



Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

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Nov. 10, 1917

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Status of Presidential Suffrage in Indiana

ACCORDING to advices received from Mrs. R. E. Edwards, president of the Indiana Woman Suffrage Association, presidential suffrage was not mentioned in either complaint or decision in the recent Indiana test case. Lawyers held that that question was outside the jurisdiction of the court. Opponents of woman suffrage have been prematurely challenging the Indiana's women's right to presidential suffrage. It is by inference only that the Indiana Supreme Court's decision can be supposed to affect the Legislature's grant of presidential suffrage.

The defect in the Indiana act was, according to Mrs. Edwards, "that it does not provide for the different types of suffrage separately. This court has no jurisdiction to pass on the constitutionality of the presidential suffrage grant, but it has authority to pass on the intent of the Legislature, and it may rule that the Legislature intended to grant all the suffrage mentioned in the bill or none."

There is not, of course, any contention as to the Legislature's right to confer the presidential suffrage on women. There could hardly be in view of the United States Constitution, which expressly empowers a state's legislators to name that state's presidential electors. The question so far as presidential suffrage is concerned is a question of legal interpretation and must wait on further court decisions. Anti-suffragists have, therefore, added to the gaiety of nations by calling matters of opinion matters of fact in the Indiana case, and insisting that the book of suffrage was closed up and down the line in Indiana. Even the present chapter is not yet settled and can't be without further court readings. And as for the book—there is but one word that will close the suffrage book in Indiana as elsewhere, and that word is victory.

"Woman Citizen"

(over)

The TWELVE Full Suffrage States in Reversed Order of Chronology

~~of Suffrage Grant~~ 1918

New York.....	1917
Montana	1914 ✓
Nevada	1914
Kansas	1912 ✓
Oregon	1912 ✓
Arizona	1912 ✓
California	1911
Washington	1910 ✓
Idaho	1896 ✓
Utah	1896 ✓
Colorado	1893 ✓
Wyoming	1869

Resolution

BESIDES the women of these twelve states the women of the following states have been given the right to vote for the next president:

Illinois (1913) presidential and municipal suffrage. (1918) Primary suffrage

Arkansas (1917) primary suffrage.

Michigan (1911) presidential suffrage.

North Dakota (1917) presidential and municipal suffrage.

Rhode Island (1917) presidential suffrage.

Indiana (1917) presidential suffrage.

Nebraska (1917) presidential suffrage.

Ohio (1917) presidential suffrage.

The total number of electoral votes comes to 217. From this we have to subtract Ohio's 24, leaving 193. Indiana, please remember, has had no decision on presidential suffrage, the question not having even been raised in the recent suits against partial suffrage in Indiana which have been decided adversely.

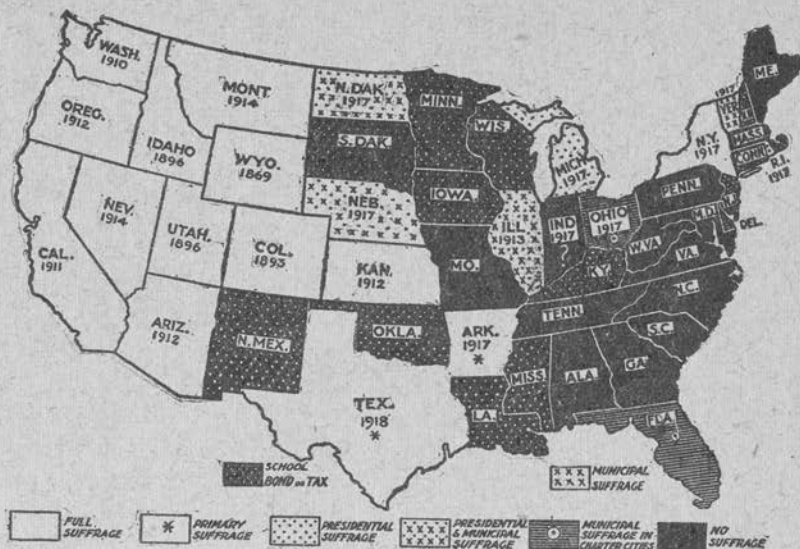
In Nebraska women's right to participate in the choosing of the electoral college members awaits a decision by referendum. This comes to vote in 1918.

