selection of officials who enforce laws, their efforts to persuade legislators must remain in a large degree fruitless.

BEN B. LINDSEY.—Outside the corrupt and self-seeking, the vile and venal, the man cannot be found in Colorado who would do away with equal suffrage.

FRANCIS E. CLARK, President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor.—I have seen the operation of woman suffrage in New Zealand and other parts of the world, and my belief in it has been strengthened.

LINCOLN STEFFENS.—All democrats believe in woman suffrage, and whoever does not believe in it is not a democrat.

ALICE FREEMAN PALMER.—The higher duties of women will be assisted, not hindered, by intelligent discipline in the others.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.—I believe in votes for women just as I believe in votes for men, and for the same reasons.

MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH.—All the evils that affect the home are largely dependent upon politics. Women should have the power to deal with these.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.—It is the right of woman to have the ballot; it is the duty of man to give it; and we all need woman's help as we try to solve the many and terrible problems set before us.

1914 Ed.

JOHN MITCHELL.—It's a sure thing that any adult who is amenable to the laws should have a voice in the making of the laws.

JULIA WARD HOWE.—The claim of woman to an equal opportunity with man was seen to be just when Plato so stated it, in terms which the subtlest of his hearers could not gainsay.

REV. CHARLES AKED.—Nothing since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the political emancipation of women.

MARY E. WOOLLEY, President of Mt. Holyoke College.—It seems almost inexplicable that changes, surely as radical as giving women the vote, should be accepted as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance.

BRAND WHITLOCK.—I believe that women should vote because they are women, just as I believe that men should vote because they are men.

DAVID STARR JORDAN, President of Stanford University.—Equal suffrage would tend to broaden the minds of women and to increase their sense of personal responsibility.

SOPHONISBA BRECKENRIDGE, of the University of Chicago.—A woman has not the power she needs as a housekeeper unless the officials of the city are as much responsible to her as the domestic servants she selects.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS.—I am convinced that for the solution of our social problems we need all the people—women as well as men.

JULIA LATHROP.—Woman suffrage, instead of being incompatible with child-welfare, leads toward it, and is, indeed, the next great service to be rendered for the welfare of the home.

THOMAS EDISON.—Woman should certainly have the vote. It is only right, and it is expedient, too.

NORMAN HAPGOOD.—The wisdom of having women vote has passed beyond the stage of reasoning on general principles to the stage of practical demonstration.

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14

More Eminent People Declare for Equal Suffrage

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, President of the National Consumers' League. —Are women less concerned than men in having clean streets, decent sewers, untainted milk, good schools, etc.? Yet we cannot have to do with any of these things without taking part in politics.

MARK TWAIN.—If women had the ballot, they would drive corruption out. I should like to see the ballot in the hands of every woman.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.—Woman must be enfranchised. There are no objections to this, except such as would equally hold against the theory of republican government.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.—As soon as we get the new view of government—that of service—incorporated into our minds, it will do much to alter the objection to giving women the ballot.

PROFESSOR W. I. THOMAS, of the University of Chicago.—The stock objections to the suffrage of women are mainly of a trivial and sentimental nature, and have all been disposed of by the women themselves and by the experiences of countries where women vote.

EDWIN MARKHAM.—We need the help of women. I am a very ardent woman suffragist.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.—If prayer and womanly influence are doing so much for God by indirect influence, how shall it be when that electric force is brought to bear through the battery of the ballot-box?

RABBI CHARLES FLEISCHER.—We are not a democracy as long as woman does not take her place in full equality before the law with man.

FREDERICK C. HOWE.—We invite women back to municipal affairs as the chief corrective of the evils which underlie most of our municipal problems.

GOVERNOR HIRAM JOHNSON, of California—I stand for votes for women.

GEORGE W. CABLE.—I have never seen an argument against woman suffrage that was not flimsy.

WILLIAM MARION REEDY, Editor of the St. Louis Mirror.—"Votes for Women" is a slogan that must win.

1914 Ed.

WINSTON CHURCHILL.—The women have always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women.

SAMUEL MILTON JONES, late "Golden Rule Mayor" of Toledo.—As the perfect family cannot be produced except by the equal co-operation of the father and mother, so no scheme of government will ever be just that does not build upon this principle.

JOHN V. JOHNSON, late Governor of Minnesota.—There can be little room for argument that the women of the United States, with their broad culture and strong sympathies, are equally entitled to every suffrage that the men of the country enjoy.

MRS. FREDERICK NATHAN, of the Consumers' League.—In the States where women vote there is far better enforcement of the laws that protect working girls.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.—The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.—It seems to me almost an axiom that every taxpayer ought to have a voice in the expenditure of the money paid.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.—My immediate reason for favoring the enfranchisement of women is that the most serious problems of the present day are industrial, and our whole industrial system is affected by the employment of women and children.

EDWARD T. DEVINE, General Secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society.—Who can doubt that all the unsolved problems of our common life will yield their solutions more certainly and more quickly when woman's experience, her insight, her traditions, and her resources are brought to bear directly upon them?

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GAINS IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Eighty years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden, and in a few other places in the old world.

TIME	PLACE	KIND OF SUFFRAGE
1838	Kentucky	School suffrage to widows with children of school age.
1850	Ontario	School suffrage, women married and single.
1861	Kansas	School suffrage.
1867	New South Wales	Municipal suffrage.
1869	England	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
	Victoria	Municipal suffrage, married and single women.
	Wyoming	Full suffrage.
1871	West Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1875	Michigan	School suffrage.
	Minnesota	" "
1876	Colorado	" "
1877	New Zealand	" "
1878	New Hampshire	" "
	Oregon	" "
1879	Massachusetts	" "
1880	New York	" "
	Vermont	" "
	South Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1881	Scotland	Municipal suffrage to the single women and widows.
	Isle of Man	Parliamentary suffrage.
1883	Nebraska	School suffrage.
1884	Ontario	Municipal suffrage.
	Tasmania	" "
1886	New Zealand	" "
	New Brunswick	" "
1887	Kansas	" "
	Nova Scotia	" "
	Manitoba	" "
	North Dakota	School suffrage.
	South Dakota	" "
	Montana	" "
	Arizona	" "
	New Jersey	" "
	Montana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1888	England	County suffrage.
	British Columbia	Municipal suffrage.
	Northwest Territory	" "
1889	Scotland	County suffrage.
	Province of Quebec	Municipal suffrage. Single women and widows.
1891	Illinois	School suffrage.
1893	Connecticut	" "
	Colorado	Full suffrage.
	New Zealand	" "

