



Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

Copyright Notice:

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

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

Printed March, 1917.

Should American Women Be Enfranchised As a War Measure?

Read What Statesmen of Nations at War Say:

Premier Lloyd George of Great Britain, March 29th, 1917:

"Women's work in the war has been a vital contribution to our success. It would have been impossible to produce that overwhelming mass of ammunition at the Somme had it not been for the work of women. Are you going to fling them out without a voice in determining the new conditions? It would be an outrage. That is why the woman question has become very largely a war question."

Ex-Premier Asquith, March 28th, 1917:

"The House will not be unprepared to hear that I myself, and I believe many others, no longer regard this question (of woman suffrage) from the standpoint which we occupied before the war. I think some years ago I ventured to use the expression, 'Let the women work out their own salvation.' That is what they have done during this war. How could we have carried on the war without them?"

"What moves me still more is the problem of reconstruction after the war. Questions which will necessarily arise in regard to women's labor and women's functions—are questions in regard to which I for my part feel it impossible consistently with either justice or expediency to withhold from women the power and the right of making their voices distinctly heard."

Sir Wilfred Laurier, Ex-Premier of Canada, February, 1917:

"Today, as we see the glorious part that noble woman is taking in service and sacrifice for the highest and best in civilization, my own belief is that there is no reason why she should be denied the right of the ballot."

Premier Hearst of Ontario, Canada, February, 1917:

"Having taken our women into partnership with us in our tremendous undertaking, I ask, can we justly deny them a share in the government of the country, the right to have a say about the making of the laws they have been so heroically trying to defend? My answer is, I think not."

Premier Boselli of Italy, May 5th, 1917:

"As far as the woman vote for municipal elections is concerned, I do not think there can be either doubt or delay in giving it on the same conditions as it is given to men."

In February, 1917, Signor Sacchi, Italian Minister of Justice, presenting to the Italian Chamber a bill for the abrogation of every law by which, in the field of civil and commercial rights, the capacities of women are at present curtailed, called it: "An act of justice—of reparation almost—to which women have now more right than ever."

Said M. Pierre Etienne Flandin, Deputy of the Yonne, the reporter to the Chamber of Deputies, of the Municipal Suffrage Bill for French women:

"What French women have done to keep up the courage of the nation during the dark days cannot be measured in words. They have been the backbone of the national defense. They should have the right to vote, first of all, as an act of justice, and, secondly, as a move dictated by public interest."

Grand Duke Michael of Russia, March 18th, 1917:

"I urge upon all citizens of Russia to submit to the Provisional Government, until such time as the constituent assembly, on a basis of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage, shall express the will of the people."

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

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 untrammelled 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

"Efficiency Booklet Series"

THE
"BLUE BOOK"
SUFFRAGE
SCHOOL
COURSE

FOUNDED ON
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
—History, Arguments
and Results

January, 1917, Edition

By
Henrietta W. Livermore

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

The "Blue Book" Suffrage School Course

The most effective way of training a suffragist is through a Suffrage School in which several courses are offered covering the suffrage essentials. The Blue Book—Woman Suffrage: History, Arguments and Results—is a mine of information for the Suffragist. The following is a plan for a Suffrage School, covering four courses of six lessons each, thus permitting the School to comprise six afternoons for one week, or one afternoon for six weeks, with four classes each afternoon. ALL THE MATERIAL FOR THESE CLASSES IS FOUND IN THE BLUE BOOK (January, 1917, edition), and is referred to by page number.

Blue Book Suffrage School Course

COURSE I.

History of Woman Suffrage....6 lessons

COURSE II.

Results Where Women Vote...6 lessons

COURSE III.

Arguments for Woman Suffrage 6 lessons

COURSE IV.

Objections Answered.....6 lessons

	COURSE I	COURSE II	COURSE III	COURSE IV
	HISTORY	RESULTS	ARGUMENTS FOR	OBJECTIONS ANSWERED
1st Day	Earliest Demands	General Endorsements	Governmental Principles	Democracy
2nd Day	Women's Rights	Scandinavia and Results	Women's Interests	Woman's Nature
3rd Day	National Suffrage	British Empire and Results	Home Protection	Home Destroyers
4th Day	First Four Equal Suffrage States	Results in First Four Equal Suffrage States	Better Electorate	The Opposition
5th Day	Landslide Suffrage States	Results in Landslide States	Good Results	False Results
6th Day	Suffrage Map	GENERAL RESULTS of Woman Suffrage	Additional Arguments	The Real Enemy

COURSE I

HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

1. *a.* Early Movement, pp. 1-7, 14-15.
b. Anti-slavery Movement, pp. 7-8, 16-17.
2. *a.* Seneca Falls Convention, pp. 8-9.
b. Declaration of Sentiments in 1848, pp. 9-13.
c. Woman's Protest in 1916, pp. 227-230.
3. *a.* National Woman Suffrage Movement, pp. 17-18.
b. Federal Constitutional Amendment, pp. 19-22.
c. National American Woman Suffrage Association, pp. 22-23.
4. History of the first four Equal Suffrage States, pp. 27-47.
a. 1890. Wyoming, p. 27.
b. 1893. Colorado, p. 32.
c. 1896. Utah, p. 41.
d. 1896. Idaho, 44.
5. History of the suffrage landslide beginning in 1910, pp. 47-72.
Reasons for this:
a. 1910. Washington, p. 47.

- b.* 1911. California, p. 52.
- c.* 1912. Kansas, p. 57.
- d.* 1912. Oregon, p. 60.
- e.* 1912. Arizona, p. 62.
- f.* 1913. Alaska, p. 64.
- g.* 1913. Illinois, p. 65.
- h.* 1914. Montana, p. 68.
- i.* 1914. Nevada, p. 69.

6. *a.* Suffrage Map of the United States, p. 132.
b. Deductions from the Suffrage Map.
c. Partial Suffrage States, pp. 24-26.
d. Equal Suffrage States, p. 194.
e. What States have had more than one referendum? With what results? pp. 70, 175.

COURSE II

RESULTS WHERE WOMEN VOTE

1. Testimony as to Results:
a. Organizations, pp. 141, 195, 198.
b. Legislatures, pp. 96, 200.
c. Presidents, pp. 135, 198, 203.
d. Governors, p. 203.
e. Judges, p. 205.
f. United States Senators, p. 207.
g. Clergy, p. 214.
h. Labor Leaders, p. 219.

- i. Philanthropists, p. 220.
- j. Scholars, p. 223.

2. **SCANDINAVIA**, gradual suffrage, step by step, pp. 73-88.

- a. **Norway**, Equal Suffrage, p. 73.
- b. **Finland**, Equal Suffrage, p. 77.
- c. **Iceland**, Equal Suffrage, p. 80.
- d. **Denmark**, Equal Suffrage, p. 86.
- e. **Sweden**, Municipal Suffrage, p. 83.

3. **BRITISH EMPIRE**, pp. 88-109.

- a. **New Zealand**, Full Suffrage, p. 90.
- b. **Australia**, Full Suffrage, p. 93.
- c. **British Isles**, Municipal Suffrage, p. 97.
- d. **Dominion of Canada**, p. 100.
Manitoba, Full Provincial Suffrage, p. 104.
Saskatchewan, Full Provincial Suffrage, p. 105.
Alberta, Full Provincial Suffrage, p. 106.
British Columbia, Full Provincial Suffrage, p. 107.
Other Provinces, Partial Suffrage; p. 100.
- e. **British South Africa**, Municipal Suffrage, p. 97.

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

	Wyoming	Colorado	Utah	Idaho
a. Do the women vote? pp.	29	35	41	45, 175
b. Effect on legislation, pp.	30	38	42	46
c. Testimony as to results, pp.	28, 207, 216	32, 136, 137, 159, 208, 210		208

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

	Wash.	Calif.	Kansas	Oregon	Arizona	Illinois
a. Do the women vote? pp.	47, 49	53, 173	57	60	62	65
b. Effect on legislation, pp.	50	54	58	61	64	67
c. Testimony as to results, pp.	49, 204, 205, 210	139, 204, 208	139, 212	212	203, 213	67

6. General Statements of Results of Woman Suffrage, p. 200.

- a. Numbers voting, pp. 130, 172-4.
- b. General testimony as to results, pp. 96, 131, 138, 142, 182.
- c. State other general results of woman suffrage, giving authorities.

COURSE III

ARGUMENTS FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

1. The Principles of our Government Demand Votes for Women, pp. 144, 226, 227, 233.
2. **Women's Interests** need the protection of the ballot, pp. 146, 235.
Women Wage-Earners need the weapon of the ballot, pp. 123, 224, 236-7.
3. "American women need the vote to **protect the Home,**" Jane Addams, p. 110.
 - a. Home is no longer enclosed in four walls, p. 110.
 - b. An adequate code of legislation also needed, p. 112.
 - c. Education of children, p. 117.
 - d. Decent conditions on streets and in amusement places, p. 120.
 - e. The vote is a *direct* method of home protection, pp. 125-129, 221.
4. It will increase the **proportion** of intelligent, moral and native-born voters, pp. 141, 149.
5. Where women have voted the results have been good.
 - a. Women have used the vote in large numbers, pp. 130, 172.

- b. Women have used the vote wisely, pp. 131, 139, 142, 143.

6. Give twelve Reasons why women should vote, p. 231.

COURSE IV

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

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

1. Objections based on false Democratic ideals.
 - a. Women are represented, p. 145.
 - b. Indirect influence, p. 147.
 - c. Ballot not a natural right, p. 184.
 - d. Too many voters already, p. 184.
 - e. Force basis of government, pp. 164, 166, 187, 201.
2. Objections based on false ideas of woman's nature.
 - a. Don't understand business, p. 152.
 - b. Specialization of labor, p. 153.
 - c. Would lose influence, pp. 155-159.
 - d. Too emotional, p. 169.
 - e. Would turn women into men, p. 185.
3. Objections based on false interpretation of Suffrage.
 - a. Means Socialism, p. 186.
 - b. Means Feminism, p. 188.
 - c. Means Free Love, p. 188.
 - d. Means Divorce, p. 166.

4. The Opposition.
 - a. Haven't time, p. 161.
 - b. Opposition is growing, pp. 141, 160, 175.
 - c. Majority don't want it, p. 140.
 - d. Women are indifferent, p. 191.
5. Objections based on prophesied results instead of proved facts.
 - a. Works badly in practice, p. 179.
 - b. Would **double** the cost, pp. 136-9, 190.
 - c. Women would **not** vote, pp. 170-5, 183.
 - d. Would double the ignorant, foreign and criminal vote, pp. 149-51.
6. The Real Enemy, pp. 177-79.

Send to

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.,
Inc.

171 Madison Avenue, New York

for catalogue and the following additional
reading:

COURSE I

Books:

- Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, by I. H. Harper, \$5.00.
 Story of a Pioneer, by Dr. Anna H. Shaw, \$2.15, postpaid.
 Short History of Woman's Rights, by E. A. Hecker, \$1.61, postpaid.

COURSE II.

Leaflets:

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

Pamphlets:

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

COURSE III.

Leaflets:

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

Pamphlets:

- Abolition of Child Labor, by Florence Kelley.
 Abolition of the White Slave Traffic, by C. G. Roe.
 Is Woman Suffrage Important? by Max Eastman.

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

COURSE IV.

Leaflets:

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

GENERAL

**Laws Affecting Women and Children in the
 Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States.** By Anne
 G. Porritt. Cloth, postpaid\$1.58
 Paper 1.05

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



**An American Plank
for
An American Platform**

AN AMERICAN PLANK FOR AN AMERICAN PLATFORM

IT is contrary to every idea of a democracy, to every principle of a republic, to every instinct of American manhood, that one-half the citizens should have absolute power to withhold from the other half the right to a voice in their own government, but since American women are facing this condition they have no recourse but an appeal to American men's strong sense of fair play and a square deal.

This appeal seldom fails when men are left to follow their natural instincts of respect and friendship for women.

This sentiment, however, may be affected when they come to decide the question of woman suffrage by the question whether it would be for the best interests of their party.

Since the beginning of the movement for woman suffrage over sixty years ago it has been kept on a perfectly non-partisan basis and not in a single State campaign has there been a departure from this standard.

Woman suffrage where it exists has not come suddenly as a radical experiment but gradually through a process of evolution.

A form of government which is in operation in twelve States certainly offers an opportunity to prove every assertion in its favor or disfavor.

In all of these States there is an excess of men and if they were dissatisfied with equal suffrage they could alone get rid of it. If the women found it too heavy a burden or believed it was against the best interests of the community they could quickly call enough men to their assistance to abolish it, **but never in a single State have they considered such action.**

Wyoming as a Territory experimented with woman suffrage twenty-one years and its convention to frame a constitution for Statehood incorporated it without a dissenting voice.

Women voted seventeen years in Utah while it was a Territory and equal suffrage was included in the new State constitution by a convention composed of both Gentiles and Mormons and adopted at the polls by an enormous majority.

Women were enfranchised in Colorado by a law which was passed upon by the electors. Eight years later an amendment was submitted which would entrench this in the constitution and it received a majority three times larger than the original statute.

The partial suffrage for women of Illinois was granted by act of the Legislature in 1913. It could have been repealed by a bare majority in 1915 but it was so evidently

approved by public sentiment that no such move was contemplated.

If any State had adopted a measure which was not only failing to do what was expected of it but was proving a public and private injury would the neighboring States deliberately make this same measure a part of their constitution?

Every State which has enfranchised its women has bordered on one where the experiment had been made.

Here is the list in chronological order:—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, Montana. Does not this fact in itself answer conclusively the assertions of the opponents that woman suffrage is against the best interests of the State, that it contributes nothing to the public good, that it disrupts the home, that it makes the women masculine?

Have men in other sections of the country any right to assume that the men of these Western States are not as deeply interested as themselves in good government for their communities, as desirous for the welfare of the home, the womanliness of women? Is it only the men of the West who have sufficient confidence in their women to entrust them with the power of the ballot? And is it only Western women who are worthy of this trust?

**Why Discuss Theories When You
Have the Facts?**

Colorado

Full Suffrage Granted in 1893

One of Colorado's biggest assets is her voting public which consists of intelligent women as well as men. The public like the individual is not infallible, but the voters can point to advanced legislation along every humane line. In all reforms the women have taken an active part and important movements often have had their inception in small gatherings of public-spirited women, who were willing and able to give time to forwarding questions which at first sight men may have deemed unimportant.

GEORGE A. CARLSON,
Governor.

Utah

Full Suffrage Granted in 1895

The women of Utah generally avail themselves of the franchise and their participation in government affairs has been of an uplifting nature. They visit the polling places and hold office with assurance of most respectful and courteous consideration. The women and women's organizations have been active in promoting legislative measures tending to moral uplift, and they have been particularly active in securing our splendid Juvenile Court code, the nine-hour law for women and many other measures of an advanced nature.

No record is kept as to the percentage, but I judge that quite as many women avail themselves of the franchise as do men. Women have served in both branches of the Legislature with ability and have been elected to county and municipal offices and discharged their duties with a high degree of efficiency.

WILLIAM HAY,
Governor.

Idaho

Full Suffrage Granted in 1896

The women of Idaho are not politicians or place-hunters, but they are independent, intelligent and honest and are the most potent force for good government and civic righteousness. Their interests lie at the foundation of civilization and of American institutions—the home—the family—the school—the church and the civic environment—these are the things which their ballot cherishes and protects inviolate.

To the refining influence of the women I wholly attribute the cleansing of our polling places and the purity of our ballot. Woman suffrage, instead of contaminating women, has elevated and ennobled manhood. There is absolutely no sentiment in Idaho for the repeal of woman suffrage—such a measure would fail to carry a single county in the State.

W. ALEXANDER,
Governor.

Washington

Full Suffrage Granted in 1910

I know of no one who favored giving the women of the State the right to vote who today opposes it, and large numbers of those who were opposed to the constitutional amendment when it was before the people are today in favor of it. The results have certainly indicated that the women have assisted, rather than otherwise, in bringing about a better condition in public affairs.

I am sure that any suggestion to change back to the old system would receive but little encouragement from the voters of Washington.

ERNEST LISTER,
Governor.

California

Full Suffrage Granted in 1911

Since its adoption equal suffrage in California has been put to the most thorough and severe test. Every conceivable sort of election has been held in the past three years and women have been called upon to exercise their new privilege and perform their added duty not alone in the usual fashion but in various primaries, including one for presidential preference; also in local option elections. They have been compelled to pass upon laws and governmental policies presented to the electorate by the initiative and referendum. The women have met the test and equal suffrage in California has fully justified itself. In 1910 by a very

narrow margin the amendment carried. Were it again to be submitted the vote in its favor would be overwhelming.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON,
Governor.

Oregon

Full Suffrage Granted in 1912

It gives me real pleasure to say that equal suffrage is proving a boon to this State. I think that by their interest and their continued political activity the women of Oregon are demonstrating the fallacy of the statement, often advanced, that once they received the ballot women would be loath to exercise their rights and live up to their political responsibilities. To my mind woman suffrage will prove a real benefit to this State and will ultimately be universal throughout the United States.

JAMES WITHEYCOMBE,
Governor.

Arizona

Full Suffrage Granted in 1912

Since the women of Arizona were enfranchised their influence and activity have been potent factors in governmental affairs and in maintaining a high standard of citizenship. . . . The women electors have evinced an intelligent and praiseworthy interest in public affairs and none of the evils so loudly predicted by the opponents of equal suffrage during the campaign of 1912 have become apparent since women acquired the right to vote.

Arizona's experience with equal suffrage in practice is most assuredly a vindication of woman's struggle for enfranchisement and bears me out fully in the plea I am making for the women of New York.

GEO. W. P. HUNT,
Governor.

Kansas

Full Suffrage Granted in 1912

The extension of equal suffrage to the women of Kansas is one of the biggest things the men of Kansas have ever done—and Kansas men are accustomed to doing big things. Kansas gave her women school suffrage and liked it. Afterwards she gave them municipal suffrage and liked it better. Afterwards she gave them full suffrage and liked it best. It has had immediate effect for good; it has impelled all political parties to include in their program and platform humanitarian projects and moral issues which previously they had ignored. It has made a most careful selection of nominees. It is already having wholesome effect in cleansing the State of spoilsman politics and is making for higher ideals in both public and private life.