"The Woman Citizen"

Nov. 10, 1917

(over)

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 two additional states women vote in the primaries.

These States Control 213 Electoral Votes

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue

Printed April 1918



New York City

ARE YOU WITH US?

Are you awake

to the fact that 14,000,000 women throughout the world have been enfranchised in war time?

Are you aware

that the women of nineteen states can vote for the President of the United States?

Are you alive

to the enormous demand of the women of this state who in large numbers are petitioning for the vote?

Are you ready

to fight in this great war for democracy?

SIGN THE PETITION

Support the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

171 Madison Avenue



New York City

Printed July 1918

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN WAR TIME

Great Britain has given the vote to 6,000,000 women as a war measure.

Canada in May, 1918, passed a bill giving full suffrage to her women.

Denmark, when threatened by war, gave the vote to her women as a measure of national protection.

In France, the Chamber of Deputies has announced that the municipal vote will be given to women at once.

In the United States, when war was declared, one half the territory already had Woman Suffrage. Since we entered the war, the largest state in population, New York, and the largest state in size, Texas, have given the vote to their women.

We are sending to Europe millions of men to fight for democracy. *These men are voters.*

Who will take their places at the polls?

KEEP THE HOME FIRES OF DEMOCRACY BURNING
by giving the vote to the women of the Nation.

Support the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

171 Madison Avenue

Printed July 1918



New York City

DO IT NOW!

GIVE THE VOTE TO THE WOMEN OF EVERY
STATE IN THE UNION BY

Federal Constitutional Amendment

- BECAUSE**—Woman suffrage is inevitable all the world around; few deny it—why should the United States delay?
- BECAUSE**—Great Britain and Canada have already enfranchised the women of their nations within a year, and the women of Finland, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Australia and New Zealand had suffrage on equal terms with men before our country entered the war. What the neutrals and our allies have done in war time, our Republic can do.
- BECAUSE**—A “100 per cent American” Republic cannot logically deny to its women the political liberty that monarchies have extended.
- BECAUSE**—All political parties have endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment either in platforms adopted by national conventions or by action of their national committees.
- BECAUSE**—The Government which asks the women of the country to give their all to win a war for democracy abroad, cannot consistently deny them the vote, the symbol of democracy, at home.
- BECAUSE**—The woman suffrage movement is a part of the great struggle of the world contest for fundamental human freedom, and until the amendment is ratified by the legislatures of the states the suffrage campaign must and will go on.

SUPPORT THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue

New York City



War Messages
to
The American People

WAR AIMS

By
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

No. 1

War Aims

All the world around the war has aroused dormant half-formed hopes of a democracy yet to come into a living, active conviction. Many nations and many millions of people are resolved to make this the last world war and they know so bold an aim can only be accomplished when systems of government centered about Kings and Kaisers are gone forever. Republics do not seek world empire; they do not wage war for indemnities and gain; they do not deal in international intrigue and fill other lands with paid spies and plotters. Intelligent people of all lands are rapidly dividing in consequence into two classes; the progressives who having lost their confidence in Kings, look forward to representative government, constitutions, elections, votes for the people as the safest form of government; and the reactionaries who, afraid of the people, cling to Kings, edicts, dictation, caste, ceremony

and a subservient population. The issue is growing clearer day by day.

How far the impulse to democracy has permeated the peoples of the world no one knows but that it has gone far and will go further is proved by overwhelming evidence. Already the predictions are many that when the end of the war gives indications of a guarantee of permanent peace, an assurance that the world at last has been made "safe for democracy," the nations big and little will make a clean sweep of thrones and Kings. How soon after the war the last crown will fall, depends upon the degree of decisiveness of the final victory, but fall it will.

For more than a century the United States has been the world leader in democratic progress. It has pointed the way and "blazed the trail" for all the peoples of earth. Our forefathers had the foresight to conceive and to establish a representative government when most great men of all nations denounced the idea as visionary and impractical. They bravely led on, still in combat with world prejudice, and made ours

the first country to enfranchise the Jew, the Catholic, the non-landholder, the alien, the working man. Our Republic gave the theory and also the proof of its trustworthiness in practice. It demonstrates that a Republic is a system of "checks and balances" wherein the virtuous, the wise, the temperate neutralize the evil minded, the foolish, the extremist, and thus not only makes a popular government safe and sound, but incidentally supplies an educational influence which uplifts the entire people.