TIME	PLACE	KIND OF SUFFFAGE
1894	Ohio	School suffrage.
	Iowa	Bond suffrage.
	England	Parish and district suffrage. Married and single women.
1895	South Australia	Full State suffrage.
1896	Utah	Full suffrage.
	Idaho	" "
1898	Ireland	All offices except members of Parliament.
	Minnesota	Library trustees.
	Delaware	School suffrage to tax-paying women.
	France	Women engaged in commerce can vote for Judges of the
	Louisiana	Tax-paying suffrage. [Tribunal of Commerce.
1900	Wisconsin	School suffrage.
	West Australia	Full State suffrage.
1901	New York	Tax-paying suffrage. Local taxation in all towns and villages
	Norway	Municipal suffrage. [of the state.
1902	Australia	Full suffrage.
	New South Wales	Full State suffrage.
1903	Kansas	Bond suffrage.
	Tasmania	Full State suffrage.
1905	Queensland	" " "
1906	Finland	Full suffrage. Eligible to all offices.
1907	Norway	Full Parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already
	Sweden	Eligible to municipal offices. [had municipal suffrage.
	Denmark	Can vote for members of boards of public charities, and serve on such boards.
	England	Eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town coun-
	Oklahoma	New State continued school suffrage for women. [cillors.
1908	Michigan	Taxpayers to vote on questions of local taxation and granting of franchises.
	Denmark	Women who are taxpayers, or wives of taxpayers, a vote for all officers except members of Parliament.
	Victoria	Full state suffrage.
1909	Belgium	Can vote for members of the Counseils des Prudhommes, [and also eligible.
	Province of Voralberg (Austrian Tyrol)	Single women and widows paying taxes were given a vote.
	Ginter Park, Va.	Tax-paying women, a vote on all municipal questions.
1910	Washington	Full suffrage.
	New Mexico	School suffrage.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage made universal. (Three-fifths of the women had had it before.)
	Bosnia	Parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of
	Diet of the Crown Province of Krain (Austria)	[real estate. Suffrage to the women of its capital city, Laibach.
	India. (Gaekwar of Baroda)	Women of his dominions vote in municipal elections.
	Würtemberg, Kingdom of	Women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the Chamber of Agriculture. Also eligible.
	New York	Women in all towns, villages and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.
1911	California	Full suffrage
	Honduras	Municipal suffrage in capital city, Belize
	Iceland	Parliamentary suffrage for women over 25 years

Election Frauds and Defects

Excerpt from "THE CRISIS"

DELIVERED AT THE

FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Atlantic City, September, 1916

By the President,

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

Election Frauds and Defects

TO establish a government of the people is to follow an ideal set by the growth of democratic principles but, after such government has been established by a constitution, it remains to be determined how the will of the people is to be recorded, and each State has enacted an election law to provide for registration and for taking the vote. Those laws are so defective as to give unquestioned advantage to dishonesty and corruption in most elections upon referendum questions. Given a group determined to prevent women from getting the vote, a group provided with money and knowing no scruple, and the inadequacy of the law in many States offers a positive guarantee at the outset of a campaign that the amendment will be lost.

If the suffrage amendments are defeated by illegal practices, why not demand redress, asks the novice in suffrage campaigns. Ah, there's the rub. In 25 States, no provision has been made by the election law for any form of contest or recount on a referendum. Political corrupters may, in these States, bribe voters, colonize voters and repeat them to their hearts' content and redress of any kind is practically impossible. If clear evidence of fraud could be produced, a case might be brought to the courts and the guilty parties might be punished but the election would stand. In New York, in 1915, the question was submitted to the voters as to whether there should be a constitutional convention. The convention was ordered by a majority of over 1,300. It was estimated that about 800 fraudulent votes were cast. Leading lawyers discussed the question of effect upon the election and the general opinion was that, even though the entire majority and more was found to be fraudulent, the election could not be set aside. The convention was held.

In 20 States, contests on referenda seem possible under the law but in practically every one, the contest means a resort to the courts and in only 8 of these is reference made to a recount. The law is vague and incomplete in nearly all of these States. In some of these, including Michigan, where the suffrage amendment is declared to have

been counted out, application for a recount must be made in each voting precinct. To have secured redress in Michigan, provided the fraud was widespread, as I understand it was, it would have been necessary to have secured definite evidence of fraud in a probable 1,000 precincts and to have instituted as many cases.

In some States, the Courts decide what the redress shall be, and in these no assurance is given by the law that such redress would include a correction of the returns. In at least 7, the applicants must pay all costs if they fail to prove their case.

The penalties for bribery range from $5 to $2,000 and from 30 days to 10 years but only one State (Ohio) provides in terms for punishment of bribery as a part of the penalty in an election contest. Just as proof of bribery does not throw out the person's vote, so the other way about, the throwing out of the purchased votes in contest cases does not bring with it automatically, punishment of the purchased voter. If we may judge from this omission from the contest provisions these bribery cases would be separate actions. Twenty-one States in clear terms disfranchise (or give the Legislature power to disfranchise) bribers and bribed but few make provision for the method of actually enforcing the law and upon inquiry the Secretary of State of many of these States reported that so far as he knew, no man had ever been disfranchised for this offense. This was true of States which have been notorious for political corruption.

With a vague, uncertain law to define his punishment in most States and no law at all in 25 States, as a preliminary security, corrupt opponents of a woman suffrage amendment find many additional aids to their nefarious acts. A briber must make sure that the bribed carries out his part of the contract. Whenever it is easy to check up the results of the bribe, corruption may reign supreme and with little risk of being found out. A study of some of the recent suffrage votes results in significant food for reflection. In Wisconsin, the suffrage ballot was separate and pink. It was easy to teach the most illiterate how to vote "No" and to check up returns with considerable accuracy. In New York, there were three ballots. The official ballot had emblems which easily distinguished it. The other two were exactly alike in shape, size and color and each contained three propositions, those which came from the constitutional convention and the other those which came from the Legislature. The orders went forth to vote down the Constitutional provisions and it was done by a ma-

jority of 482,000 or nearly 300,000 more than the majority against woman suffrage. On the ballot containing the suffrage amendment, which was No. 1, there was proposition No. 3 which all the political parties wanted carried. It could easily be found by all illiterate as it contained more lines of printing, yet so difficult was it to teach ignorant men to vote "No" on suffrage and "Yes" on No. 3 that, despite the fact that orders had gone forth to all the State that No. 3 was to be carried, it barely squeezed through.

In Pennsylvania there are no emblems to distinguish the tickets and on the large ballot the suffrage amendment would have been difficult to find by an untutored voter. In consequence as I believe, Pennsylvania polled the largest proportional vote for the amendment of any Eastern State. In Massachusetts the ballot was small and the suffrage amendment could be easily picked out by a bribed illiterate. In Iowa the suffrage ballot was separate and yellow while the main ballots were white. In consequence there were 35,000 more votes cast on the suffrage proposition than for the nomination of governor although the contest was an excited one.

The significance of this fact becomes the more pronounced when comparisons with other elections are made. In 1908, 494,770 citizens cast their votes in that State for President, but 24,117 men who went to the polls to vote for President did not vote upon the choice of next Governor. In 1912, 31,150 men who voted for President in that State did not take the trouble to vote for Governor. That amendments receive so much smaller vote than the head of a ticket as to make it practically impossible to amend a constitution which requires a majority of all the votes cast at the election is well known. Yet the phenomenal result of 35,000 more votes than were received by the head of the ticket is recorded in Iowa. The influence which produced this remarkable outcome was not normal and, I am confident, it was not honest.