Enemies of woman suffrage are making desperate efforts to give circulation to the misstatement that the good women do not embrace the opportunity to use the ballot even when it is given to them. Nothing is farther from the truth so far as Kansas is concerned. At the general election held

in this State last November, which was the first time the women of Kansas had the opportunity to exercise their full right of citizenship—a right which long ago should have been theirs—nearly as large a proportion of the women went to the polls and voted as did the men. The good women of Kansas, than whom there is no more intelligent body anywhere in the whole world, voted and voted right, nor did their vote always tally with that of the men of the house. They worked for the right to vote and they knew how to use that right. They had demanded all during the campaign that the candidates should stand and work for certain things—clean things, uplifting things—and they voted for the men who stood for those things. And when they had registered their approval or disapproval of the candidates on the ballot, they went back to their business—their children and their homes—just as the men went back to their stores, their offices and their shops.

What the women do in Kansas, the women will do in New York. We can trust the women. They know how to protect their homes. I am for national woman suffrage.

ARTHUR CAPPER,
Governor.

Territory of Alaska

Full Suffrage Granted in 1913

Although the women of Alaska were only given the right to vote in 1913 they are

already an important factor in the political affairs of the Territory. The influence they exert is for good and it is exerted along the lines of better government and the development of good citizenship.

J. F. S. STRONG,
Governor.

Illinois

Presidential and Municipal Suffrage in 1913

I favor woman suffrage and two years ago signed a law passed by our Legislature giving very liberal suffrage rights to the women in the State of Illinois. After two years' experience with the law, I am still in favor of woman suffrage and believe it for the best interest of the community.

There is no strong sentiment in this State for the repeal of the Woman Suffrage Law. On the contrary there is an agitation in favor of extending the rights of women to vote for all offices. Under the present law women can vote for all municipal offices, all offices not enumerated in the Constitution of the State and upon all questions of public policy.

E. F. DUNNE,
Governor.

Montana

Full Suffrage Granted in 1914

We have had short time to observe the working of the new order, but Montana women are giving numerous evidences of intelligent interest and a determination to

measure up to their new responsibilities. I believe beneficial results will follow.

S. V. STEWART,
Governor.

Nevada

Full Suffrage Granted in 1914

Since November numerous incorporated municipalities have held elections throughout the State but no state-wide elections have been held. For the municipal election a very large percentage of the women entitled to vote registered and the great majority of those who registered voted. The women of the State have taken an active and intelligent interest in all public questions and have shown no tendency toward revolutionary methods in government. I have been an observer of equal suffrage in adjoining western States, where after a trial of the system covering years no one seriously considers a return to the old order of things.

Men are more numerous than women here and there is no place in the world where women are held in higher respect than in the West. We have given western women suffrage as a matter of simple justice and the women themselves have embraced the right to a voice in public affairs in such a manner as to effectively disprove the silly argument that they could not use this voice without a sacrifice of their womanly qualities.

EMMET D. BOYLE,
Governor.

TWELVE REASONS WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE

1. BECAUSE those who obey the laws should help to choose those who make the laws.
2. BECAUSE laws affect women as much as men.
3. BECAUSE laws which affect WOMEN are now passed without consulting them.
4. BECAUSE laws affecting CHILDREN should include the woman's point of view as well as the man's.
5. BECAUSE laws affecting the HOME are voted on in every session of the Legislature.
6. BECAUSE women have experience which would be helpful to legislation.
7. BECAUSE to deprive women of the vote is to lower their position in common estimation.
8. BECAUSE having the vote would increase the sense of responsibility among women toward questions of public importance.
9. BECAUSE public spirited mothers make public spirited sons.
10. BECAUSE about 8,000,000 women in the United States are wage workers, and the conditions under which they work are controlled by law.
11. BECAUSE the objections against their having the vote are based on prejudice, not on reason.
12. BECAUSE to sum up all reasons in one—
IT IS FOR THE COMMON
GOOD OF ALL.

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc.
171 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK

05 each.

What Every Woman Voter Should Know

A STUDY OUTLINE

By
HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE

MARCH, 1918

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

WHAT EVERY WOMAN VOTER SHOULD KNOW

A Study Outline

By HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE

I.--CITIZENS.

1. *Who Are Citizens?*

U. S. Constitution, Fourteenth Amendment.

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

This means men, women and children.

2. *Rights of Citizens.*

U. S. Constitution, Fourteenth Amendment.

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Basis of representation shall be reduced if right to vote is denied *male* citizens. Fourteenth Amendment, Section 2.

Right of citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of race or color. Fifteenth Amendment. (See Morse, p. 64, A B C of Government, for Rights of Federal Citizens and Rights of State Citizens.)

3. *Naturalization.*

By Federal Statute, not State.

U. S. Constitution, Article 1, Section 8, par. 4.

"The Congress shall have power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization."

Qualifications for naturalization of men and unmarried alien women, the same.

Five Qualifications:

Five years' residence, not less than 2 nor more than 7 years' wait between taking out first and second papers.

Speak English.

Understand the principles of our Government.

Take oath of allegiance.

Be of good character.

4. *Citizens by Marriage.*

A married woman's citizenship follows that of her husband.

If husband is alien, wife is alien, whether American born or not.

(See Mussey's Naturalization Bill, *Woman Citizen*, January 26, 1918.)

If husband is American, wife is American citizen whether American born or naturalized or not.

If husband is naturalized, wife is American citizen whether American born or naturalized or not. (For citizenship of widows see Boyd, M. S. in *Woman Citizen*, January 5, 1918.)

"Any woman who is now, or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States, and who might herself be lawfully naturalized, may be deemed a citizen." (U. S. Revised Statutes, Section 1994.)

In New York State, when a woman is a "citizen by marriage" she must have lived in the United States 5 years as a State qualification for voting.

5. *Americanization.*

Citizens by marriage need education in American ideals, government, language and customs. This work is a specific duty of women voters as well as a war measure. (See "Watch Your Vote." Americanization Com. of N. Y. S. W. S. Party, 303 Fifth Avenue, New York City.)

II.—VOTERS

1. *The Power of the Vote.*

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

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

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

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

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

2. *The Duty of Voting.*

The vote has been obtained through centuries of effort as the most potent safeguard to a nation and the most precious privilege to the liberty-loving individual.

3. *The Right to Vote.*

The vote is a State privilege.

It protects all other rights.

What are the reasons given for restricting it? (See Cooley, "Principles of Constitutional Law," pp. 264-265. See Beard, "American Citizenship," Chapter 6.)

4. *Who Are Voters?*

A. General Qualifications:

1. Citizenship is a fundamental qualification, excepting 8 Western States grant male aliens the vote on declaration of intention of becoming citizens ("first papers").

2. Age 21 years.

3. Sex qualification in 36 States.

4. Certain time of residence, varied.

5. Taxpaying qualification (in small number of States).

6. Educational qualification in one-third of States.

7. Character—various requirements.

B. Qualifications in New York State:

1. Citizen for 90 days preceding election.

2. Age 21 years.

3. No sex qualification.

4. Residence: Election district, 30 days; county, 4 months; State, 1 year; in case of citizen by marriage must have been inhabitant of United States for 5 years.

5. Character: Not convicted of bribery or heinous crime.

5. *Voting Precincts.*

Scheme of political divisions in City and State.

A voting precinct (or election district) is the smallest political division, contains one polling place and 300 or more voters.

A State is divided according to number of voters into these voting precincts.

All other political divisions are made of various groupings of these voting precincts.

For instance, in New York State:

An Assembly District, which elects 1 State Representative, is comprised of 50 (more or less) Election Districts.

A Senatorial District, which elects 1 State Senator, is comprised of generally 3 Assembly Districts, or 150 (more or less) Election Districts.

A Congressional District, which elects a United States Congressman, is comprised of another grouping of Election Districts.

Thus the Voting Precinct or Election District is the *unit* from which all other political divisions are made, and where all officers of City, State and Nation are voted for.

III.—NECESSARY STEPS.

1. *Enrollment—Concerns Parties.*

A. To vote at a Primary, one must have enrolled as a member of a party (on registration day of preceding year, when personal registration is required; or when personal registration is not required, enrollment is made after voting at an election).

Reason why *enrollment* must be year *preceding primary*.

B. The different Parties; their past history; their present alignment.

C. The use and abuse of partisanship. Patronage, spoils system, Civil Service.

D. Non-Partisanship. Its advantages and drawbacks.

2. *Primary—Concerns Candidates.*

A. Seventh Tuesday before general election is fall primary; enrolled voters may vote for candidates who have been nominated by petitions.

Members of party committee also elected at primary. Party State Committee each even year one from each assembly district. Party County Committee each ~~even~~ year, one from each election district.

B. Old convention system of nominations.

C. Direct primary system.

D. How it has worked out. (See Ray, Intro. to Polit. Parties and Practical Politics (1917), Chapter VI.)

3. *Registration—Concerns Voting.*

How.

Personal or impersonal registration in selected registration places under election officials. Register is compiled containing name, address, occupation, etc., of every voter residing in the district.

When.

In cities or villages having 5,000 or more inhabitants. Registration is held Friday and Saturday of the 4th and 3d weeks before general election from 7 A. M. to 10 P. M.

In cities of over 1,000,000 registration is held 6 days of the 4th week preceding general election. In all cases, registration is held on appointed days, *several weeks prior* to the general election. *Why?* (See the Election Law.)

IV.—ELECTIONS.

1. *When.*

General election is Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

2. *Where.*

At the polling place in the voting precinct in which the voter resides.

3. *How.*

By voting machine or ballot.

Study the short ballot, the secret ballot, the use of party emblems.

4. *Procedure.*

Give name and residence to election inspectors. Receive ballot from ballot clerk. Enter booth and mark ballot and fold it. Give it to inspector in charge of ballot box. (See Stapler: Primer for Voters. National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.)

5. *For What Public Officers in 1918 in New York.*

State officers elected in even years for 2 years by statewide vote.

The Governor and the state executive officers; certain state judicial officers.

Legislative officers, state senators for 2 years; state assemblyman, annually.

Certain county officers (city officers are elected in odd years).

National congressman, elected even years for 2 years. (Two senators elected for 6 years, election in 1920 and 1922.)

(For practice and interest, stage an election.)

President Wilson's Address to the United States Senate

September 30, 1918

"Gentlemen of the Senate: The unusual circumstances of a world war in which we stand and are judged in the view not only of our own people and our own consciences, but also in the view of all nations and people will, I hope, justify in your thought, as it does in mine, the message I have come to bring you.

"I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion. It is not only my privilege, it is also my duty to apprise you of every circumstance and element involved in this momentous struggle which seems to me to affect its very processes and its outcome.

War Messages
to
The American People

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS
TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE



NUMBER FIVE

*"But above all things truth
beareth away the victory."*

It is my duty to win the war and to ask you to remove every obstacle that stands in the way of winning it.

Is Not Party Issue

"I had assumed that the Senate would concur in the amendment because no disputable principle is involved, but only a question of the method by which the suffrage is to be extended to women. There is and can be no party issue involved in it. Both of our great national parties are pledged, explicitly pledged, to equality of suffrage for the women of the country. Neither party, therefore, it seems to me, can justify hesitation as to the method of obtaining it, can rightfully hesitate to substitute Federal initiative for State initiative, if the early adoption of this measure is necessary to the successful prosecution of the war, and if the method of State action proposed in the party platforms of 1916 is impracticable, within any reasonable length of time, if practicable at all. And its adoption is, in my judgment, clearly necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and the successful realization of the objects for which the war is being fought.

"That judgment I take the liberty of

urging upon you with solemn earnest for reasons which I shall state very frankly, and which I shall hope will seem as conclusive to you as they seem to me.

Is the People's War

"This is a people's war, and the people's thinking constitute its atmosphere and morale, not the predilections of the drawing room or the political considerations of the caucus. If we be indeed democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy, we can ask other peoples to accept in proof of our sincerity and our ability to lead them whither they wish to be led, nothing less persuasive and convincing than our actions. Our professions will not suffice. Verification must be forthcoming when verification is asked for. And in this case verification is asked for—asked for in this particular matter. You ask by whom? Not through diplomatic channels; not by foreign ministers; not by the intimations of parliaments. It is asked for by the anxious, expectant, suffering peoples with whom we are dealing and who are willing to put their destinies in some measure in our hands, if they are sure that we wish the same things that they do.

"I do not speak my conjecture. It is not alone the voices of statesmen and of newspapers that reach me, and the voices of foolish and intemperate agitators do not reach me at all. Through many, many channels I have been made aware what the plain, struggling, workaday folk are thinking, upon whom the chief terror and suffering of this tragic war falls. They are looking to the great, powerful, famous democracy of the West to lead them to the new day for which they have so long waited; and they think, in their logical simplicity, that democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon an equal footing with them. If we reject measures like this in ignorant defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to believe in us; they will cease to follow or to trust us.

England Has Seen Light

"They have seen their own governments accept their interpretation of democracy—seen old governments like that of Great Britain, which did not profess to be democratic, promise readily and as of course this justice to women, though they

had before refused it, the strange revelations of this war having made many things new and plain to governments as well as to peoples.

"Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that our women can give—service and sacrifice of every kind—and still say we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our sides in the guidance of the affairs of their nation and ours? We have made partners of the women in this war. Shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil, and not to a partnership of privileges and right?

"This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations engaged or by America, if it had not been for the services of the women—services rendered in every sphere—not merely in the fields of efforts in which we have been accustomed to see them work, but wherever men have worked and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself. We shall not only be distrusted, but shall deserve to be distrusted, if we do not enfranchise them with the fullest possible enfranchisement, as it is now certain that the other great free nations will enfranchise them.

"We cannot isolate our thought and ac-

tion in such a matter from the thought of the rest of the world. We must either conform or deliberately reject what they propose and resign the leadership of liberal minds to others.

Women Are Not Slackers

"The women of America are too noble and too intelligent and too devoted to be slackers, whether you give or withhold this thing that is mere justice, but I know the magic it will work in their thoughts and spirits if you give it to them. I propose it as I would propose to admit soldiers to the suffrage, the men fighting in the field for our liberties, and the liberties of the world, were they excluded. The tasks of the women lie at the very heart of the war, and I know how much stronger that heart will beat if you do this just thing and show our women that you trust them as much as you in fact and of necessity depend upon them.

"Have I said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure, and do you need further proof? Do you stand in need of the trust of other peoples and of the trust of our own women? Is that trust an asset, or is it not? I tell you plainly, as the commander in chief of our armies and of the gallant men in our fleets,

as the present spokesman of this people in our dealings with the men and women throughout the world who are now our partners, as the responsible head of a great government which stands and is questioned day by day as to its purposes, its principles, its hopes, whether they be serviceable to men everywhere or only to itself, and who must himself answer these questionings or be shamed, as the guide and director of forces caught in the grip of war, and by the same token in need of every material and spiritual resource this great nation possesses—I tell you plainly that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle.

After the War

"And not to the winning the war only. It is vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over. We shall need them in our vision of affairs as we have never needed them before—the sympathy and insight and clear moral instinct of the women of the world. The problems of that time will strike to the roots of many things that we have not hitherto questioned, and I for one believe that our

safety in those questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick, will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our counsels. We shall need their moral sense to preserve what is right and fine and worthy in our system of life, as well as to discover just what it is that ought to be purified and reformed. Without their counsellings we shall be only half wise.

"That is my case. This is my appeal. Many may deny its validity, if they choose, but no one can brush aside or answer the arguments upon which it is based. The executive tasks of this war rest upon me. I ask that you lighten them and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments which I do not now possess, which I sorely need and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ."

Buy Thrift Stamps.

Buy War Savings Stamps.

Fight for Democracy.

**Stand by the President's
War Measures.**

**Support the Federal Suffrage
Amendment.**

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE
PUBLISHING CO.

171 Madison Avenue, New York City

ORGANIZING TO WIN

BY

THE POLITICAL DISTRICT PLAN

A HANDBOOK FOR
WORKING SUFFRAGISTS

Compiled by H. B. LAIDLAW
July, 1914.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.
Publishers for the
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 Fifth Avenue -:- New York City



ORGANIZING TO WIN

BY THE

POLITICAL DISTRICT PLAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PLAN FOR A WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY IN ANY STATE

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

Program of Work

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

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

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

Political Work

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Legislative Work

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Propaganda

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Education for Civic Life

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reform

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

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

1. With social and reform bodies, affiliation is possible.

2. Resolutions and endorsements relative to many social matters are often imperative on the city committee of the Woman Suffrage Party.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX

I

FORM APPEAL TO NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

To the Assembly District Nominating Conventions of

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

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

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

II

FORM FOR APPEAL TO DELEGATES OF ASSEMBLY DISTRICT CONVENTIONS

To the Delegates of the Assembly District Conventions of

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

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

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

III

FORM FOR APPEAL TO STATE CONVENTIONS.

To the Delegates to the Democratic State Convention,

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

Gentlemen:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

YOUR PLATFORM WILL TELL US, AND WE ARE WAITING.

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

To the Delegates to the Republican State Convention,

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

Gentlemen:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

YOUR PLATFORM WILL TELL US, AND WE ARE WAITING.

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

IV

FORM FOR APPEAL FOR PLANK IN NATIONAL PLATFORM

To the Delegates of the
Greetings:

State Convention.

The Woman Suffrage Party of organized in Assembly Districts, numbering more than men and women, hereby appeals to you most earnestly to use your influence as a delegate to the Convention to secure a recommendation from the State of advocating a plank in the national platform in favor of Woman Suffrage.

In asking this measure of justice to women we call your attention to the fact that in states women already have the full franchise and that in states the question goes to the voters for decision this Fall.

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

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

V

FORM FOR SECURING PLEDGE OF CANDIDATES

Hon.

Dear Sir:

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

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

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

Respectfully yours,

(Stamped and addressed envelope enclosed.)

VI

FORM PLEDGE

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

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

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

VII

FORM FOR LETTER TO BE SENT TO MEN'S LEAGUES

My dear Mr.

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

Yours cordially,

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

VIII

FORM FOR RESOLUTIONS TO BE SENT TO ASSEMBLYMEN

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

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

IX

FORM FOR LETTER TO BE SENT TO ASSEMBLYMEN

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

Dear Sir:

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

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

Yours respectfully,

X

FORM FOR LETTER TO GET BILL OUT OF COMMITTEE

Co-operating Committee of Woman Suffrage Associations

Dear _____,

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

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

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

Yours for victory,

(Signed by Members of the Committee.)