A despairing world would not now turn with rising hope to the possible transformations of monarchies into republics as a safeguard against world war had not the United States lived down the world's doubts and objections and offered a proved example.

The United States entered the war because its ideals were jeopardized. It bore insults and violations of treaties and witnessed the undoing of innocent peoples by "ruthless depredations," but it did not decide to fight until it was clear that the war had resolved itself into a death grapple

Between the systems of autocracy and those of democracy. It was a mere onlooker until the evidence was overwhelming that the "powers of progress were desperately striving against the forces of darkness." The accumulating testimony made plain that one of two things was certain to happen; either German militarism, commanded by a Kaiser whose will is law, must surrender or every nation will be forced to set up universal military service, permanent conscription and oppressive taxes to support the system. To do otherwise would mean to live in perpetual fear of the marauding hordes that have laid waste the lands and destroyed the people of Belgium, Northern France, Servia, Roumania, Poland, Armenia and Syria. So, to make the "world safe for democracy," to prevent one nation from dictating the institutions of every other, our Republic went into the war, and entered it, too, with a will to give "all that we have and all that we are" and to see it through to its final victory, even though it shall take a generation.

But what is the democracy for which the world is battling and for which we offer

our man power, our woman power, our money power, our all? Government of the world by consent of the individual nations; government of the nations by consent of the individual people. Nothing more, never less. The United States stands for the autonomy of the small nations, the little peoples that have been the pawns upon the royal chessboard of Kings for a thousand years. It stands for their incontestable right to govern themselves in their own way without fear of their neighbors. It stands for the right of dependent lands to decide for themselves whether they will be independent, and, if not, to what larger power they will choose to be attached. These are our war aims, our ideals. They are worth fighting for and worth dying for; the future peace and welfare of the world depend upon the result.

All these aims call for votes; there can be no self-determination of peoples as to their form of government without votes. Who is to cast them? The nobility, the landed aristocracy, a few men or the people? Our

country professes to mean "the people." But does it? Is it sincere? Is our own nation governed by consent of the people? *No.*

The enfranchisement of women is far more obviously inevitable today than was the enfranchisement of the working man a hundred years ago, yet our Republic has hesitated, floundered, avoided and evaded the issue while other nations, apparently of clearer vision and of braver temper, have seized the banner of leadership so long borne by our country and they, not we, are now marching at the head of the world procession of democracy.

Great Britain and Canada have each enfranchised their women within a year and have freed their suffrage armies from the burden of future campaigns, while at the same time they have given to the world a pledge of their honesty that they are fighting democracy's battle. Great Britain gave the vote by the same bill to two millions of men who had never had the vote before. Years ago Australia and New Zealand had enfranchised men and women on equal

terms, and wherever the British flag flies there is some form of suffrage for women. The Scandinavian countries, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, have already given universal suffrage to men and women. The King of Sweden has recommended and the majority party has pledged to make the partial suffrage long enjoyed by women in that country a complete suffrage. The King of Belgium has said that if ever his land is restored, one of his first acts will be to give women the vote. The French Chamber of Deputies has promised women the vote. The Premier of Italy has eloquently espoused the cause of suffrage and has pledged his party to extend women the vote. Processions of petitions and even street riots in Hungary have demanded the vote for men and women and it has been partially promised (May 1, 1918). The provincial government of Russia, before it was overturned by anarchy, included women in the voting electorate as a matter of course. The question of votes for women has even been discussed in the German Reichstag. These facts are but signs and symptoms of

the wide spread change in thought and theory of government throughout the world. Each new pronouncement of leaders or parties or nations for man or woman suffrage stimulates the further extension of democratic feeling everywhere and brings nearer the victory for the "powers of progress." No action has been taken by any allied country since the war began which has checked or discouraged the spread of democratic ideals. On the contrary, after definite promises from the Kaiser of franchise reform for men, the Prussian Parliament (Diet) defeated the proposal on May 2, 1918, by a vote of 235 to 181. It was an act characteristic of the "forces of darkness."