In North Dakota the regular ballot was long and complicated and the suffrage ballot separate and small. It was easy to teach the dullest illiterate how to vote "No." It might be said that it would be equally easy to teach him to vote "Yes." True, but suffragists never bribe. Both the briber and the illiterate are allies of the antis.

A referendum on a non-partisan issue has none of the protection now accorded a party question.

The election boards are bi-partisan and each party has its own

machinery, not only of election officials but watchers and challengers, to see that the opposing party commits no fraud. The watchfulness of this party machinery, plus an increasingly vigilant public opinion, has corrected many of the election frauds which were once common and many elections are probably free from all the baser forms of corruption.

When a question on referendum is sincerely espoused by both the dominant parties it has the advantage of the watchfulness of both party machines and is doubly safeguarded from fraud. But when such a question has been espoused by no dominant party it is utterly at the mercy of the worst forms of corruption. The election officers may even agree to wink at fraud even when plainly committed, since it is no affair of theirs. Or, they may even go further and join in the pleasing game of running in as many votes against such an amendment as possible. This has not infrequently been the unhappy experience of suffrage amendments in corrupt quarters.

Honest election officers, respecting "the will of the majority" as the sovereign of our nation, would protect honesty in elections, regardless of their own or their party's views, but unfortunately, that is not the way "Americanism" is upheld at the polls in many sections of our country.

Surely the method of taking the vote and of safeguarding the honesty of elections should be the most important and fundamental of all questions in a Republic. Such laws ought to be a preliminary to all other laws. Yet as a matter of fact the laxity and indefiniteness of the law and the utter inadequacy of provisions of enforcement are almost unbelievable. The contemplation of the actual facts gives a shock to one's respect for the lawmakers of our land.

With no one on the election board whose especial business it is to see that honesty is upheld, a suffrage amendment suffers further disaster through the fact that most States do not permit women, or even special men watchers, to stand guard over our question.

When it is remembered that immigrants may be naturalized after a residence of five years; that, when naturalized they automatically become voters by all our State constitutions; that in nine States, immigrant voters are not even required to be citizens; that the right to vote is limited by an educational qualification in only 17 States and that nine of these are Southern, with special intent of disfranchising the negro; that there is an unscrupulous body ready to engage the

lowest elements of our population by fraudulent processes to oppose our amendment; that there is no authority on the election board whose business it is to see that we get a square deal; that the method of preparing the ballot is often an advantage to the enemy; that after the fraud is committed there is practically no duress provided by election laws, it ought to be clear to all that State constitutional amendments when unsponsored by the dominant political parties which control the election machinery, must run the gauntlet of exceedingly unfair conditions. When suffragists have been fortunate enough to overcome the obstacles imposed by the Constitution of their States, they immediately enter upon the task of surmounting the infinitely greater hazards of the election law.

We are justly proud of the 9 States which have been won on a referendum but these are not greater monuments to the triumphs of our cause than to the integrity of the elections of those States. I am certain that at least five other States should stand in that list. That they are not there is a reflection upon the inefficiency of the election machinery of those States.

No careful observer of the modern trend of human affairs, doubts that "governments of the people" are destined to replace the monarchies of the world. No "listener in" will fail to hear the rumble of the rising tide of democracy. No watcher of events will deny that the women of all civilized lands will be enfranchised as part of "the people" and no American possessed of the least political acumen doubts woman suffrage in our land as a coming fact.

Bear these items in mind and remember that three-fourths of the men of our Nation have received the vote as the direct or indirect gift of the Naturalization laws; that the federal government enfranchised the Indians, assuming its authority upon the ground that they are wards of the Nation; that the negroes were enfranchised by federal amendment; that the Constitutions of all States not in the list of the original thirteen, automatically extended the vote to men; that in the original colonial territory, the chief struggle occurred over the elimination of the land-owning qualification and that a total vote necessary to give the franchise to non-landowners, did not exceed 50 to 75 thousand in any State.

Let us not forget that the vote is the free will offering of our 48 States to any man who chooses to make this land his home. Let us not overlook the fact every five years of late an average of one million

immigrant voters are added to our electors' lists,—a million men mainly uneducated and all moulded by European traditions. To these men, women of American birth, education and ideals must appeal for their enfranchisement. No humiliation could be more complete; unless we add the sorrowful fact that leaders of Americanism in Congress and Legislatures are willing to drive their wives and daughters to beg the consent of these men to their political liberty.

Let us return to South Dakota a moment. During the Civil War there was an uprising of the Sioux Indians, who occupied a reservation covering a large part of the territory now comprising that State. These Indians instituted one of the cruelest and most savage massacres in our history. They committed atrocities upon women so indescribably indecent that they were never recorded in ordinary history.

By 1890, the numerous efforts to win them to civilization had culminated in an offer of land in severalty and if accepted in good faith, these land owners were promised the vote. Their blanketed representatives sat in the Republican Convention of that year and took their first lesson in American politics. In 1916, I am reliably informed that there are 5,000 Sioux voters in the State of South Dakota and that they may prove the balance of power in November to decide whether women who have borne the burdens of pioneer life shall be permitted the vote. How much the schools have taught them of human liberty within the last quarter of a century I do not know, but I opine that they will make congenial allies to the Antis.

To my mind, the considerations aroused by such facts entirely outweigh any philosophy which supports the theory of suffrage by "State rights."

Again, let us not forget that while our struggle continues in this supposedly democratic land, women have been enfranchised within a year in three provinces of Canada nearly equal in extent to all our territory East of the Mississippi; in Denmark and Iceland by majority vote of their respective Parliaments. All signs indicate the early enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain by the same process.

Why, then, should American women be content to beg the vote on bended knee from man to man, when no American male voter has been compelled to pay this price for his vote and no woman of other countries is subjected to this humiliation? Shall a Republic be less generous with its womanhood than an Empire? Shall the government be less liberal with its daughters than with its sons?

The makers of the constitution foresaw the necessity of referring important questions of State to a more intelligent body than the masses of the people and so provided for the amendment of the Constitution by referendum to the Legislatures of the various States. Why should we hesitate to avail ourselves of the privileges thus created? We represent one land and one people. We have the same institutions, customs and ideals. It is the advocates of State rights who are championing National prohibition. The child labor law and the eight-hour law have been enacted by the co-operation of the same members of Congress. It will be a curious kind of logic that can uphold these measures as National and at the same time relegate woman suffrage to the States. Our cause has been caught in a snarl of constitutional obstructions and inadequate election laws. We have a right to appeal to our Congress to extricate our cause from this tangle. If there is any chivalry left, this is the time for it to come forward and do an act of simple justice.

In my judgment, the women of this land not only have the right to sit on the steps of Congress until it acts but it is their self-respecting duty to insist upon their enfranchisement by that route.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
171 Madison Avenue, New York City

JANE ADDAMS TESTIFIES

By Alice Stone Blackwell

Jane Addams makes a very practical argument for equal suffrage. She tells what she has herself seen of its workings in Illinois. She gave interesting particulars on this subject at a great meeting held on Sept. 17, 1914, by the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government.

"It is always a pleasure to me to speak on woman suffrage, because I think it will help to bring all the other things that I want," began Miss Addams; "but since Illinois gave women the ballot, I feel that my argument has a certain validity which it lacked before.