XI

ENROLLMENT BLANK

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

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

XII

FORM FOR AN ORGANIZATION LEAFLET

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

1. Give people who attend the meeting the name and address of their Senator and Assemblyman. It is preferable to have a number of typewritten slips bearing the names and addresses, and the appeal "Please help the cause of this district by pledging yourself to write to these two men."
2. Pass a resolution as strongly worded as possible which the Leader or the Secretary will send promptly to the Senator and the Assemblyman.
3. Call attention to the Party organ, if there is one. Urge subscriptions to it. Have copies at the meeting which people can see.
4. Always call attention to the district map, which it would be well to have pinned up back of the table at which the Leader presides. Many people have vague ideas when they hear talk about Assembly Districts and Election Districts.
5. Always have literature, buttons, pencils and pens at the meeting. You may appoint a committee to attend to these, but it is well for the Leader always to speak of these articles and their price.
6. Always take up a collection. If you only get \$1.00, it will go toward defraying your postage expenses.
7. Always take enrollments.

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

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

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

XIII

FORM LEAFLET FOR DISTRICT WORKERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. Enroll men and women in department stores.

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

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

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

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

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

XVII
FORM LEAFLET FOR WAGE-EARNERS' SUFFRAGE
LEAGUE

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

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

Fee: Ten Cents a Month.

Fill in the Slip Below and Come to the Next Meeting.

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

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

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

16. Get after any classes of people you find.

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

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

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

XIV

ANOTHER FORM LEAFLET FOR DISTRICT WORKERS

1. List all the clubs, organizations, etc. Try to get hearings before those that are hospitable.
2. The Leaders should get all the people they can in their districts to do systematic handing out of literature.
3. Try to get the suffrage slides presented in the five-cent theatres.
4. Get lists of foreign newspapers in the city.
5. Get reform and social facts that could be put into the hands of people.
6. Have geographically located meetings in these districts.
7. Get in touch with groups of the district by professions, doctors, lawyers, teachers, clergymen and social workers.
8. Enlist the settlements.
9. Enlist the churches and church clubs.
10. Enlist the mothers' clubs.
11. Get in touch with any lodging houses and homes.
12. Circularize audiences coming from Public School lectures.

XV

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONVENTIONS

Woman suffrage parties often hold their elections in the fall.

One objection to this is that it interferes with the campaigns in October. A good suggestion is to hold:

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

- A. Leader and district officers are elected.
- B. City officers nominated.
- C. Delegates elected to the City Convention.
- D. District plans made.

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

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

XVI

PLATFORM OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WHY EQUAL SUFFRAGE HAS BEEN A SUCCESS

Part of an address delivered to the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore by Thaddeus P. Thomas, Ph. D., Professor of Economics and Sociology in the Woman's College of Baltimore, and printed by authority of the League.

Published by National American Woman Suffrage Association,
505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

I address especially those who doubt the value of woman suffrage. I promise to deal honestly with you, falsifying nothing and exaggerating nothing. And I appeal to you to deal honestly with yourselves and unload prejudice from your scales before you weigh the evidence. Custom silently loads all our scales with prejudice and decides nine-tenths of our beliefs. I asked a Maryland girl twelve years old if women should vote, and she was shocked and said, "No! It is not woman's place to vote. I have never seen any women voting." She thought that was her own opinion, but it was only an echo of an echo, for she was imitating Mrs. Grundy and Mrs. Grundy was following a bad custom. I asked a graduate of the Woman's College, who lives in Wyoming (where they have had the good custom of equal suffrage for forty years), if she was not shocked when she saw her father and mother going to the polls together, and she replied that it seemed just as natural as to see them go to church together. She was shocked when she came to Maryland and found that in this state woman's opinions are not considered worth counting. And that is the whole question in a nutshell. Shall we count the opinions of women in regard to the laws which affect their pocket-books, their health, their homes and their children? Custom in Maryland says, "No! Praise them like angels and disfranchise them like idiots." Women are prisoners of prejudice as well as men. This is no contest of women against tyrannical men.

1

The average man is not tyrannical, he is only prejudiced. This is a contest of the women and men who are ruled by reason against the women and men who are ruled by custom.

I want to place this discussion on a basis of facts and facts only. For many years I have been collecting evidence on both sides from the fourteen states, colonies, provinces, or nations where they have complete woman suffrage and the thirty-six where they have partial suffrage. I have talked repeatedly with men and women from those states and have questioned students who have been born and reared in equal suffrage homes. I have tried to reach sane and just conclusions. It is my opinion that equal suffrage has disappointed two classes of people. The first are those ultra-enthusiastic suffragists who expected it to bring in the millenium. It has not caused any overwhelming moral revolution, but has aided moral evolution in a number of quiet but effective ways. Here is a fair-minded testimonial from a trustworthy man, a personal friend of mine, Dr. Calvin Brown, who was formerly Professor of English in the University of Colorado:—

"As to woman suffrage in Colorado, I am pleased with its results in every way, and have been ever since my residence here seven years ago. The influence of the woman's vote is good for politics and it is good for the woman herself. Of course, as you well know, Colorado has not been converted into a Paradise. It would be idle to expect great, sudden changes of a spectacular nature. Still it is good."

The second class who are disappointed by the practical workings of women suffrage are the anti-suffragists. It has left their position pitifully weak. It has ruined all their favorite arguments, which are made up of prophecies in the potential mood telling the evils which *would* be produced if women suffrage *should* be adopted somewhere in the world. You can't talk with an anti-suffragist three minutes without hearing this phrase: "Women suffrage would do so and so." I propose to tell you what it *has* done. I shall use the present perfect tense of the indicative mood, and base my arguments on historical facts. In one state there is one fact which half-way favors the anti-suffragists. Equal suffrage has been only half-way successful in conquering political corruption

3

in Colorado, where conditions are exceptional. But the majority of the women there have shown themselves more willing than the majority of the men to abolish corruption and have certainly diminished it, especially by checking those forms of graft which injure children and the home. This will be proved later. Counting this beneficial influence on politics as only half of a benefit, it can truly be said that woman suffrage has resulted in at least sixteen and a half benefits in the equal suffrage states, including Colorado. Let us first consider the least tangible benefits.

(1) Equal suffrage has benefited the cause of justice by abolishing taxation without representation. I won't waste time arguing this axiom. We should at least give to the tax-paying women of Baltimore the right to vote on questions which directly affect the rate of taxation. Even New Orleans has done that much. Let us deny that Baltimore is slow and let us deny it by our deeds.

(2) It has benefitted democracy by abolishing an aristocracy of sex. In the eastern states the government is a government of half the people by half the people, and too often for half the people. It violates the fundamental principle of democracy, which is this: What concerns all should be decided by all who have sense enough to decide. We ought to have an educational qualification which would enfranchise the capable and disfranchise the incapable of both sexes impartially.

(3) It has increased woman's self-respect by removing her from the class of mental and moral incompetents composed of children, idiots, lunatics, and criminals. Children are disfranchised because they have not yet acquired sense, idiots because they can never acquire sense, lunatics because they have lost what they had acquired, criminals because they put their sense to a bad use, and women — why? Echo answers — "Why?" It is not because they lack sense. I have taught both men and women in colleges and have had ample opportunities to compare their abilities, and I assure you that the man who thinks that woman's brain is inferior has a weak spot in his own. There is no reason for disfranchising women except custom. Custom says: "You are too pure and exalted and ethereal to drop a piece of paper in a glass box." And many a woman replies: "I am content. If you will flatter us like

goddesses you may ignore us like lunatics." But there's one blessed consolation about people who volunteer to be lunatics — they are capable of recovering their reason with surprising suddenness. They are doing just that thing at the present time. They are being converted to woman suffrage by thousands. If this marvelous change in sentiment continues, victory is ours.

(6) It has improved the mind of woman by broadening her environment, stimulating her intellect and training her judgment. The minds of men and women differ only slightly by nature. Their chief differences are due to training. The training of men, for instance, tends to make the average man conceited, and the training of women tends to make the average woman narrow-minded. I don't want to be misunderstood: I said the average man and the average woman; I am talking about majorities, not minorities. The training of boys tends to develop conceit. It shows itself at the Jack Horner stage of life.

He stuck in his thumb
And he pulled out a plum
And he said, "What a great boy am I!"

The name of the plum is consciousness of future sovereignty. The growing boy learns that he belongs to the sovereign sex and that his mother and sisters belong to the subject sex, and while it doesn't diminish his love for them it does diminish his respect. He realizes that he is to be a civic unit while they will remain civic ciphers. He says to himself, in effect, "Mama is good but inexperienced. She knows practically nothing of the broad, real life that is found outside of the home, except what papa tells her. She knows enough to train my sisters but not enough to train me." In that hour the theory that "the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world" gives place in his mind to the theory that the hand that casts the ballot is the hand that rules the world. The young lord and master smiles complacently at the thought. It fosters his conceit and his domineering tendencies. It makes life harder for his sisters. As he grows to manhood he learns to render lip-homage to what he calls the "superior sex" in order to console them for occupying a really inferior position.

He says he places women on a pedestal, but he himself does not wish to occupy the pedestal along with those who are political know-nothings and do-nothings. He modestly prefers freedom, power, intellectual stimulus, and a chance to train his judgment by deciding questions too large for his wife to grapple with. The average man loves his wife and makes her his companion, but not his comrade. He regards her as the eldest child in his family, usually the one who is the greatest comfort to him, and in whom he takes the greatest pride, certainly the shrewdest of all children, the hardest to manage and the most expensive. He may be kind to her, but kindness is no substitute for justice. How I wish that men could realize the moral grandeur of a life where men and women are equal partners in the family and in the state! If men were not blinded by prejudice they would see that domination is morally bad even for the dominant sex.

And it is bad for the subject sex, for it tends to keep them narrow-minded. Development is conditioned by environment. Restrict women to child-like experiences and they will have child-like minds. Contract their mental horizon and they will learn to think that little things are large and great things small. The new city charter, the national income tax and international arbitration will seem trifling compared with fancy work, the latest novel, bridge whist, and spring bonnets. One man has confessed frankly that, while he loves his wife, most women bore him with the petty personalities of their conversation and their exaggeration of the importance of dress. But a wise American woman, referring to feminine follies, asks: "Who dares blame us for the childish curiosity which keeps us all a-shiver and a-shake along with a mob of other women that we may see a few yards of tulle whisked from church-door to carriage-steps? Who dares blame us if we are ever ready to run down a bit of gossip or chase after a startling costume? Critics say it is woman's way. I say in all fairness that it is because of our limited opportunities for development."

Here is a bit of evidence from a student in the Woman's College who has lived in Colorado since she was six years old. It shows the broadening influence of suffrage: —

"There was a contrast between two afternoon teas which I attended at the ages of fifteen and sixteen respectively. When I was fifteen I spent a few months in Ohio with relatives and while there attended the aforementioned tea. Being of an exceedingly impressionable age, the conversation of the afternoon thoroughly disgusted me, as it was one continual chatter about fashions, functions and foolishness, spiced with the usual gossip. It was a gathering of the best women in the town. The other tea which I attended about six months later in Colorado was similar to the former as far as external circumstances went. I was still of an impressionable age and it was at this time that my first fervent zeal for equal suffrage was noticeably felt. It is true that the conversation glided around and touched the fringes of the usual Ladies' Aid gossiping-bee, but the main drift was so very far above the trend of the other tea that it was an eye-opener in itself. Women do not gossip if they have bigger things to think about, and in the most natural way the conversation turned from a threatened discussion of Mrs. Jones' latest summer boarder to an interesting review of current events and matters of national concern and I was proud of the women of Colorado."

It was said of a certain woman in an eastern state that she was nice but limited. She was bounded on the north by her servants, on the east by her children, on the south by her ailments and on the west by her wardrobe. That cannot be said of the enfranchised woman. Her husband is pleased at having a broad-minded wife, and her sons respect her as they never could have respected a political nobody. One splendid result of equal suffrage is that it checks that mental alienation which otherwise develops between mothers and their boys. Another is the new comradeship that springs up between husband and wife when the husband ceases to be an omniscient political oracle and the wife ceases to be a Dora Copperfield. There has been a change in the men of the equal suffrage states which reminds one suffragist of the remark of an English scrub-woman who said: "My man is that good to me he's more like a friend than a 'usband."

(5) It has improved the character of woman by developing justice, tolerance, the co-operative virtues and socialization. These things can be learned only by practice in a community of one's equals. They cannot be learned in the home because

it is too small. The home is the dearest spot on earth, and its work is of fundamental importance; but it cannot socialize us. The average man has a better chance for socialization than the average woman because he is an active member of that great educational institution called the state, where each learns such lessons as he is capable of learning. Woman cannot learn these lessons in the home. The lessons learned there are holy lessons and make her sympathies deep and personal. But her sympathies need also to be broad and social. It is said that "women would long ago have worn off their eye-lids looking up to men if they had not restored the balance somewhat by looking down to their children." But what most women lack is the opportunity to look out on their equals and to learn to supplement the domestic virtues by the civic virtues which come only to those who have learned how to co-operate with others in a large common cause. It is true that thousands of exceptional women become highly socialized without the ballot, but in all I say I am speaking of the average woman, not the exceptional ones.

I know how dangerous a theme I am handling. If I mention woman's virtues, it is called flattery; if I mention her faults, it is called slander. I shall mention them both, for it is the chief purpose of my professional life to try to see social truth clearly and state it candidly. I shall now try to condense what seems to me the most important truth in regard to woman into one sentence so plain that any misrepresentation of it must be wilful. Woman's intellectual capacity equals man's and her moral capacity, on account of the instincts of motherhood, service, and sacrifice, is superior; but her opportunity for developing these capacities is inferior, and the result is a restricted development. What makes me indignant is the harsh injustice of sneering at the average woman's unsocialized views and then refusing her opportunity for socialization. Some men have declared that woman is unfit for the ballot because she is so unjust and intensely personal. These men forget that practice in deciding broad, impersonal questions develops justice. They forget that the way to learn to do things is to do them. They argue in this circle: "Her unfitness for the ballot necessitates her continuance in a narrow environment, which necessitates the continuance of her unfitness, which necessi-

exists for the purpose of capturing girls against their will and imprisoning them for life in houses of ill-fame. Listen to this strong appeal of a New York minister:—

"Why do not New York mothers arouse to the horrible seriousness of the crisis? They have an indefinite idea of what is going on; why do they not get a definite idea? I once said to a lady in this city: 'Why do you not study into the case and do something?' She commenced studying into the case, but gave it up after a little, saying: 'It is too horrible, I can't.' If the situation is a little too horrible to study into, isn't it a good deal too horrible for young souls to wade into and rot in? Mothers, why not move in the matter, and find out just what the perils are? Why not associate yourselves with other mothers, whose children are hanging between heaven and the pit, and come to the front and fling your concerted challenge to the official vultures that are growing fat on the bodies and souls of the boys and girls that have just as much natural right to be found at last in the company of the redeemed as you have."

This is a noble appeal, but it sounds very much like asking a woman to help you when her right hand is tied behind her back. The right hand represents power, the left hand represents influence. The women of New York have only one, the women of Denver both. So the women of Denver give power to such men as Judge Lindsey and Judge Hudson, who, when they learned that a branch of this infamous organization had been established in Denver, pronounced upon some of its members the heaviest penalties of the law, while the rest fled from Denver or went into hiding. Again, in Colorado, Idaho and Utah the age of consent is eighteen years and in Wyoming twenty-one years, and the testimony is that male offenders are landed in jail. We all know that in Baltimore conditions are not what they would be if we had equal suffrage. How true is that saying of Frances Willard: "We need the mother heart in legislation."

(12) It has benefitted working-women. One great curse of our civilization is the exploitation of their lives. In ancient Greece it was found profitable to work the quarry slaves to death quickly, for the supply was abundant. The same method is used unconsciously by many American employers,

whose high-speed machinery, combined with long hours of labor, is sapping the vitality of working girls and women and sending them in ever increasing numbers to the brothel or the graveyard. But in all four of the woman suffrage states there are eight hour laws and other special laws for the protection of women workers, and the laws are enforced. I wish that every one would read Florence Kelley's excellent book, dealing with this and other such subjects in their relation to the ballot. It is entitled, *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation*. But the best book on equal suffrage is Higginson's *Common Sense About Woman*. Common sense about any subject is none too common, but common sense about women is as rare as radium.

(13) It has benefitted the legal condition of mothers by giving both parents equal guardianship over their children. "It took influence fifty-five years to secure equal guardianship in Massachusetts, but the power of the ballot secured it in Colorado at the next meeting of the legislature after woman suffrage was granted." There is no equal guardianship in Maryland.

(14) It has benefitted education in various ways, particularly by the vigorous enforcement of compulsory education laws and the provision of enough seats for all pupils. Colorado is unexcelled in these respects while Baltimore lacks school accommodations. Our ultra-masculine municipal governments cry, "Millions for docks, but not one cent more than is absolutely necessary for education!"

(15) It has benefitted the quality of the electorate by decreasing the proportion of ignorant, criminal and vicious voters. It has decreased the proportion of ignorant voters because it happens that the average man of this country is more illiterate than the average woman. Illiterate foreign immigrants are chiefly men, and moreover the girls and women of America are being educated more abundantly than the boys and men. Equal suffrage has decreased the proportion of criminal and vicious voters because women constitute about one-thirteenth of the convicts and two-thirds of the church members.

(16) It has benefitted the quality of officials because women vote more independently than men and put moral considerations above all others. Everywhere in the equal suffrage states from Wyoming to New Zealand the politicians

tates her continuance in a narrow environment." Here is another circle just like the first one: "Woman's inability to play golf when she has never been on the links necessitates her absence from the links, which necessitates continued inability, which necessitates continued absence." It reminds me of the negro who was asked why he didn't seek religion. He said: "Boss, I ain't fit." "Well, why don't you get fit?" His reply was, "Ah, boss, I ain't fit to get fit." Woman's condition is low indeed if she is not fit to get fit for the ballot. The facts in equal suffrage states refute the accusation.

I have dwelt longer on these subjective benefits than I shall dwell on any of the others because the subjective benefits by themselves are enough to win the case for equal suffrage. But, by way of good measure, I shall mention its objective benefits also.

(6) It has increased civic patriotism, because children are taught by mothers and teachers who have developed civic conscience. It is said that one cause of our lack of civic patriotism is the excess of women teachers in the schools. The remedy is not to dismiss the teachers but to change their idiotic political classification.