The world expects America to be true to her ideals, to live up to the noble war aims she has set for herself. "In all governments truly republican, men are nothing—principle is everything," said Daniel Webster. The principle which has been the mainstay of our progress is representative government, but ours will only become representative when *all* of the people give consent

to the representatives entrusted with the law-making and law-enforcing power of the land. The only class left out is women—graduates of high schools and colleges; mothers who are to send millions of sons to France; women who are to pay the war taxes, buy Liberty Bonds and take the places of men in munition plants, factories and fields, the army at home which alone makes it possible for the army in France to fight. Strange exception! Yet women are already voters over a vast territory of the world. That they will vote everywhere no enlightened person questions. To deny them the vote longer in any part of this country makes of our war aims a travesty and a lie. It offers vindication to the German claim that America pretends to lofty aims but they are mere talk!

As the Irish problem, which should have been settled long ago, now rises to challenge the sincerity of Great Britain in its war aims of self determination for such small nations as Belgium and Poland, so the woman question here with its settlement long overdue rises to make men and nations question our

Is there an American so lacking in humor that he fails to see the insufferable impertinence of that point of view?

A few days ago a United States Senator ejaculated "I'm opposed to giving the vote to women. We men know far better than they do themselves what they want." Treitsche's twin soul in the United States Senate dealing with aims in a war for democracy! May Heaven protect us! "To make us love our country our country ought to be lovely," said Edmund Burke. To make us love our country our country should be consistent.

"Find out what your enemy wants you to do and then don't do it. Find out what he doesn't want you to do and then do it," is a saying credited to more than one great military strategist. What does the Kaiser dread more than armies or navies? A democratic uprising in Germany which will have no place in its scheme of things for a King by Divine Right. What will induce such an uprising? The infection which will reach the Germans through the spread of such movements elsewhere. The German

papers did not print the news that Great Britain had enfranchised its last class of men who heretofore had not had the vote, about two millions in number, and that it had enfranchised its women, about six millions in number. Why? The Kaiser had planned to deny "one man one vote" to Prussian men and he feared the infectious influence of such news and the censors suppressed it. But the report will slowly seep into Germany through other channels and will do its work in time. When the United States extends the vote to women, will Germany be permitted to get the news? No, not through the ordinary channels, for no news of the spread of democracy must reach German ears. If it refuses to extend the vote to women at this time, will Germany get the news? Certainly. Why? Because the Kaiser is fighting to make the world safe for autocracy and he knows that its only real menace is democracy. His censors will try not to let the German people know that in the United States the President, Congress and the Legislatures have said once more that "government of the *peo-*

sincerity. As the Irish problem weakens the morale of war support in Great Britain, so the woman problem in America lessens the ardor of war supporters here. The war will end and somewhere in the world the representatives of all the belligerent powers will gather to decide the terms of peace and international agreements to keep the peace. One great question will be the disposition of the despoiled countries. The aim of the Allies is to give them the right of decision. But who within each country shall have that right? Dead men buried in trenches cannot speak. Who then—the Germans now in occupancy, the refugee populations scattered to the four quarters of earth, or the few remaining native people? The discussion will be long. If, meanwhile, Great Britain has not granted self decision to her Ireland, the enemy will question her good intention. If, meanwhile, the United States has not enfranchised its women, and thus when it says government by the people, really means it, the enemy by the same reasoning which here excludes half the population may hold to the right of a "landed aris-

tocracy" to decide this most momentous peace question.

This nation will fight with its back to the wall for a clear-cut ideal, but the ideal must have no flaws. Ours has. As a nation we profess to stand for the annihilation of world political despotism, but a nation does not think clearly nor act logically when upon one hand it declares against the "Divine Right of Kings" and makes war upon the "King business" as an intolerable usurpation of authority, yet on the other hand maintains the "Divine Right" of males to rule over *all* the people in a land pledged to *self* government. By what line of thinking does an American justify the vote extended to an illiterate alien after a five years' residence and deny it to a woman college president? Is there any other word than despotism which defines the procedure? The despotism on the right and on the left differ only in degree. The famed defender of militarism, Treitsche, said: "We Germans, who know both Germany and France, know what suits the Alsatians far better than that miserable people knows itself."

triumphant at home that the Republic may
war upon its treacherous enemy autocracy
without a spot on the national escutcheon.
Do it now.