"Our friends, the antis—I understand you have some in Massachusetts; we have none now in Illinois—are accustomed to say, 'If women vote, so and so will happen.' This is hardly a fair argument now, because women are voting in so many parts of the world that we can answer, 'When women vote, so and so has not happened.' They say that there will be less interest in domesticity. This is easily answered by Australia, which has the highest birthrate of any country peopled by the English race. They say that mothers will neglect their children. This is conclusively answered by New Zealand. Women have had full suffrage there since 1893, and New Zealand has the lowest infant death-rate in the world.

"But it is pleasanter to speak out of our own experience. Chicago is the largest city in the world where women vote, and we have had an opportunity of trying out the advantages and disadvantages.

"Several gratifying things happened as soon as women were given the vote. It made an enormous difference in the attitude of public officials. We had long sought to have policewomen appointed. Chicago has a large number of small parks which are used for dancing, as well as many dance halls. On dance evenings 86,000 young people in our city go to dances. We wanted some policewomen for municipal chaperons, to safeguard young girls against the dangers that beset them on such occasions. The city government would not listen to us, and the Chicago journals for years had a happy time making fun of our project. We got the right to vote on July 1, and on July 15 the Mayor appointed ten policewomen. Before Sept. 1 we had forty and we are promised that before long there shall be a hundred. We had done nothing; but the Mayor was coming up for re-election. We have found that, while it may not be necessary to vote, it is very important to be able to vote.

"Chicago had a very bad system of garbage disposal. The method was to haul it out to a poor quarter of the city, where the people are already uncomfortable and overcrowded, and there dump it and leave it to rot. Miss Mary McDowell, a settlement worker, had made a great effort to have this changed. She went to Europe and studied the best systems of garbage disposal; she had a striking set of slides made, illustrating the conditions, and got a chance to show them before the city fathers of Chicago. She lectured on the subject on all occasions. She tried her best for fifteen years. I tried, too, and I served as garbage inspector of my ward at one time; but, though we used our indirect influence to its utmost, nothing was done.

"Women were given the right to vote. Then the Mayor decided that we had an abominable system of garbage disposal. The city government appropriated $10,000 to improve it, and Miss McDowell, 'Chicago's great garbage expert,' as the Mayor called her, was appointed on the committee that was to spend

the money. She was just the same kind of expert that she had been before; but now the women were voters.

"We had been trying very hard to get a boys' court, for boys of seventeen and upwards—too old for the juvenile court, yet not full-grown men. A large part of the crime in America is committed by persons under twenty-five years of age. If we could take care of every boy until he is twenty-five, we could then turn him loose with little fear that he would go wrong. In our efforts to get this boys' court, we had had dinners and lunches at Hull House and elsewhere, and invited the city officials, and sometimes they came and sometimes they didn't. After we got the right to vote, the city officials gave the lunches and invited us. We now have a splendid boys' court, and a psychopathic clinic for these boys. All sorts of things are being done now which groups of women had long urged in vain, until women got a vote.

"We have some aldermen who are called 'gray wolves,' because they have been on the board long enough to be gray, and they come there for the same purpose that wolves make their raids. The worst two were from the First Ward. It is a ward where there are few voters, and where all sorts of bad things congregate. The aldermen gave favors of various kinds, and so kept their hold on the voters of the ward. Everybody said it was very bad; but it was hard to get anybody to stand as an opposition candidate, because people hate to be beaten. Women are more willing than men to go in and fail, if they can do any good by it. An admirable woman said she was willing to make the race. Some of the men objected. They said it would stir up trouble, that things went on in the First Ward which young people ought not to know, and they would get into the papers, etc., etc. But she went in against 'Bathhouse John.' Of course, she was defeated; she never expected to win; but the whole situation which had existed for years in that ward was

cleared up. The processes which went on there were held up to the light, and to public scorn. 'Bathhouse John' lost his prestige, and the party which he had nominally represented repudiated him.

"Those ignoble methods had spread to other wards. Now they will never be allowed again in Chicago. Letting in the light upon the First Ward was more than a local service. You cannot have a ward of which the whole city is ashamed without its affecting all the other wards.

"In several other wards, women ran against corrupt candidates when it was hard to find anybody who would stand up to be beaten. Before women got the ballot, one set of men said that women would shrink from holding office, and could not be induced to stand. Another set said that women would seek offices greedily and seize all they could get. In Chicago women stood for offices where they knew they could not get them, but where things needed to be cleared up."

Miss Addams might have added, and doubtless would have done so if she had had more time, that in seven wards of Chicago the women's votes actually turned the scale, and defeated seven objectionable candidates for aldermen.

Miss Addams has no fear of the foreign women's vote.

"I have lived for more than twenty-five years with foreign women," said Miss Addams, "and I assure you that they are just like American women. Among them there are bright women and stupid women, and all kinds; but they are all interested in the schools and the hospitals, and in things which are to benefit the city.

"I was a judge of election last spring in the precinct where Hull House stands. Almost all the voters were foreigners; and it was a great satisfaction to me to see what good judgment the women showed. There was one Irishwoman, very bright, who could not read, and therefore I was allowed to go into the booth

with her to help her mark her ballot. The first proposition was about bonds for a new hospital. The Irishwoman said, 'Is the same bunch to spend the money that run the hospital we have now? Then I'm against it.' The next proposition was about a subway; the next about a hospital for contagious cases, and so on. There were ten propositions to be acted upon. I was scrupulous not to influence her; yet on nine of them she voted, from her own common sense, just as the Municipal League and the City Club had recommended as the result of painstaking research. It reminded me of what John Morley said—that the elector is not expected to be an expert, but to express the mind of the common people, and that the most valuable voter is the person who knows most about social misery and the ways in which it can be mitigated. Any woman who gives her best mind to it can vote intelligently on such questions as are placed before the people. They are really simple questions. Of course, she must look into the matter. To do things intelligently is a sine qua non of successful living.

"Italian women came in to vote who knew much more about our city than their husbands, who were away digging railroads during six or nine months of the year. Foreign women often have good practical ideas. Italian women have come to Hull House in the past to ask for municipal wash houses. They said, quite truly, that the kitchen of a tiny tenement is no place to wash. Russian women have come to urge us to try to get covered markets. They said that even in the ghettos of Russia food was not allowed to be so exposed to dust and dirt as in Chicago."

The need of women's votes has been shown by the slowness with which some very necessary reforms have been brought about in Chicago, according to Miss Addams. She said:

"Our great poorhouse shelters hundreds of people, and for a long time it was run very stupidly. Husbands and wives were

separated. An old couple who had lived together for fifty years in honorable wedlock, and who had nothing left but their mutual affection and a bundle of common memories, were parted, and were not allowed to see each other except at long intervals, and then only through a grating, unless the guard was kind and opened the grating, and let them sit together for a while on a bench in the public hall. When we protested, we were told that it could not be helped, because 'the poorhouse was built that way'; and so human nature must be tortured and twisted to fit the building. Now, through the women's efforts, this has been changed. We have also a big hospital, very badly managed. With us all these institutions are under the county, not under the city. That is why women have wanted especially to vote for the county commissioners. Our right to do so is in dispute, but it has been decided for the present that we may."