(7) It has benefitted the home by giving the home-maker equal power with the bread-winner to elect the law-makers whose laws affect the home as well as business. Men have used the ballot to advance their business interests, women to protect the home. The women of the equal suffrage states have protected the health of the home by improved civic house-keeping, for which they have great aptitude. Some women are frightened at the word politics, but municipal politics is largely municipal house-keeping, and men are notoriously bad house-keepers, with an appalling indifference to dirt. Women, when once aroused, take a deep interest in such things as street-cleaning, garbage-removal, and sanitation. Bad sanitation means dead children. In our cemeteries there are thousands of graves of children slain by typhoid fever and other preventable diseases, and each little tombstone is a mute argument for giving the ballot to women, the natural defenders of childhood.

(8) It has benefitted public forms of charity and philanthropy whose interests politicians of the eastern states have

subordinated to business interests because business men have ballots. In the equal suffrage states the women have made proper provision for the mistreated inmates of charitable institutions who were suffering from man's neglect. Give us woman suffrage in Baltimore and not only will the disgraceful management of Bay View Almshouse be ended, but preventive and constructive forms of philanthropy will flourish more than ever before.

(9) It has improved the laws for the protection of children, because it has given mothers and teachers power in addition to influence. In Maryland and the other eastern states the child-labor laws and other laws for the protection of children are not so well enforced as in the equal suffrage states. Colorado is the most advanced state in the Union in its protection of children, because the various laws are not only good in themselves but are well enforced. This is because women have the power to punish those who disregard the law. Let me ask you never again to make the statement that influence is worth more than power. It is not only contrary to the facts but indicates careless thinking. The privilege of trying to persuade a politician is never worth as much as the power to command him.

(10) It has checked the growth of gambling and saloons, without abolishing either. I make no claim that law can by itself conquer immorality. It takes two things to do that — law and personal education. Either alone is only partly successful. What I do claim is that equal suffrage helps to check the spread of vice, though some eastern newspapers fail to record the fact. For instance the *Boston Post* published an interview with a distinguished citizen of Denver who said equal suffrage had ruined Denver. This distinguished citizen was a prize-fighter and murderer whose gambling establishment had been closed by woman suffrage, which he therefore pronounced a failure. It all depends on the point of view. The saloon power has also been checked. In a section where conditions are specially unfavorable to local option it has greatly increased on account of the votes of women.

(11) It has protected girls by checking the white slave traffic and raising the age of consent. It seems to me that the most infamous thing on this earth is an organization which

are afraid to nominate men of bad character for fear of the votes of women.

We now reach benefit number sixteen and a half. It has half way purified politics, especially in those departments which affect children and the home. This is strikingly illustrated by the re-election of Judge Lindsey because he was a protector of the children. He angered the telegraph companies by refusing to let little messenger boys be sent with telegrams to houses of ill-fame, he angered the liquor interests by punishing the keepers of wine-rooms who allowed children to enter, he angered some influential Democrats and Republicans by putting them in jail; and the bosses of both parties refused to re-nominate him. But he was nominated on an independent ticket, and the women rallied to his support with amazing earnestness, and, with the aid of the good men of Denver, they triumphantly re-elected him by giving him more votes than both the regular nominees combined, and thirteen thousand more than his nearest rival. Rely on it that women will defend children invariably if you give them the power to defend children. They may not be able to purify politics completely, but they will quickly sweep out of power those corrupt politicians who make money by selling the bodies and souls of children.

Because politics first invaded the realm of woman, woman has invaded the realm of politics. She has realized that her sphere includes everything necessary for the protection of children. The relation of woman to politics is illustrated by the story of a woman who lived on a high hill. She looked out of her window one day and saw a vicious goat which had climbed the hill and was attacking the children. She hurried out and rushed at that goat with such vigor that she knocked him head-over-heels and he didn't stop rolling till he reached the bottom of the hill. He was crippled but not killed. He got up and looked reproachfully at her and said "Ba-a." She shook her fist at him and said "Ba-a yourself, you began it!"

Woman suffrage has crippled several persistent enemies of the children. And this brings us to the most convincing argument of all. It is based on a famous dictum of Napoleon: "Find out what your enemy wants you to do and don't do it."

What do the corrupt politicians, the gamblers, the keepers of immoral resorts and the saloon-keepers want you to do about woman Suffrage? They want you to oppose it. In the equal suffrage states they are unanimous in cursing it. They desire that it shall never be victorious in another state. They helped to defeat it in Oregon. The machines of both parties in that state fought it. The Liquor Dealers' Association spent a quarter of a million dollars to defeat it. The anti-suffragists hired a Chicago man named F. E. Reed to conduct their campaign. He was a professional agent for brothel-keepers, a wicked man engaged in a home-destroying industry. But he cried, "God bless the home!" and argued that it would be ruined if women had a chance to vote — if they had a chance once a year to punish the enemies of the home and keep its friends in office. How absurd an argument! The enemies of the home say, "Down with woman suffrage!" What do you say? There's no doubt as to where the gamblers, libertines and liquor-sellers stand. Where do you stand — with them or against them? Those who think equal suffrage hurts the home are morally cross-eyed. A cross-eyed man once collided with another man on the street and became angry and said, "Why don't you look where you are going?" The other man smiled and said, "Why don't you go where you are looking?" The anti-suffragist is looking towards the protection of the home, but is not stepping that way. He is going in the direction which pleases the enemies of the home. O you mistaken anti-suffragists, why can't you see that woman suffrage does not mean the destruction of the home but the expansion of the home idea, so as to make our larger home, the community, more home-like, cleaner, healthier, a safer and more virtuous place in which to rear boys and girls. The fierce antagonism of the enemies of the home to woman suffrage ought to convince you of its solid benefits.

Now, finally, if you are convinced, let me urge you to speak your convictions. Defenceless children and mistreated women are calling to you to champion their cause. Whoever sees that a cause is just and is afraid to say so proves in that hour a traitor to conscience and humanity and sinks to the level of a slave.

"They are slaves who fear to speak
 For the fallen and the weak.
 They are slaves who dare not choose
 Hatred, scoffing and abuse
 Rather than in silence shrink
 From the truth they needs must think.
 They are slaves who dare not be
 In the right with two or three!"

But it is no longer a question of two or three, for already three million women have the right of suffrage and millions more are rapidly approaching enfranchisement. It is not in your power to stop this world-wide movement, it is only in your power to decide whether you will join the procession now or postpone acting till it is disgracefully late and come creeping along at the rear after every wise, brave, progressive person has passed ahead of you. Why not break the bonds of custom today and become a leader instead of a laggard in the cause of truth and justice?

Wilson Urges Voters to Disregard Pickets

Declares Women's Suffrage Shouldn't
Suffer for Their Actions.

(By Associated Press.)

New York, Oct. 18.—President Wilson, in a letter to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Woman Suffrage association, made public last night, expressed the hope that voters would not be influenced by the actions of the so-called pickets in Washington. The letter, dated October 13, follows:

"My Dear Mrs. Catt—May I not express to you my very deep interest in the campaign in New York for the adoption of woman suffrage, and may I not say that I hope no voter will be influenced in his decision with regard to the great matter by anything the so-called pickets may have done here in Washington. However justly they may have laid themselves open to serious criticism, their action represents, I am sure, so small a fraction of the women of the country who are urging the action of woman suffrage that it would be most unfair and argue a narrow view to allow their actions to prejudice the cause itself. I am very anxious to see the great state of New York set a great example in this matter.

"Cordially and sincerely yours,
"WOODROW WILSON."

Minneapolis Tribune, Oct. 18, 1917.

We Shall Call

DURING THE NEXT FEW DAYS WE SHALL CALL TO GIVE YOU AN OPPORTUNITY TO SIGN A PETITION TO OUR STATE LEGISLATURE ASKING IT TO RATIFY THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT. PLEASE WATCH FOR THE CANVASSER AND EXPEDITE THE WORK.

"We shall fight for the things that we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

President Wilson

TURN ON THE LIGHT

Among thoughtful men there is very little difference of opinion as to the **justice** of woman suffrage, but there is much difference of opinion as to its **expediency**. It is asserted that the experiment of woman suffrage has not proved altogether successful in the West, especially in Colorado, and that it has not brought any great advantage. **IS THIS SO?**

Has woman suffrage brought any material improvement in the government of states where it exists? **Has** it improved moral conditions, safeguarded the interests of the home, given better protection to children, improved conditions for working men and women and generally advanced the coming of better government?

This is the question this pamphlet answers, not by opinions and theories, but by **facts**.

Children have a better chance for life.

The publications of the Children's Bureau at Washington in 1915 showed that the lowest infant death rate in the world was in New Zealand, where women had voted for twenty-two years, and where government aid and instruction was given to mothers, even in the remotest country districts.

In all of the seven countries which had the lowest infant death rates women have at least the municipal vote, and in two, Norway and Australia, they have full suffrage. Accord-

ing to the latest figures compiled by the New York Milk Committee, of all the cities in the United States with the lowest infant death rates the equal suffrage cities average 66 per cent., while the male suffrage cities average 100.7 per cent. Kansas has reduced its infant death rate from 120 to 70 since it established a **State Infant Hygiene Bureau**, the first one in the United States, in 1913, the year after women were given the full vote.

In view of these facts it seems to be shown conclusively that when women vote they are better able to tend to their business—the health of their children.

Children are better protected from exploitation in mills and factories.

Fewer children are employed in all of the twelve woman suffrage states put together than in almost any one of the larger Eastern or Southern States. The total number of children at work in all occupations in the eleven equal suffrage states is 55,234. North Carolina alone has 144,632, that is, one male-suffrage state alone has 89,398 more children at work than all the equal suffrage states put together! Mothers as voters are watching to see that the evil of child labor shall not get a foothold.

In 11 equal suffrage states boys, 10 to 15, at work, 11.0%.

In 37 male suffrage states boys, 10 to 15, at work, 25.9%.

In 11 equal suffrage states girls, 10 to 15, at work, 2.0%.

In 37 male suffrage states girls, 10 to 15, at work, 12.7%.

Owen Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, says:

"It would not be surprising if the eleven equal suffrage states had no child labor laws of any consequence when it is

considered how few children are employed. It is largely due to the urging of the women that in spite of the need not being so pressing, the laws of the equal suffrage states compare favorably even with those of the Eastern States, where the problem has been largest and has been fought most vigorously."

Six of the twelve states where men and women both vote have an eight-hour working day for children under 16, but only 14 of the 36 states, where women do not vote, have such a law.*

Public institutions for children and girls are given more attention.

Women naturally have more sympathy and experience with children than men. In the equal suffrage states it is customary to appoint women to the boards of public institutions. In Colorado the State Home for Dependent Children must have women as two of its five members; at least three of the six members of the Board of County Visitors must be women, and three of the five members of the Board of the State Industrial Home for Girls must be women. Yet many of the states where women do not vote will not allow women on any of the boards dealing with unfortunate girls.

Illiteracy has been almost abolished.

Every equal suffrage state has state-wide compulsory education. Five states where women are not allowed to vote still permit children to grow up absolutely illiterate. The average percentage of illiteracy in the United States is 8.1 per cent.; the average of all of the equal suffrage states, with the

*There are twelve states where women vote, but there are only eleven equal suffrage states. Illinois women have only partial suffrage.

exception of Arizona, is 3.2 per cent. Even with Arizona included, which has a very high percentage of illiteracy, owing to its Mexican and Indian population, it is only 4.7 per cent. The eight states which have had woman suffrage the longest have an illiterate percentage of only 2.8 per cent. (U. S. Census 1910, Table 10, p. 5.)

Commercialized vice is minimized.

Most women feel more deeply upon the social evil than do most men. Woman suffrage has meant a greater safeguarding of the home from the dangers of commercialized vice and white slavery. The Red Light Injunction and Abatement Act is recognized as the most effective way yet found to minimize this evil. Instead of continually arresting and fining the woman and sending her back to the street to earn her fine, which is the most common way of handling such cases, it puts the responsibility on the owner of the property and makes it unprofitable for him to rent it for immoral purposes.

This law was adopted by Arizona, Colorado, California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Kansas, Utah and Illinois, **after** women were given the ballot. Of the thirty-six states where men alone vote only sixteen have this act. That is, 75 per cent. of the equal suffrage states have this law (and in every case it has been passed since the women obtained the vote) and only 38 per cent. of the states where the women are not allowed to vote.

A special effort was made in California by all the traders in vice to prevent this bill from becoming a law. After it had been passed by the legislature, the vice interests secured a petition for a referendum. It is significant that only 6 per cent. of the names on this vice petition were those of women. In spite of a determined fight made to defeat it the Red Light Injunc-

tion and Abatement Law was upheld by popular vote, and both friends and enemies of woman suffrage give the credit of this result to the women.

Every woman suffrage state except Wyoming, which has not the large cities to intensify the need, prohibits disorderly houses and every one has a good White Slave law. Since women got the ballot California, Kansas and Idaho have passed stringent White Slave laws, and Oregon and Colorado have made it a felony for a man to live on the earnings of a prostitute. Idaho is the only state in the Union that has disfranchised all inmates, keepers and frequenters of houses of ill-fame, also all polygamists, including Mormons who practice or even **believe** in that custom. Three states where women are not allowed to vote have **no laws** whatever against disorderly houses. (From the Bulletin of the Amer. Social Hygiene Assn., January, 1917.)

Better laws for working women.

In many states **men** have won for themselves an eight-hour working day. The laws of twenty-three states limit the hours of men in public employ to eight. Women need this protection the same as men, but the only states where they have an eight-hour day are states where women vote: Arizona, California, Colorado, Washington, Nevada and in many occupations in Oregon.

In California the bill was passed by the same legislature that gave suffrage to women but **was not signed** by the governor until **after** the women were given the vote. In the State of Washington it was submitted to the legislature and **defeated every year for eight years** but was **passed the year following the granting of the vote to women**.

The worst hours of labor in equal suffrage states are the

best in the male-suffrage states. Nine hours, which is the New York State working day for women, have only been granted in nine out of the 36 states where women do not vote. The others allow ten, eleven and twelve, and in six of them there are no laws whatever to regulate the hours of work of women in industry. (American Assn. for Labor Legislation, December, 1916.)

Workmen's Compensation Laws exist in every equal suffrage state except Idaho and Utah, where there are few women in industry. There are 14 male-suffrage states without this law. (American Assn. for Labor Legislation, December, 1916.)

Industrial Welfare Commissions, the best form of determining living wages, exist in only ten of the United States, and six of these are in states where men and women both vote. (American Assn. for Labor Legislation, December, 1916.)

Colorado, as a result of the terrible strike at Ludlow, has the only **Industrial Dispute Law** in the country, which protects the rights of the general public in an industrial dispute.

Equal-Guardianship Laws, giving to both the father and mother the control of the children, exist in every state where men and women both vote, except Arizona. In twenty-one states where women do not vote the father is still the sole guardian of the child, and in three, Delaware, Florida and Tennessee, he can will or deed away the child from the mother.

Age of Consent Laws are uniformly higher in states where women vote. Eighteen is the age in every equal suffrage state except Nevada and Oregon, where it is sixteen. In nine states where women do not vote a girl of fifteen, fourteen and twelve, and in one state a child of only ten years, can consent to her own ruin!

Widowed Mothers' Pension Laws, which give a widow, left destitute with children, a pension (the same sum or less that is usually given to the orphan asylum) which enables her to bring up her children at home, are in effect in every equal suffrage state but Arizona, where the law was declared unconstitutional in 1914 and has not yet come before the Supreme Court. Only eighteen of the thirty-six states where women do not vote have this law.

WHAT WOMEN WANT

The legislative program of the Federation of Women's Clubs in the recently enfranchised states shows the results women are trying to gain by their votes.

In **Montana** women were enfranchised in 1914. In 1915 their legislative program included an Equal-Guardianship Law, Widowed Mothers' Pensions and Teachers' Pensions, all of which were secured.

In **Nevada** the year following the getting of the vote, the legislative program of the former State Suffrage Association included more stringent divorce and gambling laws, the Eight-Hour Working Day for Women, raising the Age of Consent from sixteen to eighteen, and a measure to open the schools as civic centers.

In **California** the last legislative program of the organized women was: Home teaching of cooking and sanitation, strengthening the Child Labor Laws, giving women complete control over their own wages, and a model Birth Registration Act.

In **Illinois**, despite the fact that women have only a partial suffrage, they are beginning to have considerable effect on legislation. Since they were given the vote they have suc-

ceeded in getting the Red Light Injunction and Abatement Act, abolished fines for street walking, made birth registration compulsory, secured equal pay for equal work (thus decreasing the possibility of men losing jobs and being supplanted by women), obtained minimum wage for men and women, one day's rest in seven and closed saloons on Sunday. Other undisputed results are cleaner polls and more orderly elections.

The Year-Book of the Anti-Saloon League for 1915 says of Illinois: "The woman suffrage bill has proved to be the most valuable piece of temperance legislation the state has enacted. In one election 1,150 saloons were closed; 900 of these were closed on account of majorities found in women's ballot boxes. The woman suffrage law has been of more value inasmuch as it has aided materially in enforcing the law."

The foregoing facts speak for themselves. Yet they are not all. Living witnesses—ministers by the hundreds—are testifying to the improved moral conditions when both men and women vote. In view of these indisputable facts and testimony, will you not help those who are struggling to keep your State in the forefront of all just, righteous and moral movements?

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

LIVING WITNESSES

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

Determine now to do your part.

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

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

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

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

**Real Moral
Uplift**

**Political
Cleansing**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

William Calvert, Lutheran Church, Hutchinson, Kansas:

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

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

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

No Sound Argument Against Suffrage

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

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

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

Unites the Home

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

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

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

Crime Has Fallen Off

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

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

"In this rather conservative city elections are going on very quietly without even a word out of place. Whether it is to be attributed to the influence of ladies that even little smoking is going on at the polling places, I do not know, but I presume so. Probably more women are voting than men. Men are at times kept away by work, women seldom. All of the ladies of my Ladies' Aid—good German housewives—are voting regularly at the elections. They are exactly the type of the German housewife devoted to Kinder, Kirche, Kueche, slow to take interest in public affairs.

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
303 Fifth Avenue  New York City

Printed March, 1917.

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



Why Does "Billy" Sunday Favor Suffrage for Men AND WOMEN?

Mr. Sunday says: "I stood for Woman Suffrage when it was not as popular as it is today."

On the question of woman, Mr. Sunday says:

"We had a war one time on account of taxation without representation; you all know about that."