Support the Federal Suffrage Amendment!

"While Europe's eye is fixed on mighty things
The fate of empires and the fall of kings;
While quacks of state must each produce his
plan,
And even children lisp the Rights of man;
Amid this mighty fuss just let me mention,
The Rights of Women merit some attention."

—ROBERT BURNS, November, 1792.

ple, by the *people* and for the *people* shall not perish from the earth." That they place no trust in Kings or Kaisers but do trust the people yea even the women. And the news "verboten" will creep through the bayoneted defenses slowly but surely and will revive hope and courage in every believer in democracy in Germany. The Kaiser stakes his all on the intimidation of the world through ruthless might of militarism led by autocracy. Why should our Republic hesitate while meeting might with might to plant in Germany the seeds of the only certain force which can permanently destroy autocracy and militarism — democracy? Great Britain and Canada have given the pledge of their sincerity in a war for democracy, why should the Great Republic balk? What does the Great Republic fear?

"German men are military slaves and German women mere door mats," said an American man the other day contemptuously. Perhaps they were yesterday, but what of tomorrow? Germany is dependent upon her man power at the front but she is equally dependent upon her woman power at home.

Women doubtless are fooled by the Kaiser's carefully guided publicity and believe as do the men that they are engaged in a war of defense, but there are at least two millions of German mothers and two millions of German wives or sweethearts who, mourning the death of their loved ones, are asking in the midst of their war weariness whether there is no better way of running a world than by the murder of war. Send them a ray of hope and send it now. It will brighten one day into redemption from military enslavement for the people of Germany and into consequent peace for the world.

"Democracy is the only possible enduring basis of the future peace of nations. Onward to Democracy. This will and must, tomorrow, be the battle cry of Europe in general, and of Germany in particular." [Herman Fernau, German author, in *The Coming Democracy*.]

Give to the world the final pledge of sincerity in American war aims. Give women of this land the honor other nations have bestowed upon theirs. Make democracy

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE
PUBLISHING CO.

171 Madison Avenue, New York City

IN GREAT BRITAIN

February 6, 1918, bill passed giving British women (including England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland) of thirty years of age and over full suffrage.

IN GENERAL - EUROPE

Since the war began, Denmark, (Canada,) Iceland, England and Russia have given women the ballot and Austria Hungary seems to be on the point of doing so.

In Rumania the women are in line for political freedom - lately at the Parliament of Jassy a demand was made that women should be admitted to vote for the representatives of the people.

IN CANADA

All provinces except Quebec have enfranchised their women.

The Negro Vote in the South

A Southern Woman's Viewpoint

By Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Nashville, Tenn.

Have you any conception of the intense feeling of humiliation Southern women experience when they discover that the greatest opposition to the submission of our Federal Suffrage Amendment to the states comes from Southern representatives in Congress? More than any women in the world, we have had the praise of words. Our wisdom, our goodness, our courage, these things have been sung to and of us, but when it comes to the faith of deeds, we are beginning to wonder if, after all, some Southern men may not consider us less worthy than the women of other sections.

They have withheld our enfranchisement for two reasons which we for a time accepted—the state rights doctrine and the negro problem. From the state rights ground of opposition the Southern men have themselves retreated and we now stand face to face with this bare and ugly alternative: Either our men feel that they can not trust us with the ballot or we must feel that we can not trust their sense of justice.