Miss Addams then invited questions from the audience. Someone suggested that the strike troubles in Colorado had arisen because the Governor was "woman elected."

"I wish all the feeble Governors could be explained in that way!" said Miss Addams; and the audience shouted with laughter. "So many States have weak Governors that that argument will hardly hold. In Colorado the strike trouble is mainly an industrial situation. It has hardly yet begun to be a political situation."

"What effect has the women's vote had on the temperance question in Illinois?"

"The temperance people won out in almost every county," answered Miss Addams.

"Does the liquor interest oppose equal suffrage?"

"Yes, everywhere."

"Don't you think a woman can accomplish more without a vote, because then she is non-partisan? Does not a woman lose power when she joins a party?"

"I don't think it works out that way," answered Miss Addams. "A man belongs to a party, and to a church, but he acts as a citizen and as a Christian. He is not hampered by having a vote. A man in the Legislature once told Mrs. Stanley McCormick, as an argument against equal suffrage, that he found he could do a great deal more by his influence than he could by his vote. 'Ah!' said Mrs. McCormick, 'I am so glad you have not lost your influence!' "

"How would woman suffrage benefit Massachusetts?" was the final question.

"In the same ways in which it has benefited Illinois and other States," answered Miss Addams. "In the first place, it would be a much more democratic government. Then it would give women more power to bring about humanitarian ends. Humanitarian measures are now to the fore everywhere. One thing after another which used to be left to private individuals is being taken over by the State; so that, where they are excluded from suffrage, women today are more 'out of it' than any class since the Greek slaves."

Almost all the women who have won a nation-wide reputation for wisdom and goodness agree with Jane Addams in believing that equal suffrage will help to make the world better.

Published by the Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

E. L. GRIMES COMPANY, PRINTERS, 122 PEARL STREET, BOSTON.

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Results

Mrs. Howe's Census.

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, a short time before her death, sent a circular letter asking whether the results of equal suffrage were good or bad, to all the Episcopal clergymen, and to the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist and Baptist ministers, in the suffrage States; to all the Congregational Sunday school superintendents (the other denominations do not publish the names of the superintendents in their religious year-books), and to the editors of the newspapers. In all, 624 answers were received. Of these, 62 were opposed, 46 in doubt, and 516 in favor.

The replies from the Episcopal clergymen were favorable, more than two to one; those of the Baptist ministers, seven to one; those of the Congregational ministers, about eight to one; of the Methodists, more than ten to one; and of the Presbyterians, more than eleven to one.

Of the Sunday school superintendents, one was opposed and one in doubt; all the rest were favorable.

The editors were canvassed, in order to get the views of an intelligent class of laymen. They expressed themselves in favor, more than eight to one.

The ministers and editors are practically unanimous in saying that equal suffrage has not made women less good wives and mothers, but has rendered them more intelligent companions for their husbands and better able to instruct their children. Almost all are agreed that it has broadened women's minds and led them to take more interest in public questions. A large number say that it has helped to obtain liberal appropriations for school purposes and for humanitarian objects, and has made it harder for notoriously corrupt candidates to be nominated or elected; that equal suffrage does not lead to divorces, and

that women enjoy increased influence because of having the ballot. Most of the ministers emphatically deny that immoral women control the elections. Some say that the immoral women rarely vote; others say that they vote, but that they are overwhelmingly outnumbered by the good women.

The testimony is practically the same from all four States and from all parts of those States. These pastors have had a chance to know whereof they speak.

Rev. William Keiry, Monte Vista, Colo., resident more than 23 years: "The influence of woman with the ballot in her hand has been multiplied for good. In Colorado the almost universal voice is in woman's favor."

Rev. Frost Craft, Methodist Episcopal, Denver: "I have been in Denver nine years and have had every opportunity to observe the effects of equal suffrage. I never have heard a single complaint that it has made women less good wives and mothers. Woman's influence is far stronger with the ballot than without it. Practical politicians are obliged to take her opinion into account. The great majority of the women go to the polls quietly, cast their votes and return at once to their homes. Women show a greater tendency than men to scratch bad candidates. The vast majority of women who vote are women of good character. There is no likelihood whatever that woman suffrage will be repealed. The women who vote would not relinquish the privilege under any conditions, and the majority of men would vote against any such proposition."

Rev. Leon C. Hill, Presbyterian, Cheyenne, Wyo., former chaplain of the House of Representatives: "Women are more independent voters than the men. Equal suffrage has been beneficial to the State in every way."

Rev. Robert Robinson Adams, Methodist Episcopal, Pueblo, Colo.: "As the result of fifteen years' residence in Colorado, possibly with some prepossessions against woman suffrage due to a life spent in Philadelphia, I heartily endorse woman suffrage."

Rev. C. E. Helman, Methodist Episcopal, Shoshone, Idaho: "I was opposed to woman suffrage when I left Ohio. I have been in Idaho for fourteen years, and am convinced that it has been an excellent thing for Idaho. No righteous cause or good person fears woman suffrage."

Rev. Charles H. Powell, Episcopal, Rock Springs, Wyo.: "The fact that women vote in this State has helped to put politics on a higher level in many particulars."

Rev. M. Bramblet, Baptist, Moscow, Idaho: "Woman suffrage has been a great blessing to our State in every sense of the word. Women do not vote for bad candidates if they know it."

Rev. Frank L. Moore, Congregational, Cheyenne, Wyo.: "Equal suffrage has made it much easier for women to secure desired legislation. Woman's influence, of course, is greater with the ballot than it can be without it. She holds the balance of power and is not tied to party. Both parties must be careful in selecting their men, so that the women will not scratch the ticket. Election places are more neat and cleanly. The rapid elevation of society in every respect does not follow when the ballot is given to women, but the tide surely and steadily rises. It would be political suicide for any man or party to raise the question of repeal."

Rev. J. G. Cowden, Presbyterian, Caldwell, Idaho: "None but politicians of the baser sort would think of doing away with woman suffrage."

Rev. S. W. Griffin, Presbyterian, Littleton, Colo.: "The more I see of the results of woman suffrage the more I am convinced that the cleansing of politics demands that it should be nation wide."

Rev. Orrin W. Auman, Methodist Episcopal, Pueblo, Colo.: "In no case have I found a wife or mother who was less efficient in household duties because she was interested also in the public welfare and was privileged to cast her

ballot. Much good legislation has been accomplished in Colorado from the initiative of women since they have had the ballot. I have seen whole churches vote almost solidly for some great moral reform, and I have never seen the slightest indication of its having a tendency to lessen women's personal influence or make them coarse and masculine. There is no likelihood that woman suffrage will ever be repealed."

Rev. J. C. Andrews, Baptist, Salt Lake City: "Woman's influence for good is largely increased by the right to vote. Clubs have been organized by women to gain all the intelligence possible. The women are first to sustain the schools. Non-Mormon women are more independent than men in scratching bad candidates, and will vote for true men rather than party. In this city we have an American party, a party wholly non-Mormon. We have won the city elections three times in succession. The victory was a landslide. I wish every State in the Union would give suffrage to women. I believe it would be a power for good."