On February 18, 1915, at the Billy Sunday Tabernacle in Philadelphia, appealing for Woman Suffrage, Mr. Sunday said:

"I am in favor of anything the Devil is against, and I am against anything that the Devil is in favor of.

"It makes me sick to see some weasel-eyed, drunken, whiskey-soaked degenerate depositing a ballot and keeping clean women away.

"The Nation that refuses to grant the requests and calls of women to protect their homes from the forces that are eating out their vitals is doomed, whether it is this or any other Nation."

Opinions of Catholic Clergy

There exists a widespread belief that the Catholic Church is officially opposed to Woman Suffrage. In a reply to a direct question concerning the Church's attitude, **His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons**, under date of March 27, 1914, stated: "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."

On February 14, 1917, Cardinal Gibbons received a delegation of Catholic suffragists from the cities of New York, Jersey City, Boston, Washington and Baltimore.

At the close of the private audience the Cardinal was approached by a representative of the Baltimore Sun with the query, "Has your Eminence been converted?" The Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore answered: "It is hard for one who has held decided views on a subject for fifty years to change those views. However, to err is human, to persist in error is wrong. The question of woman suffrage is one of far-reaching importance. Woman's influence in the world is constantly increasing. Women have done far more than men to civilize and Christianize the world." (Turning to the suffragists) "I make no promises, ladies, but my mind is open to conviction and I shall give the subject earnest thought."

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?

"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."

Most Reverend James John Keane, D.D., Archbishop of Dubuque, Iowa, formerly Bishop of Cheyenne, Wyoming:

"From my large experience as a Bishop of the Catholic Church in Wyoming where we have had woman suffrage for forty-two years, I am convinced that women vote as honestly, conscientiously and intelligently as do the men—to say the least. I also find that women are not active politicians nor office-seekers. I have never known but one woman in Wyoming who made herself obnoxious in politics. As to the Catholic women in my diocese, I do not find that the right of suffrage has drawn them either out of their homes or out of the Church. I think there need be no fear of that result." (From an interview given to a committee of Suffragists during his visit to San Francisco, June, 1911.)

Most Reverend Thomas O'Shea, Archbishop of Wellington, New Zealand, said on September 11, 1915, while visiting in Brooklyn:

"Woman Suffrage has been in operation in New Zealand for 25 years, and every one of those 25 years has been marked by progress towards better government. I can say from experience that the votes of the women of New Zealand have done much to improve the living conditions. Women were in the forefront in bringing about arbitration of strikes, child-labor abolition, regulated hours for workers and other reforms that have improved the conditions of workers. New Zealand women have not shown any desire to take men's places in the world. Man and wife go to the polls together, cast their ballots and return to their homes."

Most Reverend 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. I am heartily in sympathy with the movement in this country and believe that the tide of equal suffrage cannot be stemmed. The women of New Zealand have maintained the high standard of purity and womanhood, and, if anything, they are better wives and home-conservers."

Right Reverend M. J. Hoban, D.D., Bishop of Scranton, Pa., writes:

"In reply to your request for a favorable opinion on Woman Suffrage, I would say that for forty years I have held the opinion that it was an outrage to deprive property-holding women of the right to vote on taxation and bonding. Logically, there is no reason why women should not have the right to vote as well as men if they really desire to do so."

Right Reverend James McGoldrick, Bishop of Duluth, writes, Dec., 1914:

"The question of woman's vote is answered quietly in this country by the large number of states now in its favor.

"General morals, education and temperance would all be advanced by Woman Suffrage.

"The danger of home duties deserted, of wrangling at the

polls, of domestic difficulties and all the rest is simply a scarecrow danger made by the enemy."

Right Rev. Mgr. Joseph F. Mooney, Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of New York:

"There is no reason whatever why any woman in the Church should not advocate Votes for Women, so long as she does it in an orderly, lawful way. Whatever has been said on the subject by priests and members of the hierarchy has been said by them as individuals."

The Very Reverend H. Cummisky, Vicar General of the Diocese of Cheyenne, writes in a letter of Feb. 28, 1917:

"After living in Wyoming for over thirty-eight years, a state where women have voted for 47 years, I can truthfully say that they have always voted conscientiously and along high ideals and high moral standards. The well-educated as well as all other women go regularly to the polls and intelligently vote."

Right Reverend Austin Dowling, D.D., Bishop of Des Moines, Iowa:

"No vote, no influence, is almost an axiom in present policies. You get nothing unless you have influence; you have no influence unless you can vote."

Right Reverend James A. McFaul, Bishop of Trenton, N. J., writes, Sept., 1913:

"While I have not had time to study Woman Suffrage sufficiently to warrant me in advocating it in its entirety, it appears to me, however, that a limited suffrage, enabling women to help themselves by vote, would be desirable."

Reverend 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."

Right Reverend Paul P. Rhode, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, Ill., on hearing that many foreign women hesitated to register without the sanction of the church, issued the following letter, which was read in all the churches of Chicago, on Sunday, March 15, 1914:

"Catholic women of Illinois, in complete harmony with the teachings of the church, should all accept the new prerogative of their citizenship with which they have been invested by the extension of suffrage to them by law. Conditions demand that they be not reluctant to exercise their right of voting but, on the contrary, that they take a lively interest in the political life of the country. . . . Let the Catholic women remember the debt of gratitude to society and to the state for the benefits which they and all enjoy under its protection. When entering the polling place or voting booth no other motives should actuate them than the welfare of the state, the good of society and, above all, the protection of the family life of the nation and of sound principles."

Reverend John A. Ryan, Catholic University, Washington, D. C., author of "The Living Wage":

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

Reverend Joseph H. McMahon, Ph.D., Rector of The Church of "Our Lady of Lourdes," New York, in a lecture delivered January 15, 1913, said in part:

"It is well for Catholics particularly to take note of this, as far as there is a tradition, it is in favor of Woman Suffrage. . . . To say that the exercise of the right to vote will mean that a woman must neglect her home duties is to utter a smug commonplace, that shows how little given to reflection we are. . . . Purify your social life but do not be guilty of the stupidity of saying that the exercise of the right to vote

would degrade any virtuous woman in the world. As long as you send your daughters out into the busy market place with all its dangers and expect them to escape the pitfalls, which are, alas, too common, please do not commit intellectual suicide by declaring that they cannot vote because their modesty or reserve might suffer."

Reverend Daniel E. Hudson, C.S.C., Notre Dame, Ind., editor of Ave Maria, writes:

"The most fatal fallacy is that irreligion is at the bottom of the feminist agitation. On the contrary, the entire tendency of the movement is profoundly religious and betrays, apart from certain unavoidable excesses and deviations, an instinctive straining after the rules enjoined on her children by the Church. The suffragists are clamoring for moral reforms which in reality are incompatible with rejection of dogma. The closer we examine, the plainer does it appear that what is fallaciously called 'Feminism' is in reality a powerful impulse toward Catholic ideals and a Catholic code of morality.

* * * * *

"The conviction grows stronger with me that when women have votes many evils, now regarded as irremediable, will be under easy control, and much good accomplished that at present is only desiderated. That Woman Suffrage is assured is matter of rejoicing. *Deo gratias.*"

Reverend John Talbot Smith of Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., Ex-President of the Catholic Summer School of America:

"From the day suffrage entered the world it became inevitable that women should enjoy it as well as men. It is the only weapon of democracy, and democracy is no respecter of persons, sexes, conditions. If democracy is to succeed righteously its children must use and know how best to use the suffrage. Therefore, in due time, women will vote. And it has seemed to me latterly that Providence has taken up the matter and is ordering this agitation among women."

Reverend John L. Belford, Pastor Church of the Nativity, Brooklyn, N. Y., writes in the "Brooklyn Daily Eagle," March 7, 1917:

"The words written in the Book of Genesis, 'It is not good for man to be alone,' have a deeper and fuller meaning than is usually given them. They mean that man alone needs not merely the companionship of woman but that 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."

Reverend Geo. M. Searle, C.S.P., of San Francisco, Cal., under date of April 16, 1914:

"It is true that I am and have been all along in favor of Woman Suffrage. I regard the argument so commonly advanced about woman's sphere being the home as simply and obviously absurd. One might as well say that the doctor's sphere is his office or the hospital or his patients' homes. The point is that no time needs to be taken from one's regular duties in order to vote. It is quite plain that with regard to moral questions the interests of morality would be advanced by woman suffrage."

Reverend Joseph M. Gleason, Palo Alto, California, writes:

"There is no danger to the dignity of womanhood or motherhood to be feared from the ballot. I am looking at the question as a priest of the Catholic Church. We need the women to hold back the forces of corruption. She should be man's equal in the body politic."

Reverend J. J. Curran, Pastor of Holy Savior Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:

"Now no one is hardly so dense as to deny the fundamental right, the underlying principle of Woman Suffrage. It is merely a question of expediency just now but, as agitation and education go on along proper lines, expediency shall grow urgent, and Woman Suffrage shall come as a natural development and then we will all wonder why it took so long to arrive."

"Hence I am with you (Woman Suffrage Association) and all good people who aim by honest means to improve human conditions, and to cause happiness to reign in the hearts of all peoples, and in the homes of all nations under the sun, and wish you all possible success in furthering the cause of Woman Suffrage and all the social, religious and moral movements for the betterment of all mankind."

The Reverend M. M. O'Kane, O.P.:

"Should a woman take any interest in politics? One might as well ask should she take any interest in life. . . . Political life is the collective life of human beings, grouped together for the common good, and from this life and the benefits it concurs, one cannot exclude women without destroying her rights as a human being and ignoring the function she has to perform in society."

LETTERS AND ADDRESSES ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY CATHOLIC ECCLESIASTICS

Compiled by

MARGARET HAYDEN RORKE

Price, postpaid, each.....	11c
Per dozen	\$1.10
Per 100, express collect.....	\$6.50

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

LIVING WITNESSES

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

Determine now to do your part.

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

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

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

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

**Real Moral
Uplift**

**Political
Cleansing**

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

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

**Best Women
Vote**

"The best women, and that, too, in large number, are taking a hand in governmental affairs.

It is too bad the truth cannot be published. Our people would not return to the old way." (*Excerpt from letter of January 25, 1917.*)

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

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

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

"I was a resident of California when equal suffrage was passed and my observation was that at the first election after this passage there was very little, if any, change in the moral status, but the second vote marked a decided change in the moral issues. I moved to Nevada and watched

**Change in
Moral Issues**

very closely the movement here where practically the same thing took place. The first election did not seem to change the conditions, but the women of

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

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

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

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

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

"I have resided in Idaho ever since it had woman suffrage and have been traveling constantly over the state and I know the people and conditions in all parts of the state. From this long and wide observation I am ready to affirm the strongest sort of a conviction that woman suffrage has been

**Help to
Idaho**

a very material help and blessing to Idaho. In all parts of the state the very best and foremost women vote regularly. In Idaho, the votes cast by bad women are an exceedingly small minority of the whole. Since the vote was given to the women in this state, Idaho has made remarkable

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

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

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

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

"As one who has studied the question for many years and who at first was decidedly prejudiced against woman suffrage, I am glad to bear witness to the immense good accomplished by even the limited suffrage that women have in this state,

Salvation of National Politics both upon the women themselves and upon the general welfare and good of the community. I have observed with my own eyes the splendid improvements along all lines that the woman vote has made. I am bound to say that in my humble opinion the woman vote is going to be the salvation of our national politics. The best women in our towns and cities go to the polls and vote intelligently and conscientiously for the best things and men, and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

William Calvert, Lutheran Church, Hutchinson, Kansas:

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

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

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

**No Sound
Argument
Against
Suffrage**

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

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

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

**Unites the
Home**

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

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

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

**Crime Has
Fallen Off**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.
171 Madison Avenue

New York City

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N.

930 NICOLLET AVE.

MINNEAPOLIS,

1-2

MINN.

Bafus



***"Where your treasure is, there will your
heart be also"***

"Where Your Treasure Is, There Will Your Heart Be Also"

(Reprint from Union Signal)

JUDGE the two sides of the suffrage cause by the company they keep. A man is known by the company he keeps, and it is just as true of a cause as a man. You can go into any state where woman suffrage is an issue and into any city and you cannot find a single man who profits by vice or makes money out of sin who is on the side of woman suffrage. Why? **Why do the wicked unite against woman suffrage? It is because they know instinctively that woman's conscience is against their business.** Why is it that the wicked know enough to combine against woman's conscience while the righteous divide and split hairs and quibble?

Reference has been made to one of the arguments used against woman suffrage, that woman must not be allowed to vote because she might hurt herself with the ballot. Well, I'd have more respect for that argument if it had not been used so often on former occasions, but as I look back through history I find no reform that was ever undertaken in behalf of woman that was not met by the same objection, that it would hurt women to have the reform. Go over into the Orient, where, at the age of twelve or fourteen, girls must cover the face with a veil and after that must never enter the presence of men outside of their own family with their features revealed. When they attempt to overthrow

the practice they are told: "No, women must not be allowed to injure themselves by taking off the veil!" In this country women are not compelled to wear the veil, and who will say that the women of America are inferior to the women of the Orient because they are not compelled to abide by this custom that still prevails there? There isn't a country in the world where the women are better or stronger in character or more virtuous than in the United States!

Not only has woman profited by this ability to mingle with men, but our society has been infinitely blessed by the improvement. When it was first suggested that woman should be educated, the same answer was made, that it would injure her, and yet it is true that it has been stated that the average woman of the rising generation goes farther in education today than the average man, and we find that instead of injuring our women, it has made them better wives, better mothers, better sisters, better daughters, better members of the church and of society.

So that argument falls, and those who conscientiously believe that woman will be injured by exercising the ballot need only go into the states where women have the vote, and their fears will be removed.

The greatest argument in favor of woman suffrage is the right of a mother to a voice in the environment that shall surround her child. I have three children and I love them, I think, as well as a father can, but I am not in the same class with my wife when it comes to the love of the child, and I do not put any father in the same class with the mother in the love of the child.

Why is it that the mother's love for the child is the strongest, tenderest, most lasting thing in the world? **The**

Bible tells us, "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." The child is the treasure of the mother. She invests her life in her child.

The mother's life trembles in the balance at the child's birth and for years the child is the object of her constant care. She invests in it her nervous force and energy, and endows it with the wealth of her love; and she dreams of what the child is to be and do, and if a mother's dream only came true, what a different world this would be! The most pathetic struggle that this earth knows is the struggle of the mother to save a child when wicked men lay snares for it, and set traps for it, and as long as you give the ballot to the man who conspires to rob a home of a child it isn't fair, and you know it isn't fair, to tie a mother's hands while she is fighting to protect the home and her children.—Excerpt from speech delivered by William Jennings Bryan.

BETTER BABIES (*single leaflet*)

MOTHERS' SPHERE (*single leaflet*)

Price Postpaid, \$1.15 per 500; Exp. Col., \$1.75 per 1,000

POLITICAL DUTIES OF MOTHERS (*double leaflet*)

Price Postpaid, \$2.50 per 500; Exp. Col., \$3.50 per 1,000

"WOMEN IN THE HOME"—Voiceless Speech Chart

Price, 75c each, postage extra

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

171 Madison Avenue



New York City

The Common Man and the Franchise

By CHARLES A. BEARD

(Reprinted by permission of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage)

It is a favorite practice of privileged persons in all times to base their prerogatives upon natural law, divine will, right reason, or some other respectable foundation. King James I. of England, whose unhappy son lost his head during the Puritan revolution, ordered Parliament and the judges not to interfere with his affairs, saying: "That which concerns the mystery of the king's power is not lawful to be disputed; for that is to wade into the weakness of princes, and to take away the mystical reverence that belongs to them that sit in the throne of God. . . . It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do. . . . So it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that; but rest in that which is the king's revealed will in his law." Bossuet, the famous theologian and orator of Louis XIV.'s reign, celebrated the divine origin of absolute monarchy in his treatise on "Politics Drawn from the Very Words of the Holy Scripture," and boasted of the special advantage enjoyed by the French constitution in the exclusion of women from the throne. To him, France had "the best constitution possible, and the one most conformable to that which God Himself has established; all of which shows the wisdom of our ancestors and the special protection which God extends to this kingdom.

Long afterward, when the common men of England were demanding the right to vote, a clergyman wrote a book against them, in which he exclaimed: "What would you gain by universal suffrage, I am certain that you would gain nothing but universal confusion, universal setting of workmen against each other. . . . All workmen would then become politicians—they would neglect their vocations in life—spend their time, their strength, their talents in what would increase their poverty.

. . . . With respect to having members of Parliament paid and void of property qualification—really this is too absurd for an idiot to be the author of it. . . . The famous Chartist doctrine of Equality is diametrically opposed to Nature and the word of God; it is a doctrine taught only by lying prophets—men who are of their father the Devil, for his works they do.

These philosophers remind us of the average male opponent of woman suffrage to-day, who is constantly assuming that his right to vote rests on natural, if not divine, sanctions. He knows nothing about the origin of it. He is ignorant of the fact that not many generations ago kings, priests and nobles regarded the common man of his class and intelligence just exactly as he regards woman to-day. James I.'s motto was, "Let the cobbler stick to his last"—which meant to him, "Let the merchant, the banker, the trader, the artisan and laborer in the fields stick to their jobs and not interfere with the affairs of state, which are such high mysteries

as to be beyond the reach of common intellects." So the anti suffragist has for his motto, "Let women stick to their jobs, and leave the affairs of state to my supreme wisdom—so celebrated through the ages ever since the apple episode in the Garden." He does not know that his ancestors won political power by agitation and violence, and were ridiculed with the very same "arguments" which he now addresses to the women.

If we go back a little more than one hundred years we find the common man everywhere in Europe excluded from all share in the government, save in some rare instances. In England, Parliament represented the great landlords and the rich merchants, and a few yeomen. In the United States, in spite of the Declaration of Independence, the principle of manhood suffrage was odious to the leaders of politics and not accepted in practice. A very considerable proportion of the adult males were disfranchised by the property qualifications established in the first constitutions set up after the Revolution. Under the New York constitution of 1777, only freeholders owning a certain amount of property could vote for governor and senators; and a lower property qualification was prescribed for those who voted for assemblymen. All of these property tests for white men were finally swept away in New York in 1826—fifty years after the Declaration of Independence.