As to the negro problem the women of the South feel that the time has come to lay, once and for all, this old, old ghost which still stalks through the halls of Congress. This phantom has outlived its time, even for what is known in the South as a “hant.” In the fifteen states south of Mason and Dixon’s line the excess of white women alone over 21 years of age above all negro men and women combined of like age is 1,122,477. There are only two Southern states where the negro race is more than 50 per cent. of the population. In South Carolina the per cent. of negroes, according to the Federal census of 1910, was 55.2. In this state voters must be able to read and they must own and pay taxes on \$300 worth of property. In Mississippi the per cent. of negroes is 56.2, and there voters must be able

State Constitutions Very Difficult to Amend

therefore

Support the Federal Suffrage Amendment

ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE STATES

In **NEW MEXICO** during the first 25 years of Statehood the adoption of a State constitutional amendment for woman suffrage requires a majority or three-fourths of all who vote on any question or candidate at the election when it is submitted, and there must be two-thirds of these in each county, a provision which is absolutely prohibitive. The constitution of **INDIANA** says: "If a majority of the electors of the State shall vote to ratify an amendment it shall become a part of the constitution," although it would require a census of male citizens to determine the number of electors. ~~The constitution made in 1851 has never been amended.~~ Only one amendment at a time can be submitted in **ILLINOIS**, and to be adopted must receive a majority of the highest number of votes cast at the election. This offers small chance for woman suffrage. In **SOUTH CAROLINA**, after an amendment has been submitted by a two-thirds vote of two legislatures and has received a majority of as many votes as were cast for representatives in the Legislature, this body at its next session may nullify the election. This is the case in **MISSISSIPPI** after an amendment has received a majority of the highest number of votes cast at the election. Woman suffrage by State action in South Carolina and Mississippi is practically impossible.

BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

In New Hampshire the Legislature cannot submit an amendment to the voters, but this can be done only by a constitutional convention which meets once in seven years. In Vermont there can be a constitutional convention but once in ten years. In many States the calling of such a convention is very difficult and complete woman suffrage never has been granted anywhere through the submission of an amendment by a constitutional convention.

to read the Constitution. The other four states of the so-called Black Belt also impose an educational test.

In the eight years since the census was taken, the percentage given has been materially reduced in both the states mentioned, so that South Carolina claims that there is no longer any preponderancy of negroes. The increase in the negro population in the last decade is 11.2 per cent. The increase in the white population is 22.3 per cent., or twice that of the negro population.

Furthermore, during the past year alone 75,000 negroes have left one Southern state to go North and 73,000 have gone from three others. In view of this fact, it appears that we might transfer a share of our rather hysterical anxieties with regard to the menace of the negro vote to other states.

It is true that there are some counties in the South where the negroes greatly predominate. But it is also true that in those counties there is a greater degree of illiteracy, and the educational qualification operates to exclude this vote. There is no need to fear that the Southern men and women of today will not know how to uphold the integrity of their government. We are not living in the reconstruction period, but in the year of Our Lord 1918. The horrors of that old period are past, never to be revived. The only possible approach to it might come through the failure to give the white women of the South the power of the ballot. When our husbands and brothers are going forth to fight for democracy, we must not only assume their tasks at home, but we must bear the more sacred burden of cherishing the ideals of government for which they have offered their lives, in order that their sacrifice may not be in vain.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
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LARGE LEGISLATIVE MAJORITY REQUIRED

In many States a two-thirds or three-fifths majority of the Legislature is necessary to submit an amendment to the voters. These are Alabama, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont and West Virginia (20). In a number of States two successive Legislatures must vote to submit an amendment. These are Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, North Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia and Wisconsin (11). In all of these States except Massachusetts and New Jersey the Legislature meets biennially, thus requiring at least three years to have an amendment sent to the voters. The Alabama Legislature meets only once in four years. An amendment cannot be re-submitted in Illinois for four years; in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Kentucky for five years; in Tennessee for six years.

LARGE MAJORITY OF POPULAR VOTE NECESSARY

Rhode Island requires a three-fifths majority and New Hampshire a two-thirds majority of the votes cast on an amendment for its adoption. The following States require a majority of the largest number of votes cast at the election, not simply on the amendment: Arkansas, Illinois, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Oklahoma. South Carolina and Tennessee require a majority of the highest number of votes cast for Representatives in the Legislature. Thus in all of these States the ballots not marked for or against an amendment are counted as opposed. The requirements in Indiana and New Mexico are cited above. In these twelve States it is almost impossible to amend the constitution.

A study of the above facts should convince all fair-minded persons of the great difficulty and long delay of obtaining woman suffrage by individual action of the States. When added to these are the vast expense and the time and work required from thousands of women, the advantage of a Federal Amendment, with the comparatively easy and speedy process of gaining it by consent of three-fourths of the State Legislatures, should need no argument in its favor.