Rev. C. A. Quinn, Methodist Episcopal, Heyburn, Idaho: "I cannot see any evil of any sort connected with woman suffrage. It is a good thing, and I long to see the day when women will vote in every State of the Union."

Rev. G. M. Du Bois, Episcopal, Canyon City, Colo.: "I have known Colorado for 25 years. Equal suffrage has not demoralized women; on the contrary, it has greatly benefited them. Experience has shown that women do not divide on partisan issues as men do, but are governed by an instinctive choice of what is ideally desirable. Equal suffrage broadens women's minds and gives them an increased interest in public affairs. The feeling in Colorado, so far as I can report it, is of satisfaction with woman suffrage and a conviction that it has come to stay."

Such testimonies might be multiplied indefinitely

Team Work of California Women Voters

By Alice Park

A paper read before the International Woman Suffrage Congress at Budapest, Hungary, June, 1913.

California has facts to take the place of old theories, hopes, and prophecies.

California has proved:

That the vote is an instant educator of each person who holds it.

That women voters study causes.

That women learn quickly to join together to protect all women and girls.

There was one bill passed by the California Legislature in the spring of 1913 which went by the name of the woman's bill, although scores of bills were supported by women.

From all over the State came the demand of the women voters that the red light injunction and abatement bill be enacted. The bill became a

State law, the date of its operation being set for Aug. 1, 1913.

The bill, while pending in the Legislature, was opposed by all the allied vices, by owners and landlords of houses of prostitution and low dance halls, by liquor men, gamblers and dealers in sex slaves.

San Francisco is only one city in a State almost one thousand miles long. In a discussion of what is called "the white slave trade," San Francisco is the most conspicuous part of California. It has not only the vice district of a city of 400,000 people, but it is one of the Pacific seaports where girls from the Orient are landed, hidden, enslaved and sold.

The name "white slave traffic" is not a correct name. White, black, yellow, brown and copper-colored women are in demand. It is a sex slave trade, and has no limits of color, race, or country.

San Francisco carries on city regulation of prostitution and has a segregated district (May, 1913).

San Francisco fought the new legislation. It was carried by California as a whole.

The red light injunction and abatement law provides for a quick injunction against the owner of a house used for prostitution, a quick trial, and a quick abatement of the nuisance. The new law does not concern itself primarily with the arrest and punishment of the prostitute, nor even of the person who hires the house, but it calls the owner of such a house before the court. On proof and conviction, the house is closed for one year, thus destroying the rent and striking at the profits of owners of vice property. A segregated district is an impossibility.

The complaint may be filed by any citizen, the injunction served promptly, the trial follow without the old delay and postponement and disappearance of witnesses.

The house may be reopened only when the owner puts up a bond equal to the value of the property, such bond to be forfeited if the house is again occupied by prostitutes.

So far as one State can strike one blow at the cause of the world-wide social evil, California has aimed a blow at the cause,—the enormous money profits of vice districts.

This same bill failed of passage in the previous Legislature, having at that time the support of a minority of

All countries are stirred by proof of the world organization of those who deceive, steal, and sell girls and women.

All countries are stirred by the alarming statistics of the extent of general disease and the universal danger of infection.

But there is the greatest possible difference between possessing all this knowledge and no vote, and possessing it plus a vote.

There is the greatest possible difference between the days before women wake up, and the days when they are awake. The vote wakes women up, educates them, and leads them to join hands.

The team work of women is a great new power, good for women and good for the world.

Price per copy, 1c., postage extra; per 100, 75c., postpaid.

 Published by the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association and The Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston street, Boston, Mass.

A TRUE STORY—By Carrie Chapman Catt. This is the story of the little Chinese girl who was made a slave. It is reprinted from The Woman's Journal in response to hundreds of requests. Price, postpaid, 3 cents each, or 2 for 5 cents.

THE LAND OF COUNTERPANE—A Postcard. Reprinted from The Woman's Journal of February 8. Just the thing to send as an "entering wedge." Price, postpaid, 2 for 5 cents.

SUFFRAGE AND TEMPERANCE—By Alice Stone Blackwell. The demand for literature on suffrage and temperance has been overwhelming, and this four-page pamphlet will fill a real need. It is just the thing to use in debates and speeches. Price, postpaid, 2 cents each; per hundred, $1.08.

Order from MASSACHUSETTS WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, 585 Boylston street, Boston, Mass.

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

men legislators and men voters. In the spring of 1911 women were not voters, and only a small percentage of them knew of the introduction of the bill or of its failure.

In 1913, the bill passed the Legislature by a sweeping majority. The difference was due to votes for women. No one in California would dare deny this fact. In the Legislature men did all the voting, but they acted in response to a united demand of women voters. The women educated each other, and they carried on a great campaign of publicity.

A Judge Recalled

The recall of one corrupt judge in California was a more important event than would be at once apparent. It had long been the habit of judges to name low bail for men accused of sex crimes against women and girls, and the men promptly jumped their bail.

An offense against two young girls, and the naming of the usual low bail, aroused the voting women. They forced a recall election which not only removed this one judge, but compelled all the other judges to name suitable bail, and bring offenders to trial. In this recall election the women learned that an attack on one corrupt judge touched an intricate system of vice and corruption. The campaign was one more educator for women.

The age of consent was raised from 16 to 18 years, and the penalty for rape increased by the Legislature of 1913.

Minimum Wage Commission

California studied not only the social evil, but the causes of the social evil. The discovery was made again that economic causes lay at the root. The discovery was made again that girls and women were not paid a living wage for what is called "honest labor."

Hand in hand with the new red light injunction and abatement bill went a bill creating a minimum wage commission. It was wonderful that this was done at once, without preliminary committees to investigate and report in two years. California has a minimum wage commission with power to act.

All countries and States are stirred by the new publicity regarding commercialized vice, the business of creating and increasing vice, the heaped-up profits of vice districts.

The Test of Experiment

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

Lyman Beecher Stowe.

From Report of United States Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage

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

COLORADO

Governor Shafroth

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

U. S. Senator Thomas

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

Judge Ben B. Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court.

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

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

Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell, Prison Commissioner and for three terms State Supt. of Public Instruction.

"Instead of thinking less of their homes after they were granted the ballot, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into these close corporations something of the scientific spirit of the age. Chairs of domestic economy were established in the State Agricultural College and the State Normal School. Interest in the old-fashioned womanly arts has increased instead of diminishing."

SIGNED STATEMENT BY PROMINENT MEN.

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

CALIFORNIA

GOVERNOR HIRAM JOHNSON

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

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

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

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

U. S. SENATOR WORKS

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

JOHN FRANCIS NEYLAN
Chairman of the California State Board of Control

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

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

CHIEF OF POLICE SEBASTIAN OF LOS ANGELES

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

—*San Francisco Call*

WASHINGTON

GOVERNOR ERNEST LISTER

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

U. S. SENATOR MILES POINDEXTER

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

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

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

U. S. SENATOR WESLEY JONES

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

REV. CLARENCE TRUE WILSON

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

OREGON

The Right Reverend Charles Scadding
THE BISHOP OF OREGON

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

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

U. S. Senator Lane

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

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

U. S. Senator Chamberlain

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

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

WYOMING

Chief Justice Charles N. Potter

"I speak with absolute authority in regard to my own State and I say that the statement that woman suffrage destroys home life is absolutely false. It has always acted admirably in Wyoming, where women vote relatively in the same proportion as men. My wife and I voted side by side for 36 years, and she is just as womanly, just as ladylike as ever, and I am inclined to think a little more so.