There is no time now to tell the interesting and moving story of the long struggle by which the common man wrested from his political superiors the right to vote. I may say, however, that he employed argument, appeals to a sense of justice, the cry of "natural rights," petitions, parades, and sometimes mob violence. I may say also that nowhere were the disfranchised men required to submit to the tests now applied to women by the anti-suffragists. They were not required to show that they were the intellectual equals of the enfranchised. They were not required to prove that they would use wisely and for the benefit of the ruling classes the power they demanded. They were not required to show that voting would not interfere with their "natural" functions as fathers and supporters of homes. They were not required to prove that a majority of the disfranchised wanted the vote or would use it if they had it. Nowhere was the absurd idea adopted of allowing the disfranchised to vote on their own issue.

Every argument that has been brought against woman suffrage is already rusty with age, because it was used long ago against manhood suffrage by the privileged. Every argument which can be adduced in favor of allowing anybody except kings to share in the government can be employed in favor of women. The social and economic conditions which underlay the movement for manhood suffrage form the foundation for woman suffrage. The strength of these social and economic forces is irresistible. The women may lose their battle to-day, and to-morrow and the next day; but the sun of Austerlitz will yet rise over their field.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.
171 Madison Avenue



New York

DO ANY OF THESE MEN COUNT WITH YOU?

PRESIDENT WILSON wrote Aug. 27, 1917:

"I hope that the voters of the State of New York will rally to the support of woman suffrage by a handsome majority. It would be a splendid vindication of the principle of the cause in which we all believe."

COLONEL ROOSEVELT said Sept. 8, 1917:

"I do not ask the ballot for woman as a favor; I say that it should be given to her as a right. To deny the mother the vote seems to me so preposterous that our descendants will fail to understand how we could call ourselves self-governing and democratic."

GOVERNOR WHITMAN said Aug. 29, 1917:

"Even if it were not the right of woman, even if every phase of our economic and industrial life did not call for the giving to her of the right to vote, I should still say that it is our highest duty to bestow on her the suffrage—that we may add to the conscience of the vote at a time when democracy is fighting for its life."

Forty-eight out of fifty-seven Mayors in New York State are in favor of woman suffrage.

MAYOR MITCHEL of New York City said on Aug. 29, 1917:

"You have convinced the people of the State that the womanhood of New York, practically as a whole, sincerely desires the vote. You have demonstrated that women, equally with men, rise to the great emergencies of life and can be trusted to exercise sound and balanced judgment upon public questions. I predict your victory by a substantial majority of the votes of the electors of the State."

SAMUEL GOMPERS said Aug. 29, 1917:

"Women must have the ballot—they are going to have the ballot in New York and all the States, because their demand is right; because they are human beings and members of organized society equal in intelligence, rights and desires with men."

THE STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR passed the following Resolution, Aug. 29, 1917:

The fifty-fourth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, in session here, unanimously recommends to all wage-earning voters of the State to vote and work for the adoption of the Woman Suffrage Amendment at the coming election.

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

303 Fifth Avenue



New York, N. Y.

Sept., 1917.

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

Colorado Speaks

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N

939 NICOLLET AVE.

COLORADO'S PROCLAMATION TO THE NATION

After twenty-two years of experience with Woman Suffrage in operation, the Colorado Senate passed, unanimously, the following Resolution on January 22, 1915:

WHEREAS, the question of Woman Suffrage has become an important issue in many States of the Union, and

WHEREAS, Woman Suffrage was made a part of the organic law of the State of Colorado more than twenty-two years ago, and

WHEREAS, the operation and effect of Woman Suffrage in this State is being made the subject of misrepresentation in other states where the question is an issue,

WHEREFORE, we deem it to be our duty to say that experience has demonstrated that Woman Suffrage is not only a just recognition of the rights of all before the law, but has proven in all respects materially helpful to good government among the people, and to a noticeable degree has inculcated a higher respect for the majesty and supremacy of the law.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

171 Madison Avenue



New York City

File copy

California Speaks

CALIFORNIA'S PROCLAMATION TO THE NATION

(Concurrent Resolution No. 22. May 12, 1915)

WHEREAS, the issue of Woman Suffrage is pending in many States of the Union, and

WHEREAS, the operation and effect of the enfranchisement of women in California is being constantly misrepresented in such States and used there as arguments in opposition to the granting of suffrage to women; therefore be it

RESOLVED, by the Senate of the forty-first session of the Legislature of the State of California, the Assembly concurring, that the experience of this State amply justifies the adoption of Woman Suffrage by the people in October, 1911; and be it further

RESOLVED, that so successful has been the operation and effect of granting political rights to women equal to those held by men that it is generally conceded that were the question to be again voted on by the people of this State, it would be endorsed by an overwhelming majority; and be it

RESOLVED, that the adoption of Woman Suffrage by California is one of the important factors contributing to the marked political, social and industrial advancement made by our people in recent years, and that any disparagement of the cause of woman suffrage attempted elsewhere on the ground that woman suffrage is not satisfactory to this State, has no basis in fact, and is signally disproved by the acknowledged intelligence and discrimination shown by women voters in the settling of our great political and industrial problems at the polls.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.
171 Madison Avenue



New York City

604 per m.

Think It Over

REGARDING WOMAN SUFFRAGE

It has been tried out in Wyoming since 1869, in Colorado since 1893 and in Utah and Idaho since 1896.

THINK IT OVER

Colorado granted equal suffrage by statutory enactment in 1893, then after seven years of trial, they put it in the State Constitution to stay.

THINK IT OVER

From these States it has spread to all the surrounding states—would this be likely to happen if equal suffrage were a failure or a disadvantage, or if it did not work out in practice?

THINK IT OVER

In Kansas women have voted on school matters since 1861. In 1887 they were given the right to vote in municipal affairs. In 1912 the men of Kansas gave their women the full suffrage by a referendum vote.

THINK IT OVER

No State that has equal suffrage has ever tried to repeal it. The same is true of European countries.

THINK IT OVER

Having worked to advantage in other parts of the United States, is it likely to be less satisfactory in your State?

THINK IT OVER

Will you help to bring this reform to your own State and give this measure of liberty and justice to your own women?

THINK IT OVER

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

171 Madison Avenue



New York City

Stand by the Country

TO DEFEND THE NATION all its resources are needed. Women must be mobilized equally with men.

As a measure of Preparedness Give Women the Vote.

England has had to do it. The new franchise bill will give the vote to 6,000,000 women.

Canada has done it. Since the war began five big Canadian provinces have given women the vote.

France is going to do it. The Chamber of Deputies has announced that the municipal vote will be given at once to women.

Denmark did it in 1915; when threatened by war, she gave the vote to women.

Russia is basing her new government on universal suffrage.

THE UNITED STATES HAS BEGUN. Since January North Dakota, Ohio, Indiana, Rhode Island, Michigan and Nebraska have been added to the twelve woman suffrage states by giving the Presidential vote to Women. Arkansas has broken the ranks of the Solid South and given women primary suffrage.

Don't wait for the tragedies of War to prove that the Country belongs to both men and women.

It is **our Country** as well as yours. Give us the vote that we may support it most effectively in both war and peace.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue



New York City

What is the Ballot?

File copy

- It is the symbol of citizenship, given to those capable of self-government.
- It is the right protective of all other rights without which no right already obtained can be safely guarded.
- It is the safe channel through which the voice of the oppressed or an exploited class may become articulate.
- It is the great educator, which stimulates citizens to reflect on public problems, public welfare and public characters.
- It is the best instrument ever devised to measure accurately public opinion in the shortest possible time.
- It is the necessity of the many, not the privilege of the few; the necessity of the wage-earner as of the home-keeper.
- It is the peaceable weapon of civilization, where ballots take the place of bullets, and can be used equally by the weak and the strong.
- It is the guarantee of equality before the law of every individual human being who uses it.
- It is the ultimate source of power in a democracy, and the foundation on which rests our entire government.

WOMEN NEED THE BALLOT AS WELL AS MEN
BALLOTS FOR BOTH!

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.
171 Madison Avenue



New York City

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N.

930 NICOLLET AVE.

MINNEAPOLIS

HANDICAPPED

File copy

A person without a vote is handicapped because voters choose representatives to make laws for them.

Voteless persons cannot choose representatives to make laws for them.

Women without votes are handicapped before the law and politically.

The vote is a modern labor-saving device like the telephone, the typewriter, the electric-light, the trolley. If you don't have these modern advantages you are handicapped. So are women without a vote.

The voting class can make a mighty demand through their chosen representatives, while the voteless woman humbly presents a petition.

The vote is an instrument for getting the kind of government that you want.

The vote is a weapon; without it, woman is defenseless, exploited, handicapped.

Men found they needed the vote and they got it.

Women find they need the vote and are trying to get it.

Women are asking you to give them the vote.

Will you remove their handicap?

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

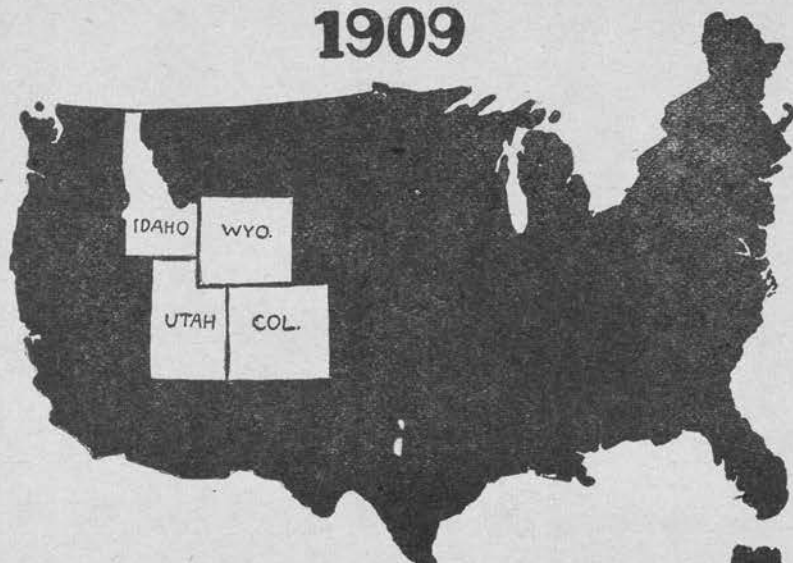
171 Madison Avenue



New York City

SEEIN' IS BELIEVIN'—HAVE A LOOK!

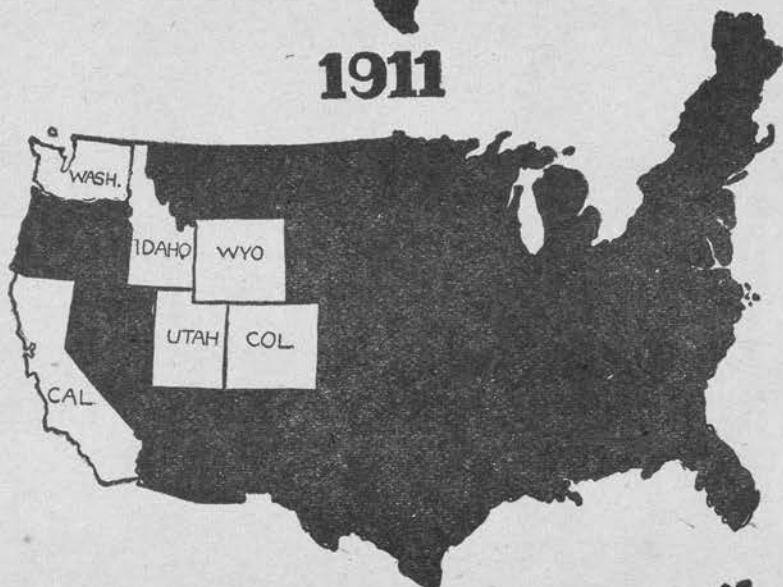
1909



1909

In 1909, four States, totalling exactly 17 votes in the Electoral College, represented the fruits of 61 years of agitation for woman suffrage.

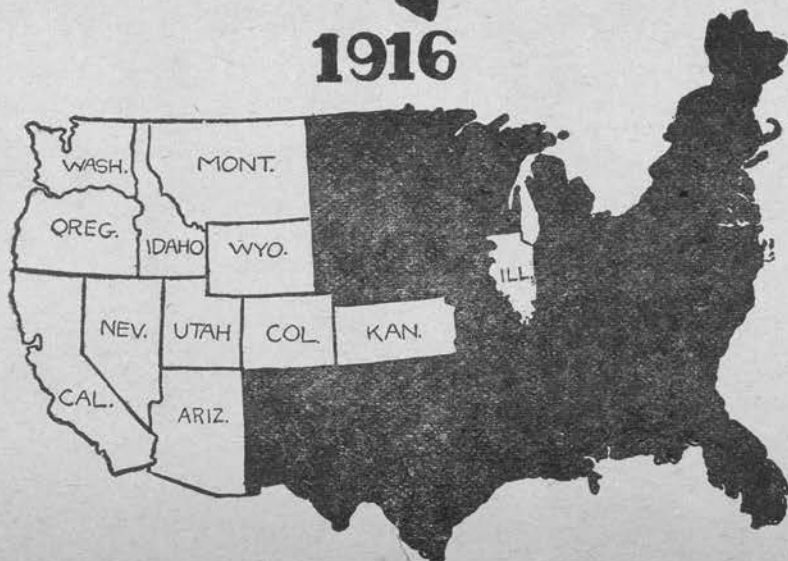
1911



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

VOTES FOR WOMEN A SUCCESS

NORTH AMERICA PROVES IT



The Canadian provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba extended full suffrage to their women in 1916. Ontario gave them full suffrage in March, 1917.

How long will the Republic of the United States lag behind the Monarchy of Canada?

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.

171 Madison Avenue



New York City

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.

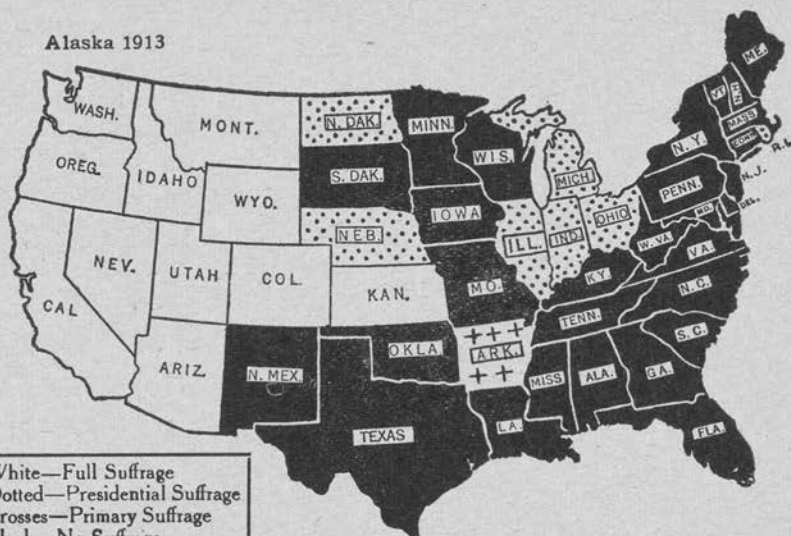
FOR MEN TO VOTE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE IS AN EDUCATION.
FOR WOMEN TO VOTE AT ALL WOULD BE AN EDUCATION.

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

Votes for Women a Success

THE MAP PROVES IT

Alaska 1913



White—Full Suffrage
Dotted—Presidential Suffrage
Crosses—Primary Suffrage
Black—No Suffrage

SUFFRAGE GRANTED

Wyoming	1869	Illinois	1913
Colorado	1893	Montana	1914
Idaho	1896	Nevada	1914
Utah	1896	North Dakota ...	1917
Washington	1910	Ohio	1917
California	1911	Indiana	1917
Arizona	1912	Arkansas	1917
Kansas	1912	Rhode Island ...	1917
Oregon	1912	Michigan	1917
Alaska	1913	Nebraska	1917

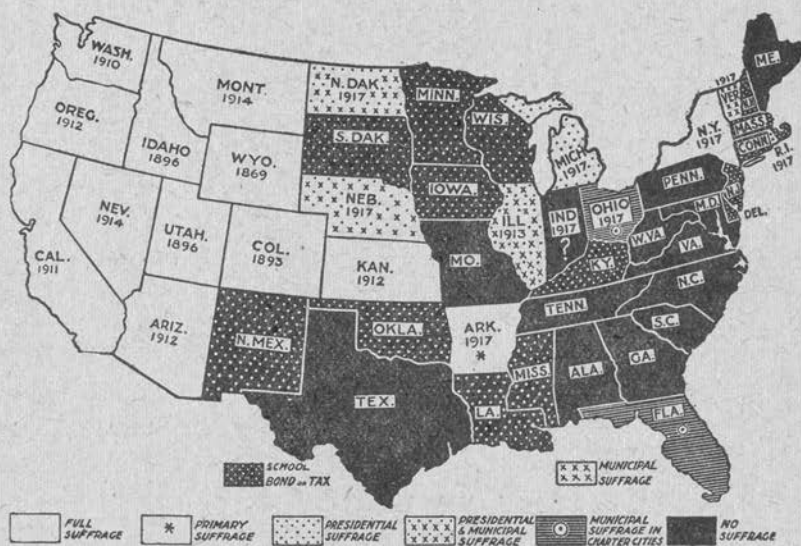
These States Control 172 Electoral Votes!

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue



New York City

Woman Suffrage is Here!



Twelve states have Suffrage for women on equal terms with men.

Six other states have Presidential Suffrage for women, and in one additional state women vote in the primaries.

These States Control 193 Electoral Votes

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

171 Madison Avenue

New York City

Printed February, 1918





A FOOLISH MOTHER

Loves her children only in the house.

A WISE MOTHER

Loves her children wherever they go.

AN EFFICIENT MOTHER

Follows her children out of the house, into the street, to the school, to the movie, to the factory, and stands between the child and evil influences, low standards, bad sanitation, disease, and vice.

**THESE CONDITIONS ARE CONTROLLED
BY VOTES**

How Much Do You Love Your Children?

Answer by joining the women who **LOVE
CHILDREN EVERYWHERE**

IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America

When in the course of these events it became necessary to explain the rights of the people, and women



Copyright Life Pub. Co.

The Declaration of Independence Up-to-date

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.
171 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK

First Aid to Patriotism: Woman Suffrage

PATRIOTISM depends on love of country and a **SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY** to one's country.