Support the Federal Suffrage Amendment

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue



New York

NOT AT HOME

"WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME"

You were out to-day!

Were you at your children's school?

The vote controls the school.

Were you buying your dinner?

The vote controls pure food laws and market conditions.

Were you buying ready-made clothing?

The vote controls conditions under which such clothing is made.

Were you seeking a position by which you can support your fatherless children?

The vote controls conditions of woman's labor.

WOMEN NEED THE VOTE

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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WHY THE WORKING WOMAN NEEDS THE VOTE

Introduction

The Emperor William, if he should live to the end of the war, will no longer be able to say that only three things—children, the kitchen, and the church—are befitting for women. As soon as the war started, the Emperor called upon the women to go into the fields, on to the street cars to become conductors, into all the other places made vacant by men, so that the men might be spared to go to the war. The same call has been made in France and in England. The women are called away from their household duties and the care of their families, in order that they may do the work of men, that men may go away—that men may go away and die. When the men fail to come home, the women must maintain the children and live the lonely, desolate, difficult life which comes to a woman who has to win the bread for herself and her children.

WOMEN AND THE WAR

There are those who, before the great war began, said it was the restlessness of women which took them out of their homes and put them into the markets of the world. At least, it is not the restlessness of the women, but the slaughter of the men, that has now made it necessary for women to leave their homes and go out and fill these places made vacant by war. When the war is over, there will not be men enough to maintain the families, and women will continue to work outside their homes.

WOMEN FORCED INTO INDUSTRY

First Argument

But, for a long time previous to the war, inventive genius, changed economic conditions and changed industrial conditions, had been driving women out more and more into the world's market. They have had to meet these conditions heavily handicapped on every side. If no other woman, except the working woman, should have the ballot, she ought to have it; for there is nothing more unfair or unjust to the women of this country than the state of things brought about by changed economic conditions, through no fault of theirs. It is the work of their grandmothers to which granddaughters have fallen heir in the factory. To-day our girls must go into the factories. They have been going forth to hunt up their grandmothers' jobs where their grandmothers' jobs have been taken by men. They have been

driven out into the world to meet its fierce antagonisms, and to get into the struggle of life where they have to encounter all the contending forces which make life so hard for men.

PREJUDICE AGAINST WOMEN

And all that men have to endure in the market women have to endure, and other things besides, things that men never have to endure; for there are two forces pressing upon the working women that never have pressed upon the working men. One is prejudice from without—which has always permitted women to work, but which, so soon as women put a price upon their toil and make a demand for a salary, meets them with the antagonism of the world, and cries that women are crowding men out of lucrative employment. As if God made the world for men, and not for women, too.

Yet it is men who have taken out of the home into the world the work of our grandmothers, and forced us to follow the work or starve.

And the second force which oppresses the working woman is a disinclination which lies within ourselves. We have a fear of opposition, a fear of the antagonisms which arise in the world struggle. We women shrink from entering into any struggle. It will be said that this fear lies within our nature; but this is not true. Its cause lies in that suppression which has made us feel that we are a subject and inferior class.*

WHY DO WORKING WOMEN NEED THE VOTE?

But, you may ask, what good would a vote do these working women? Why am I urging the ballot for New York women on the ground that women are out of their homes and in the factory? Because, as long as they were working in their homes, cooking, sewing, washing, and ironing, they controlled, to a very large extent, the conditions under which they worked. They could protect themselves against excessively long hours, against the dreadful fate of being burned to death in factory fires, against being scalped by machinery, against having their health

ruined by speeded-up machines, against a hundred evils which inflicts modern industry. As it is now, the women workers have no power over their own lives. They have to accept what industrial conditions the trade offers them. Because seasons are short in many trades they have to work like mad when work is plenty, in order to earn enough to keep themselves alive when it is scarce. There are no laws governing seasonal trades. There are no laws regulating speed of machines. There are no adequate factory fire protective laws. There is not half enough factory inspection in this or any other state. There are some good laws, but they are not enforced.