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

Governor John M. Carey

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

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

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

U. S. Senator Clarence D. Clark

"We have had woman suffrage for forty years. One of the very first acts of the Legislative Assembly when Wyoming became a Territory was to pass that law. It worked with wonderfully good results while the territorial form of government lasted, and when Wyoming became a State was put into the Constitution. So far as I am informed, nobody who has the interest of the State at heart has ever desired or suggested a change."

U. S. Senator Warren

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

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

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

IDAHO

Governor T. M. Haines

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

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

U. S. Senator William E. Borah

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

U. S. Senator James H. Brady
(Former Governor)

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

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

UTAH

U. S. Senator George Sutherland

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

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

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

RT. REV. BISHOP FRANK SPAULDING

Bishop of the Espiscopal Church in Utah.

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

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

KANSAS

U. S. SENATOR BRISTOW

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

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

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

DR. S. J. CRUMBINE

Secretary of the Kansas Board of Health.

(*In a letter to the Woman's Journal*)

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

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

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

ILLINOIS

Governor Dunne

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

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

Jane Addams

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

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

ANTHONY CZARNECKI

Of the Board of Election Commissioners

(After Registration Day in Chicago)

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

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR O'HARA

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

Published by the
Mass. Woman Suffrage Ass'n
and the Woman's Journal
34 585 Boylston St., Boston

"The Ladies' Battle."

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Miss Molly Elliot Seawell has expanded into a small book her recent article in the Atlantic Monthly against woman suffrage. She asserts that, if women gain the ballot, they must forfeit "enormous property privileges," and that all sorts of disasters will follow. Her statements are unqualifiedly denied by the leading legal authorities of the enfranchised States.

Chief Justice Potter, of Wyoming, says:

"None of the consequences or complications mentioned by Miss Seawell have arisen in Wyoming, where women have had full suffrage since 1869. Married women have not only not been deprived of any property rights which they had before equal suffrage was adopted, but from time to time statutes have been passed extending the property rights of married women." (The Woman's Journal, Jan. 7, 1911.)

Judge Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court annotated a whole series of Miss Seawell's statements, writing against each the words, "Absolutely false." He added:

"It is hard to understand how anyone with a grain of intelligence could sign her name to such absurdities. The state-

ments are false in every detail, and our experience in Colorado proves that not one of them ever operated in actual practice as claimed." (The Woman's Journal, Oct. 8, 1910.)

Chief Justice Sullivan, of Idaho, says:

"It seems strange that a magazine with the standing of the Atlantic Monthly would give space to an article containing not only an utter misconception of the legal principles applicable to women who have the right of suffrage, but so many erroneous statements and misrepresentations of the historical facts of the real condition of woman suffrage where it is now in actual operation. I am unable to understand why an author would risk her reputation by making so many false statements. It seems to me that nothing but ignorance, prejudice and a wilful intention to misrepresent could have instigated such an article.

"The idea that every legal voter must be able to fight his way to the polls, and after he has done so possess the physical ability to enforce the effect of his ballot, is a proposition that would not stand the test in any civilized country. If this so-called basic principle were correct, it would disfranchise at least one-fourth of the male voters in the United States."

Of Miss Seawell's assertion that ruffians would undoubtedly prevent women by force from casting their ballots, Chief Justice Sullivan says:

"No such thing has ever occurred in any of the suffrage States. What would the good men at the polling place be doing while the ruffians were belaboring their mothers and wives, sisters and sweethearts, and preventing them from depositing their ballots? If anything like that had occurred, the rowdy who attempted it would never attempt such an act again.

"Miss Seawell's second so-called basic principle is that one voter cannot claim maintenance from another voter. Where in the common law or in any statute law in any of the States of this Union can she find such a principle? In some States, inhabitants of alms-houses are not permitted to vote; but that is not a case in point. She says the moment a married woman claimed the right to vote, she would be deprived of any claim to support from her husband. There are no such laws in any of the four suffrage States mentioned, and no such laws exist in any other State of this Union, nor is any such principle found in the common law.

"We have made an actual test of woman suffrage in this State for fourteen years, and there has not been a 'stupendous loss to women,' nor any loss whatever, but it has proven beneficial to the best interests of the State. And there is no doubt that the results would be just

as beneficial in the more thickly populated States of the Union.

"Paraphrasing Miss Seawell, I believe that the most important factors in the State are the wives and mothers who make of their sons and daughters good citizens to govern and protect the State, and woman suffrage is one of the greatest means to effect that end." (The Woman's Journal, Nov. 12, 1910.)

Miss Seawell worships the past and is blind to present-day problems. Denouncing certain suffragists who said that they wanted a vote in order to promote education and sanitation, Miss Seawell says:

"Neither sanitation nor popular education was known to the founders of the Republic; yet these founders added more to the forces of civilization than any group of sanitarians or educators that ever lived. Sanitation and education are already well attended to by men, and as large a share of the public income is devoted to them as the people will bear."

It is impossible, within a limited space, to take up one-tenth part of the flagrant errors of fact contained in this little volume. It is a book that may well make suffragists laugh and anti-suffragists blush.

STAND BY OUR PRESIDENT

and make our own glorious country a democracy---"for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their **own** Government."

"We shall, ourselves, observe with proud punctilio, the principles we profess to be fighting for."

President Wilson to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, June, 14, 1918:

"The full and sincere democratic reconstruction of the world for which we are striving, and which we are determined to bring about at any cost, will not have been completely or adequately attained until women are admitted to the suffrage, and only by that action can the nations of the world realize for the benefit of future generations the full ideal force of opinion or the full human forces of action."

WOODROW WILSON.

President Wilson to Senator John K. Shields of Tennessee, June 27, 1918:

"I do earnestly believe that our action on this amendment will have an important and immediate influence upon the whole atmosphere and morale of the nations engaged in the war and everyday I am coming to see how supremely important that side of the whole thing is."

WOODWROW WILSON.

Show that you are a true American.

SUPPORT THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N.
930 NICOLLET AVE.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

File copy

Woman Suffrage Gains at the Polls

Nine States have voted on woman suffrage more than once. In five, the final vote won. In four the later votes record the growth in favor.