The responsibility in a democratic government like the United States **rests with the voters.**

As long as **one-half the People** are **denied the vote**, the **sense of responsibility** in one-half the People will not be **fully developed.**

Sons inherit from mothers as well as fathers.

Does the country need patriotic and responsible men?

Then it must develop patriotic women with a high sense of responsibility.

Woman Suffrage Means Patriotism.

Women want to vote because the ballot is an added means of serving their country, and is a great **developer of responsibility.**

True Preparedness means the development of **all** the country's resources. Until the women of this nation are equally responsible with men, one-half of its resources will be neglected, and the country will not reach its full development of strength.

VOTES FOR WOMEN!

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

AS A WAR MEASURE

The Country is
Asking of Women
Service

AS

FARMERS
MECHANICS
NURSES and DOCTORS
MUNITION WORKERS
MINE WORKERS
YEOMEN
GAS MAKERS
BELL BOYS
MESSENGERS
CONDUCTORS
MOTORMEN
ARMY COOKS
TELEGRAPHERS
AMBULANCE DRIVERS
ADVISORS TO THE
COUNCIL OF
NATIONAL DEFENSE

AND

The Country is
Getting It!

Women Are
Asking of The
Country

ENFRANCHISEMENT

Are the Women
Going to Get It?

President

Mrs. Andreas Ueland

Mrs. Peter Schwarg

First Vice President

Mrs. C. P. Noyes

Mrs. Sundeen

Second Vice President

Mrs. H. G. Harrison

Third Vice President

Mrs. H. J. Granis

Fourth Vice President

Mrs. M. M. Davidson

Fifth Vice President

Mrs. C. M. Stockton

Mrs. E. O. Irwin

Corresponding Secretary

Mrs. Maud C. Stockwell

Miss Florence Burton

Recording Secretary

Mrs. J. M. Guise

Rochester
The Daily Bulletin
Mr

What President Wilson Says



"We are fighting for the essential part of it all, (democracy) namely . . . to have a right to a voice in the Government under which we live, and **when men and women are equally** admitted to those rights, we have the best safeguard of justice and of peace that the world affords. There is no other safeguard."—May 16, 1917.

President Wilson Wants Woman Suffrage

He wrote to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Jan. 27, 1917:

May I not express to you and your organization my congratulations upon the passage of the bill granting to the women the right to vote for presidential elections and for municipal officers? As you know, I have a very real interest in the extension of the Suffrage to the women and I feel that every step in this direction should be applauded.

WOODROW WILSON.

He telegraphed to Hon. W. R. Crabtree, President of the Tennessee Senate, March 3, 1917:

May I not express my earnest hope that the Senate of Tennessee will reconsider the vote by which it rejected the legislation extending the Suffrage to Women? Our party is so distinctly pledged to its passage that it seems to me the moral obligation is complete.

WOODROW WILSON.

From President Wilson's Address to Congress, April 3, 1917:

"The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments."

"We shall, I feel confident, ourselves observe with proud punctilio, the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for."

"To such a task we dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have."

From President Wilson's Address to Suffragists at their National Convention, Sept. 8, 1916:

"Woman Suffrage is going to prevail, and that is a very superficial and ignorant view of it which attributes it to mere social unrest. It is not merely because the women are discontented. It is because the women have seen visions of duty, and that is something which we not only cannot resist, but if we be true Americans, we do not wish to resist."

I have come here to fight with you . . . to congratulate you that there was a force behind you that will beyond any peradventure be triumphant."

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."

Show that you are a true American.

**Work for the N. Y. Woman Suffrage
Amendment November 6th, 1917**

**Vote for the N. Y. Woman Suffrage
Amendment November 6th, 1917**

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

303 Fifth Avenue



New York

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

Should American Women Be Enfranchised As a War Measure?

Read What Statesmen of Nations at War Say:

Premier Lloyd George of Great Britain, March 29th, 1917:

"Women's work in the war has been a vital contribution to our success. It would have been impossible to produce that overwhelming mass of ammunition at the Somme had it not been for the work of women. Are you going to fling them out without a voice in determining the new conditions? It would be an outrage. That is why the woman question has become very largely a war question."

Ex-Premier Asquith, March 28th, 1917:

"The House will not be unprepared to hear that I myself, and I believe many others, no longer regard this question (of woman suffrage) from the standpoint which we occupied before the war. I think some years ago I ventured to use the expression, 'Let the women work out their own salvation.' That is what they have done during this war. How could we have carried on the war without them?"

"What moves me still more is the problem of reconstruction after the war. Questions which will necessarily arise in regard to women's labor and women's functions—are questions in regard to which I for my part feel it impossible consistently with either justice or expediency to withhold from women the power and the right of making their voices distinctly heard."

Sir Wilfred Laurier, Ex-Premier of Canada, February, 1917:

"Today, as we see the glorious part that noble woman is taking in service and sacrifice for the highest and best in civilization, my own belief is that there is no reason why she should be denied the right of the ballot."

Premier Hearst of Ontario, Canada, February, 1917:

"Having taken our women into partnership with us in our tremendous undertaking, I ask, can we justly deny them a share in the government of the country, the right to have a say about the making of the laws they have been so heroically trying to defend? My answer is, I think not."

Premier Boselli of Italy, May 5th, 1917:

"As far as the woman vote for municipal elections is concerned, I do not think there can be either doubt or delay in giving it on the same conditions as it is given to men."

In February, 1917, Signor Sacchi, Italian Minister of Justice, presenting to the Italian Chamber a bill for the abrogation of every law by which, in the field of civil and commercial rights, the capacities of women are at present curtailed, called it: "An act of justice—of reparation almost—to which women have now more right than ever."

Said M. Pierre Etienne Flandin, Deputy of the Yonne, the reporter to the Chamber of Deputies, of the Municipal Suffrage Bill for French women:

"What French women have done to keep up the courage of the nation during the dark days cannot be measured in words. They have been the backbone of the national defense. They should have the right to vote, first of all, as an act of justice, and, secondly, as a move dictated by public interest."

Grand Duke Michael of Russia, March 18th, 1917:

"I urge upon all citizens of Russia to submit to the Provisional Government, until such time as the constituent assembly, on a basis of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage, shall express the will of the people."

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

FACING FACTS

**WOMAN SUFFRAGE WILL MORE THAN
DOUBLE THE MAJORITY OF NATIVE-BORN
VOTERS IN NEW YORK STATE.**

The census of 1910, pp. 111 and 117, shows that the present voting population of New York State is as follows:

Men over 21, native-born	1,562,358
Men over 21, foreign-born, naturalized.....	502,083
Present majority of native-born voters.....	1,060,275

With Woman Suffrage, providing that the same proportion of foreign-born women as men are naturalized (which the records show is always less), the voting population would be:

Men and women over 21, native-born	3,200,498
Men and women over 21, foreign-born	941,188
Majority of native-born voters.....	2,259,310
(With Woman Suffrage)	

WOMAN SUFFRAGE WILL INCREASE THE PROPORTION OF EDUCATED VOTERS IN NEW YORK STATE.

In 1915 there were enrolled in the schools of New York State:

Girls	83,770
Boys	73,310

In the high schools there were graduated that year:

Girls	9,913	Girls	60%
Boys	6,531	Boys	40%

WOMAN SUFFRAGE WILL INCREASE THE LAW-ABIDING VOTE IN NEW YORK STATE.

Inmates of prison, men.....	4,665
Inmates of prison, women.....	878
Inmates of the penitentiaries, men.....	1,410
Inmates of the penitentiaries, women.....	55
Inmates of reformatories, men.....	1,820
Inmates of reformatories, women.....	664
N. Y. City Department of Correction, men.....	5,600
N. Y. City Department of Correction, women.....	899

THE ORGANIZED POWERS OF EVIL ARE ALL FULLY ENFRANCHISED TODAY.

The gambling interests, the organized vice interests, the big business interests that exploit child labor, the op-

pressors of men and women workers, the liquor interests, and the common grafter, are all voters, fully represented in government. They have a thousand business and political connections which give them control of an immense number of other voters.

These are the main **FORCES** that are **WAGING** the **FIGHT AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE**, and they are **IMMENSELY POWERFUL**, because they are in a **POSITION** to command the machinery of government.

THE POWERS FOR GOOD ARE LARGELY UNENFRANCHISED.

First, **the Home**, which should have a powerful influence for **cleanliness** and **humanness** in government, is only 50% represented; **one-half**, the woman part, **disfranchised**.

Second, **the Church**, which should have a powerful influence for **decency** and **morality** in government, is only 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % represented; **two-thirds**, the woman part, **disfranchised**.

Third, **the School**, which through its teachers should be a tremendous factor in enforcing its ideals for **citizenship**, is only 10% represented; **nine-tenths**, the women teachers, **disfranchised**.

**WORK FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE IF YOU ARE A
WOMAN.**

**VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE IF YOU ARE A
MAN.**

**GIVE TO THE BEST INFLUENCES IN THE
STATE THE SAME REPRESENTATION IN GOVERN-
MENT NOW ENJOYED BY THE WORST.**

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
303 Fifth Avenue  **New York City**

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

Where Do New York Women Come In?

During the past four years the women of New York State have made a continuous campaign for Woman Suffrage. By sheer hard work a huge organization has been built up which includes every one of the one hundred and fifty Assembly Districts and extends into most of the polling precincts of the State.

There are over 5,000 women officers in the New York Woman Suffrage Party who are giving most of their time to the work, and more than 500,000 women in the state are enrolled.

During this time, with comparatively little effort, in

CANADA—Five great provinces, Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and Ontario, have adopted Woman Suffrage. In the midst of war, and with the votes of her soldiers, Canada has given votes to her women.

UNITED STATES—Since January this year six new states have given presidential suffrage to women: Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Nebraska, North Dakota and Rhode Island, and Arkansas has given the vote to women in all primary elections.

ENGLAND—The bill to give votes to 6,000,000 English women has passed its third reading in the House of Commons by a vote of 385 to 56. It has the full backing of the British Government and it is promised that there will not be another general election without the votes of women.

RUSSIA—In Free Russia men and women are voting together. For many years women have worked side by side with men for Democracy. In forming a new government Woman Suffrage was accepted as a matter of course.

FRANCE—A bill is now before the Chamber of Deputies and has the support of the French Government to give the municipal vote to women at once.

DENMARK—Surrounded by war on all sides, troubled by a multitude of new problems, Denmark, in 1915 gave the full vote to all her women.

ITALY—A Municipal Suffrage bill is now before the Chamber of Deputies and has the support of the Prime Minister who says: "I do not think there can be either doubt or delay in giving it on the same conditions as it is given to men."

YUCATAN—Even little Yucatan, in darkest Mexico, has given the vote to her women.

IN EVERY COUNTRY AT WAR THE VOTE HAS EITHER BEEN GIVEN TO WOMEN OR IS UNDER CONSIDERATION. ARE NEW YORK WOMEN GOING TO BE CLASSED AS THE ONLY WOMEN AMONG CIVILIZED NATIONS UNWORTHY OF THE VOTE?

Suffrage as a War Measure

SINCE THE WAR BEGAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE HAS BEEN SWEEPING OVER THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

Women are now voters in Canada, in Russia, Norway, Finland and Denmark; they are about to become voters in Great Britain; all constitutional liabilities have been removed from them in Holland; and government bills to give municipal woman suffrage are under way in France and Italy.

THE WOMEN OF NEW YORK STATE HAVE NO LESS PATRIOTISM, COURAGE OR ABILITY THAN THE WOMEN OF ENGLAND, RUSSIA OR CANADA.

THEY ASK THE MEN OF NEW YORK TO RECOGNIZE THIS AND VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE ON ELECTION DAY.

Give votes to women as part of the nation's defense

Men have denied votes to women because they said that women are not called on to serve the State, and therefore not entitled to vote.

This war has proved that women must serve the state equally with men.

The Census taken by New York State of its Military Resources included **both men and women**.

The government is calling on women to help in factories, in the production and conservation of food, to make munitions, and hardest of all, to give their sons to war.

Women are responding to the call. They are **eager** to serve. Either in war or in peace they **wish** to serve their country.

MEN OF NEW YORK STATE, DON'T WAIT UNTIL THE WAR IS OVER TO ADMIT THE JUSTICE AND NECESSITY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE HERE. FOR THE SAKE OF THE STRENGTH IT WILL ADD TO THE NATION, VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE NOVEMBER 6th.

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
303 Fifth Avenue  **New York City**

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

August, 1917

WHAT WOMEN WANT

The New York State Woman Suffrage Party Works Only to Get the Vote for Women On the Same Terms as Men

The Constitution of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party states:

"The object of this organization shall be to secure to the women of the State of New York and of the United States **their right to vote** by appropriate State and National Legislation.

The Suffrage Organization Includes All Political Parties and All Religions

Text of a resolution adopted by the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, 1915.

RESOLVED, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association reaffirms that its policy is **non-partisan and non-sectarian**; opposing no political party as such and opposing no candidate because of his party affiliations, judging every candidate by his own attitude and record.

Suffragists Reaffirm Their Love for the Home and Belief in the Sacredness of the Marriage Relation

We believe the home is the foundation of the State: We believe in the sacredness of the marriage relationship, and further, we believe that the ballot in the hands of the women will strengthen the power of the home and sustain the sacredness and dignity of marriage; and we denounce as gross slander statements made by the enemies of equal suffrage that its advocates as a class entertain opinions to the contrary.—(From a resolution passed at the National Convention 1915.)

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
303 Fifth Avenue

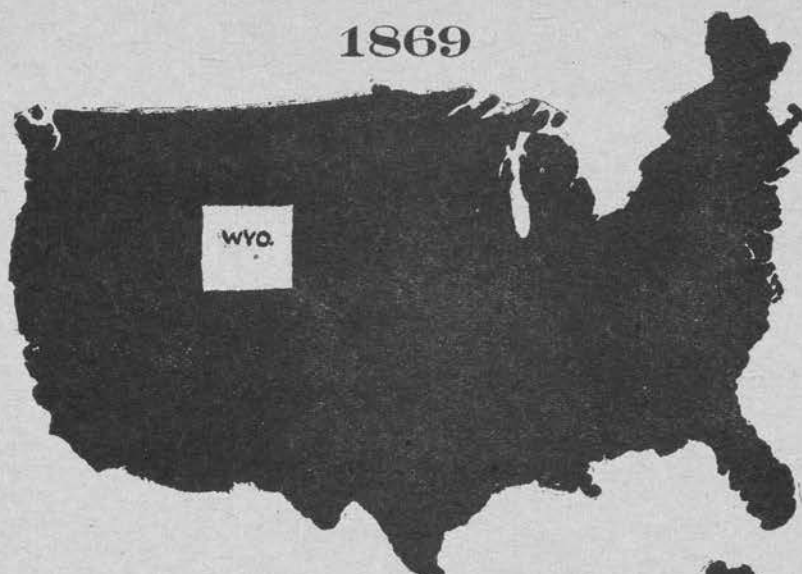


New York City

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

SEEIN' IS BELIEVIN'—HAVE A LOOK!

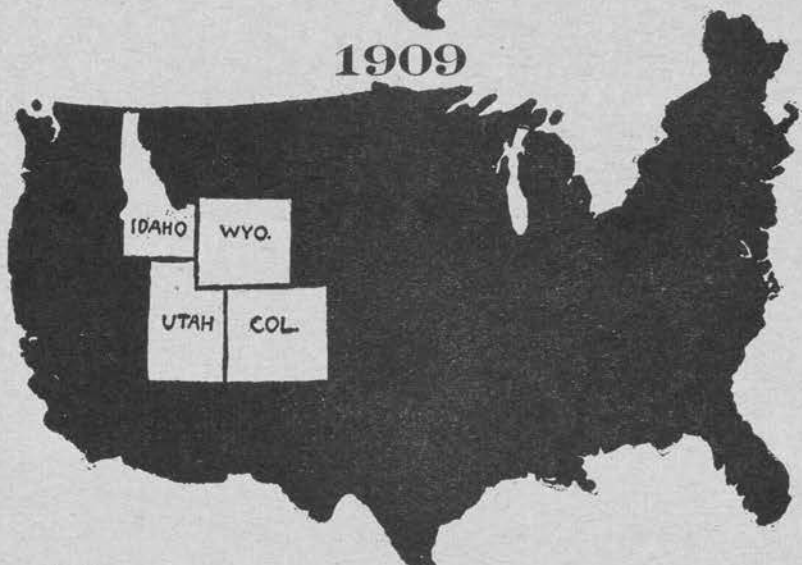
1869



1869

In 1869 the infant territory of Wyoming was the first country in the world to give Suffrage to women on equal terms with men.

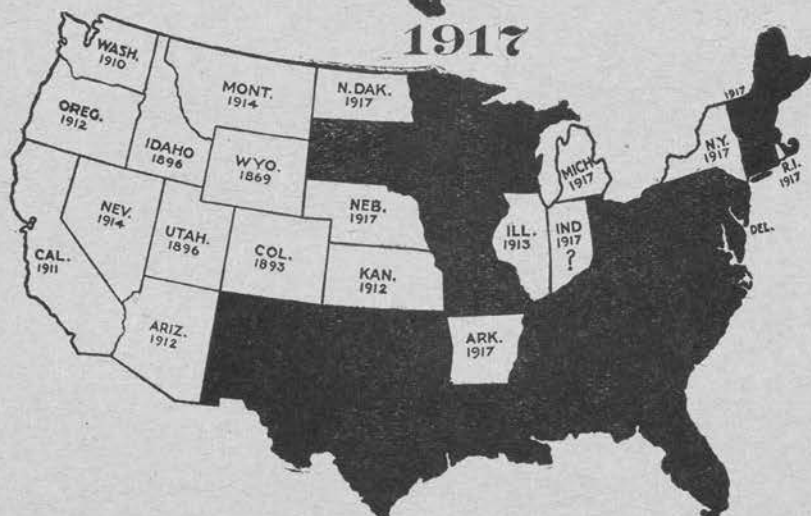
1909



1909

In 1909, four states, totaling exactly 17 votes in the Electoral College, represented the fruits of 61 years of agitation for woman suffrage.

1917



1917

Twelve states have Suffrage for women on equal terms with men.

Six other states have Presidential Suffrage for women, and in one additional state women vote in the primaries.