	Year	Total Vote	Majority Against	Vote For
California	1896	247,454	1/2	110,355
	1911	246,487	won	125,037
Colorado	1877	20,665	2/3	6,612
	1893	65,249	won	35,798
Kansas	1867	28,927	5/7	9,070
	1912	334,443	won	175,246
Michigan	1874	176,034	1/2	40,077
	1912		VICTORY STOLEN	
	1913	433,620	1/5	168,738
Nebraska	1871	16,170	3/5	3,502
	1882	76,449	1/3	25,756
	1914	191,580	1/19	90,738
Ohio	1912	586,295	1/7	249,420
	1914	853,685	1/5	335,390
Oregon	1884	39,399	7/10	11,223
	1912	118,369	won	61,265
South Dakota.....	1890	68,474	1/3	22,792
	1898	42,681	1/14	19,698
	1914	91,124	1/9	39,605
Washington	1889	52,439	5/7	16,527
	1910	81,975	won	52,299

In 1915 in four Eastern States 190,000 more favorable votes were cast than the total of all previous votes against.

FOR MEN TO VOTE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE IS AN EDUCATION.

FOR WOMEN TO VOTE AT ALL WOULD BE AN EDUCATION.

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

Out of date?

"Woman Suffrage Co-Equal With Man Suffrage."

(Quoted from the Platform of Principles of the American Federation of Labor.)

State Federations that Have Endorsed Woman Suffrage;

California	Maine	Oklahoma
Connecticut	Massachusetts	Oregon
Colorado	Michigan	Pennsylvania
Iowa	Minnesota	Tennessee
Illinois	New Hampshire	Texas
Indiana	New York	Washington
Kansas	New Jersey	West Virginia
	Ohio	

"I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice.

"It is unfair that women should be governed by laws in the making of which they have no voice.

"MEN would feel that they were used badly if they did not have that right, and WOMEN naturally feel the same."

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

"I'm in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has endorsed the demand that woman be given the right to vote.

"I have always stood for the SQUARE DEAL, and that's the only square thing on the woman suffrage question, as I see it.

"I personally believe that it would be for the good of US ALL for woman to be enfranchised."

JOHN MITCHELL

"I would advise all the Workers of America to work for Woman Suffrage.

"My message to them is COURAGE.

"I never make a speech on any subject without bringing in Woman Suffrage."

KEIR HARDIE.

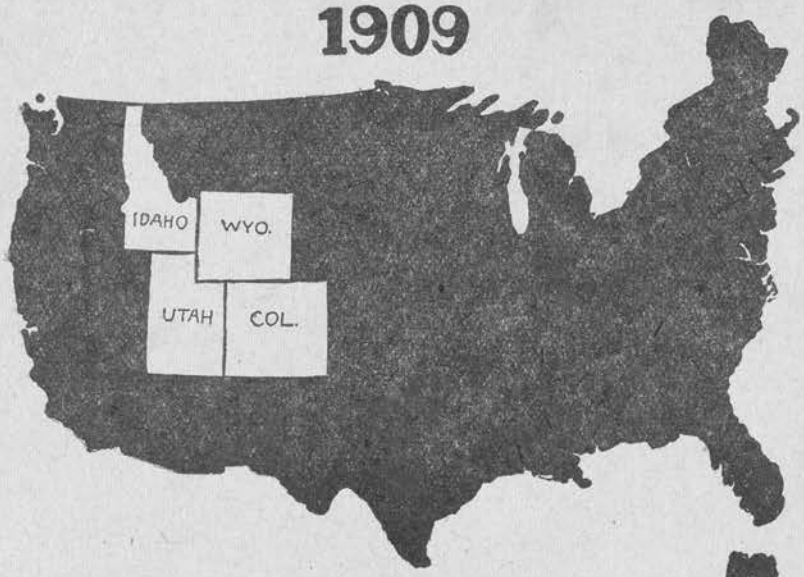
There are 300,000 Working Women in New York, alone. Will not a vote be worth as much to them as to working men?

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Headquarters: 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

SEEIN' IS BELIEVIN'—HAVE A LOOK!

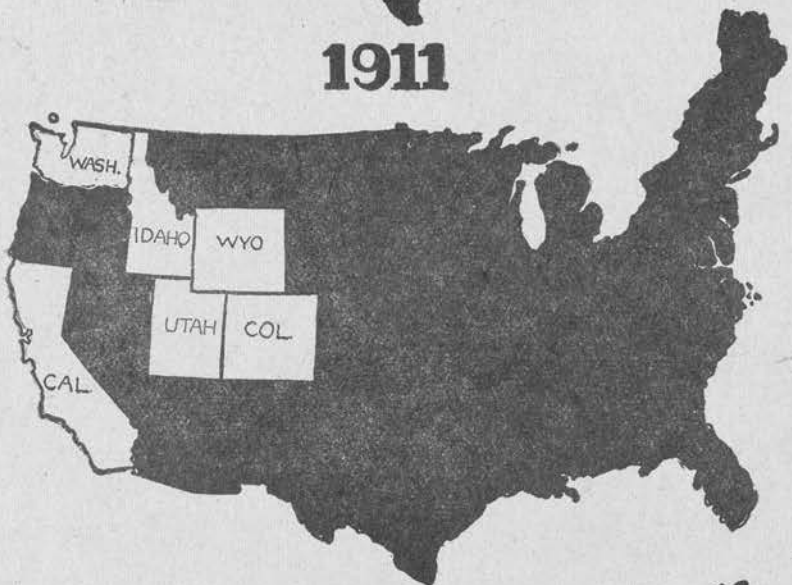
1909



1909

In 1909, four States, totalling exactly 17 votes in the Electoral College, represented the fruits of 61 years of agitation for woman suffrage.

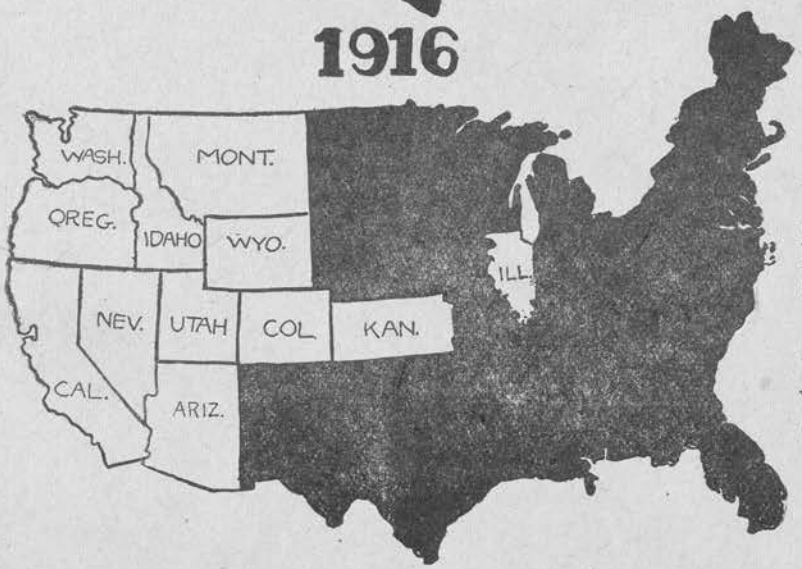
1911



1911

Washington gave the vote to women in 1910; California followed suit in 1911, raising the number of equal suffrage States to six that year and increasing their representation in the Electoral College to 37.

1916



1916

Last November the women in 12 States voted for President and decided how 91 electoral votes should be cast.

The press conceded very generally that the women's votes decided the election.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue **New York City**

Printed Feb., 1917