These states control 193 electoral votes.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue

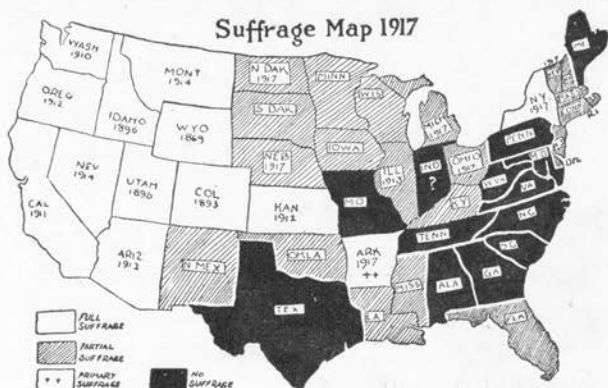
Printed February, 1918



New York City

Suffrage Advance in the United States

1917



States where Men and Women Vote on Equal Terms

Wyoming	Arizona
Colorado	Kansas
Idaho	Oregon
Utah	Montana
Washington	Nevada
California	New York
and	
Territory of Alaska	

Additional States where Women May Vote for President

Illinois	Rhode Island
North Dakota	Michigan
Nebraska	

In Arkansas women may vote in the
primaries.

Why Congress Should Pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment

1. In the countries of the Old World Suffrage is granted by act of Parliament. Without Federal action the United States will lag behind in the procession of democratic progress.

2. National protection of women in their right to vote in those States in which women are already enfranchised can only be secured by the passage of a Federal Suffrage Amendment.

3. Many States whose constitutions are well-nigh impossible to amend, can only enfranchise their women through a Federal Suffrage Amendment.

4. *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 un-republican, undemocratic and unfair?*

5. A short, expeditious and constitutional method of remedying a great injustice to women lies in the passage of a Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Justice in Wartime Brooks No Delay

The Sign and Seal of American Democracy

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.

One-third of the Senate, House and Electoral College come from States where women vote. These States comprise one-half the territory and 35% of the population of the United States.

The Constitution of the United States (Article 4, Section 4) guarantees a *Republican* form of government in which (Article 1, 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.

Suffrage Advance in Foreign Countries

1917

IN ENGLAND, in June, 1917, the Representation of the People Bill passed its third reading in the British House of Commons. This bill which is a government measure and is expected to pass the House of Lords, will extend the vote to about six million women 30 years of age and over.

IN CANADA, in September, 1917, a bill was passed giving Parliamentary vote to all women, except those of alien enemy birth naturalized since 1902, who are mothers, wives, widows, sisters or daughters of soldiers.

IN MEXICO, in November, 1917, the State of Guanajuato conferred the privilege of suffrage in all municipal matters upon women, the only restriction being that they must be of reputable character.

IN FRANCE, a Suffrage Commission appointed by the Chamber of Deputies has brought in a favorable report on Woman Suffrage.

The Minister of Justice of Hungary and the Premiers of Italy and Sweden have pledged their respective governments to extend suffrage to women.

The City of Prague has appointed a Commission to bring in a Municipal Suffrage plan including Woman Suffrage.

Woman Suffrage was recently debated in the Imperial Reichstag.

The Spirit of Democracy

By Dr. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

"Democracy is not merely a form of government; it is a great spiritual force emanating from the heart of the Infinite, permeating the universe and transforming the lives of men and women until the day comes when it shall take possession of them and shall govern their lives. Then will men be fitted to lift their faces to the source from whence the spirit of democracy flows, and answer back in the spirit, in their recognition of that fundamental principle of democracy: 'One is our Father, even God, and we are members one of another.' And as soon as the spirit of democracy takes possession of us, we shall not quibble as to whether it is male or female, bond or free, Jew or Greek! We shall recognize only that every child has an equal right with every other human child of God, in the things that belong to God. Liberty, Justice, Freedom belong alike to God's human children."

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
303 Fifth Avenue  New York City

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

Isn't It True?

Isn't It True

That a man's success in business depends not only on himself but on the men he helps elect to office?

Isn't It True

That housekeeping is woman's business and that her success depends not only on herself but on the way her town is governed?

Isn't It True

That the control of food, air, light, water, health, education, morals and all living conditions is to-day in the hands of the officials of the town?

Isn't It True

That it is only common justice and common sense to let the woman in the home share in electing the men on whom the comfort of the home depends?

Isn't It True

That a man does not neglect his business because he votes, and that a woman will not neglect her home because she votes?

Isn't It True

That the happiness of a home does not depend on the woman always being in it, but on the kind of woman she is?

Isn't It True

That in the right kind of a home BOTH the man's AND the woman's points of view are needed?

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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

Do Men Represent Women?

By ANNE O'HAGAN

NO—no class has ever, in the history of the world, proved itself equal to legislating justly—continuously justly—for any other class. And man legislating as a class for woman as a class has been no exception to the universal rule.

Men, making and interpreting laws for women as well as for themselves, were over a hundred and fifty years in deciding that the word "youth" might include girls as well as boys, and the free-school system of the country might be as widely utilized by girls as by boys. It took a period much longer for the beginning of the doctrine of equal pay for equal work to be even lisped.

Men, making and interpreting laws for women as well as for themselves, were an astonishingly long time in reaching the doctrine that a woman's property is ever so remotely her own. It was less than twenty years ago—in 1894—that a sheriff waited at the church door of a certain town in Kentucky for the conclusion of a marriage ceremony; that ceremony would make the woman's property the man's without any further ado about it—any fuss and feathers with deeds and signatures—and the sheriff, having a judgment for debt against the man, waited in order to be able to seize at once the most readily available piece of the bride's property. It happened to be the bridal coach and horses.

Men, legislating for women as well as for themselves, have not at all universally decided that a mother's guardianship rights in her children are equal to a father's. In not all the states are the rights of parents equal yet; and it was not until 1893 that the law in New York State recognized the mother's rights in her children as equal to the father's.

Men, legislating for women as well as for themselves, were responsible for the unspeakable statutes declaring the age at which girls might be considered as responsible for their own ruin. In twenty-nine of the states this age was originally ten years, and amendment has been laboriously slow and inadequate throughout.

Men, in short, legislating as a class for women as a class, have done exactly what every ruling class has always done throughout the history of the world—they have discriminated against the class which had no legal voice. That is the condition that democracy aims to correct; and democratic governments are founded as much upon the long roll call of the failures, on the part of aristocracies, oligarchies, and monarchies, to deal justly with the classes not represented in their governments as upon the glorious words about liberty, equality, and fraternity, to which the ardent hearts of the world were thrilling at the time the Declaration of Independence was written.—From "Why I am a Suffragist," in Smith's Magazine.

SEND TWO-CENT STAMP FOR CATALOGUE OF SUFFRAGE LITERATURE
AND SUPPLIES.



NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.,

Publishers for the

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Results of Equal Suffrage in California

Women Do Not Neglect Their Homes. Political activity and service are carried on by women whose children are grown, by women without children or by unmarried women, just as club activities are carried on.

Suffrage Has Proved to be Another Bond of Common Interest between husband and wife. They do not always agree in opinion, but discussion has added to their information and has not broken up any homes.

Women Seldom Seek Political Office. No women ran for the legislature in the first two state elections after their enfranchisement and few have been elected to any but minor positions. Many have been appointed to political positions. Women show a desire to fit themselves for office before seeking it.

Women Do Not Pay a Poll Tax. The Poll Tax is not a voting tax but a school and military tax imposed upon men only, citizens and aliens alike.

Women Are Registered in Their Homes. The regular biennial registration is largely made by house-to-house visits of Deputy County Clerks. There is no trouble or inconvenience about registering.

Women Attend Political Meetings, Often Taking Their Children with them.

Women Conduct Schools of Voting and Teach Men as well as women how to vote correctly.

Polling Places Have Been Made Entirely Desirable. Schools, churches, libraries, club houses and tents are now used extensively. The use of livery stables, barns, barber shops and similar places has been stopped. No man now would question the desirability of having his wife go to the polls.

Women Frequently Serve as Election Judges. They are interested, conscientious and reliable. Several of the county clerks have stated that they prefer to have women as judges.

As a Rule Women Do Not Vote Unless They Understand a Question. Men frequently vote "No" on all propositions they do not understand, but women refrain from voting.

Women Vote More Rapidly and With Fewer Mistakes than men. This is generally commented upon by election officials. It is due to the fact that women study the sample ballots and know exactly how they are going to vote.

A Petition to Appeal the Suffrage Amendment Was Stopped as soon as the first few elections demonstrated the sensible way that women would vote.

Those Who Were Anti-Suffragists Register and Vote as faithfully as the Suffragists. Most of them honestly believed that women were not ready for the responsibility of the ballot, but since they have a duty to perform they have accepted their share.

Women Formerly Opposed to Suffrage Have Served as delegates to Suffrage Conventions.

Equal Suffrage Is Helping to Bring Equal Pay for Equal Work. The salaries of the women clerks in public service have been increased. The general recognition of political equality helps toward economic equality.

The Eight-Hour Law for Women Has Been Extended to include nurses in training and workers in apartment houses.

The Juvenile Court Law Has Been Improved by separating dependent from delinquent children.

Pensions for Teachers Who Have Served Thirty Years have been provided.

The Age of Consent Has Been Raised From 16 to 18 years of age.

A State Training School for Girls Has Been Provided, separating the girls from the boys and giving vocational training.

The Community Property Law Has Been Amended to be more just to women.

The Guardianship of Children Is Divided Between Mother and Father. Previously fathers were the sole guardians of minor children.

Funds for Needy Mothers Are Provided under careful supervision. An investigation into the subject of Mothers' Pensions has been voted.

The So-Called "Bad Woman" Does Not Register except in very small numbers. All persons in registering must swear to their residence and occupation, and this class of people do not wish to make public record of these things.

The Vote in the Segregated Districts Was Very Light. The heaviest vote is always in the home districts. The segregated districts have practically ceased to exist under the new Red Light injunction and abatement law.

Women Vote in Nearly the Same Percentage as Men. A careful examination of voting in the cities of Southern California shows practically the same ratio of voting to registration. In some places women outvote men.

Women Are Working for Parks, Playgrounds, Cleaner Streets, better milk, better garbage collection and cleaner amusements. Unenfranchised women are working for the same things but under far greater difficulties.

Women Did Not Promise to Institute Any Reforms or to support any party. They owe the ballot to the progressives of the Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties, and to the general intelligence of the men of California.

[Reprinted from The Woman's Bulletin which is published at Monrovia, California. Facts in support of the statements made above may be obtained from The Woman's Bulletin.]

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue,



New York City.

A FEW LEADING QUESTIONS

Q. Under a representative form of government, such as ours, who should make the laws?

A. The people.

Q. Do the people make the laws?

A. No; one-half the people are forbidden any share in law-making.

Q. Who do make the laws?

A. Men.

Q. Who gave men the right to make the laws?

A. Men.

Q. Do not the laws concern women?

A. They certainly do.

Q. May not women take part in making the laws which they must obey?

A. They may not. Men alone make the laws for women and men.

Q. If a woman transgresses the law who decides the penalty, tries, convicts and punishes her?

A. Men.

Q. Who sit on the juries before whom women are tried?

A. Men only.

Q. Is this what the Constitution means by "the judgment of his peers"?

A. Evidently not.

Q. May not mothers help make the laws which decide their legal relations to their children?

A. No; men make the laws, and in only sixteen states in the Union and the District of Columbia—besides Idaho and Utah whose guardianship laws are, in effect, practically equal—has the married mother the legal right to her children.

Q. Why is the law so one-sided?

A. Because it is the product of one sex alone.

Q. Who make the laws which decide the rights of husband and wife in case of separation?

A. Men only.

Q. When a husband brutally assaults his wife, who determine the penalty?

A. Men.

Q. Who make the laws concerning the property-rights of husband and wife?

A. Men.

Q. Who pay the taxes?

A. Men and women.

Q. Is the property of women taxed the same as that of men?

A. Often higher.

Q. Who assess, collect, and expend the tax money paid my men and women?

A. Men only.

Q. May not a woman who manages her own business have a vote in elections which directly concern her own interests?

A. No; but the most incapable man in her employ may do so.

Q. May not an educated, temperate, moral and law-abiding woman vote?

A. No; but an ignorant, intemperate, immoral and law-breaking man may do so.

Q. May not women who teach the boys in our schools vote?

A. No; but the boys they teach, when 21, may do so.

Q. The mothers who have brought forth, carefully reared and given their sons to the State—may they not vote?

A. No.

Q. Why not?

A. Because they are women.

Q. Would women vote if the privilege were granted them?

A. Judging from experience, they would, since they always have voted in about equal numbers with men in all the states and countries where they have been given a chance.

Q. Why do women want to vote?

A. First. Because they are American citizens, and the United States Constitution says: "The citizen's right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Second. Because they are tax-payers, and it is a principle of our government that taxation and representation ought to go together.

Third. Because every citizen should help select those who make the laws which he or she must obey.

Fourth. Because every citizen in a free republic is entitled to representation, and no person having but one vote can represent himself and another, even with the latter's consent.

Fifth. Because a vote means power, and women need this power to protect the interests of themselves, their children, their homes and society.

Sixth. Because politics, which means the government, needs the combined influence of men and women. Without the ballot, woman's influence is indirect, negative and irresponsible. Votes talk, votes count, votes compel respect, votes decide every question.

SEND TWO CENT STAMP FOR FREE CATALOG OF LITERATURE AND SUPPLIES

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

1913



Everything to Gain—Nothing to Lose

IF WOMEN VOTE

MEN LOSE NOTHING—they keep their votes.

THE HOME WILL GAIN A VOTE in addition to the one it had before.

THE WIFE WILL GAIN more interests in common with her husband.

THE MOTHER WILL GAIN the power to reduce the high cost of living, to get better schools and recreation places for her children and decent working conditions for her older sons and daughters.

THE CHILDREN WILL GAIN double protection when the father and mother both can vote.

THE WORKING WOMAN WILL GAIN the power to procure for herself fire protection, healthful surroundings, fair wages and reasonable hours.

THE STATE WILL GAIN because it will have the service of experts in housekeeping.

GOVERNMENT WILL GAIN because it can use the intelligence of **ALL THE PEOPLE** instead of only one-half.

WORK FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE NOVEMBER 6th

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

303 Fifth Avenue



New York, N. Y.

Sept., 1917.

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

DO ANY OF THESE MEN COUNT WITH YOU?

PRESIDENT WILSON wrote Aug. 27, 1917:

"I hope that the voters of the State of New York will rally to the support of woman suffrage by a handsome majority. It would be a splendid vindication of the principle of the cause in which we all believe."

COLONEL ROOSEVELT said Sept. 8, 1917:

"I do not ask the ballot for woman as a favor; I say that it should be given to her as a right. To deny the mother the vote seems to me so preposterous that our descendants will fail to understand how we could call ourselves self-governing and democratic."

GOVERNOR WHITMAN said Aug. 29, 1917:

"Even if it were not the right of woman, even if every phase of our economic and industrial life did not call for the giving to her of the right to vote, I should still say that it is our highest duty to bestow on her the suffrage—that we may add to the conscience of the vote at a time when democracy is fighting for its life."

Forty-eight out of fifty-seven Mayors in New York State are in favor of woman suffrage.

MAYOR MITCHEL of New York City said on Aug. 29, 1917:

"You have convinced the people of the State that the womanhood of New York, practically as a whole, sincerely desires the vote. You have demonstrated that women, equally with men, rise to the great emergencies of life and can be trusted to exercise sound and balanced judgment upon public questions. I predict your victory by a substantial majority of the votes of the electors of the State."

SAMUEL GOMPERS said Aug. 29, 1917:

"Women must have the ballot—they are going to have the ballot in New York and all the States, because their demand is right; because they are human beings and members of organized society equal in intelligence, rights and desires with men."

THE STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR passed the following Resolution, Aug. 29, 1917:

The fifty-fourth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, in session here, unanimously recommends to all wage-earning voters of the State to vote and work for the adoption of the Woman Suffrage Amendment at the coming election.

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

303 Fifth Avenue



New York, N. Y.

Sept., 1917.

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

What Woman Suffrage Stands For

The protection of the home—Women want to vote because it will double the home vote.

The protection of all children—Women want every child to have a chance to grow up sound in body and mind.

Economy in Government—Women want lower taxes and economical use of public funds.

A square deal for every man and woman—Women want equal rights for all and special privileges for none.

The only plank in the suffrage platform is Votes for Women, which means the right of every woman to have her opinion and to have it counted on election day.

Work for Woman Suffrage

Vote "YES" on Woman Suffrage November 6th.

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

303 Fifth Avenue



New York, N. Y.

Sept., 1917.

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

Your Vote

Was handed to you when you became twenty-one years old.
You didn't have to ask for it.

You didn't have to prove that you were qualified for it.

Our Government considers you are a thinking being and therefore can judge better than others what laws will be best for your welfare.

Why shouldn't women be given this right too?

Should not their opinions count when it comes to framing laws concerning them?

Can **YOU** possibly imagine any one objecting to **YOUR** being allowed to vote?

Yet fifty chances to one you would not have been permitted to vote if you had lived about a hundred and fifty years ago.

You had to own a required amount of land and be a church-going Protestant.

Only one of every fifty men could meet this requirement.

In the early Colonial days men had no voice in the Government.

Laws were made by the Governor and his council.

Today practically every man may vote.

YOU didn't have to work to bring about this change.

The men before you, who believed in democracy, secured you **YOUR** vote.

Will you in turn, further democracy and give woman the political freedom which you yourself have received?

Vote for Woman Suffrage in November, 1917!

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

303 Fifth Avenue



New York

Printed June, 1917

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

Teachers Need The Vote!

REASONS WHY TEACHERS SHOULD WORK FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

(Arranged by the Teachers' Section, New York State Woman Suffrage Party.)

1. **Teachers need the vote** in order to have more schools and better schools. No appropriation is so grudgingly given as the school appropriation, because the mothers and most of the teachers have no vote.
2. **Teachers need the vote** in order to secure adequate salaries.
3. **Teachers need the vote** in order to secure tenure of office.
4. **Teachers need the vote** to help safeguard the food, clothing, and hygienic welfare of pupils in their care, all of which things the ballot controls.
5. **Teachers need the vote** in order to protect the children of their district from the encroachments of Child Labor employers.
6. **Teachers need the vote** in order to protect the children from the vicious interests that constantly exploit them.
7. **Teachers need the vote** because they train the citizens of the future and must have practical, first hand knowledge of government in order to teach civics with interest and thoroughness.

JOIN THE TEACHERS' SECTION OF
YOUR LOCAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE!

VOTES FOR WOMEN!

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