WHAT FLORENCE KELLY SAYS:

Florence Kelly, secretary of the National Consumers' League, testifying before an industrial commission lately, said: "The non-enforcement of the fifty-four-hour law for women workers in New York is notorious. The five o'clock closing hour for children below the age of sixteen is, in parts of this city, almost a mockery of their need of rest and play and further education. Few employers pay fine; no employer is in any jail or penitentiary for any offence against these laws."

VALUE OF VOTE TO MEN

Because women are not voters, because they are, in the eyes of the law, still children under the tutelage of men, they are not able to command the scant respect that working men enjoy. Ask any working man you like if he is willing to give up his vote. He knows the value of that vote. The railroad man knows that without it he could never have wrung an eight-hour day out of Congress. The vote plus organization, not necessarily in labor unions, but organization, nevertheless, will bring these blessings to working women, too.

The labor organization is a good thing, but the organization of women in and out of the factories is also a good thing. Women who are not workers care very deeply about the condition of their sisters in the factories. They realize keenly that the bearing of life and the rearing of children lies in these women's destinies also, and they know that a worn-out motherhood means the destruction of the race.

Second Argument

*The preceding portion of this speech is a quotation from a speech by Anna Howard Shaw. The following part is a quotation from a speech written by Rheta Childe Dorr.

WOMEN WILL HUMANIZE INDUSTRY

Therefore, when the ballot is given to women, we believe that they will all work together and vote together to humanize industry, to make the factory a place where women can carry on their historic trades, and earn their living, as they always have done, in safety and security and in reasonable enjoyment of life.

There is no reason why women should have to risk their lives by fire in any factory. The law could safeguard all factories. There is no reason why a season's work should be crowded into two or three months, thus forcing the toilers to work twelve to sixteen hours a day in order to finish their tasks. There is no reason for the overspeeding of machinery. There is no excuse for the non-enforcement of existing laws.

**Conclusion—
Vote for
Woman
Suffrage
November 6th**

Give women the ballot, the one weapon that has protected men from tyranny and abuse. Give it to them that they may get back that control over their own work that formerly existed; the power to control their own lives, to preserve their health, to keep their bodies strong, their blood pure, their vision clear, that they may bear strong and vigorous children. We appeal to the voters of New York to give women the ballot next November.

WOMEN'S MORAL OBLIGATION

By REV. GEORGE W. DOWNS, D.D.

To me certain things are unanswerable and have confirmed the opinion formed after years of thoughtful consideration of the question of Woman Suffrage.

The first is, that God intended that woman should be a helpmeet to man.

The second is, that God did not specify by hard and definite directions in just what way woman was to perform this work, which would seem to indicate that time, circumstances, conditions on the one hand, and woman's ability, natural instincts and mental perceptions on the other, were to determine the way in which her powers were to be used for helping man in meeting life's problems.

Third, that the attempt to limit woman's help to man in the kitchen or the nursery is purely arbitrary and unreasonable and even wicked.

Fourth, the tendency of the times has been for centuries to emancipate woman. The release of her powers for the general work of life has been so beneficial that in utilitarian times, when men and women are more or less governed by efficiency, women have been given opportunities almost as great as those of men, and they have made good.

Fifth, if women can help men politically or any other way, they are under a moral obligation to do so. To stand off and aloof from the great and eternal struggle between the forces of evil and righteousness which in every sphere of life are contending in a life-and-death struggle, and to act as though it was beneath them to lift one of the burdens which they might lift even with their little finger, is a position exhibiting such selfishness and heartlessness that the only way it can be condoned at all is by thinking that they are under the age-long delusion that woman is something other than what God intended her to be—a Helpmeet.

Women are under the same moral obligations as men. They have no more right to sit idly by, when it is in their power to prevent evil, than man has. There are too many women in these days who are without conscience on the subject of Suffrage. They are selfishly seeking to avoid responsibility for the continuance of evils which infest society and which they could end if they secured the ballot. They are the feminine travellers on the road to Jericho, who, seeing wounded humanity lying helpless by the wayside, pass by with an indifference and heartlessness that are no more excusable because of home duties than the Priests' and Levites' action was excusable because of religious duties.

WORK FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE NOVEMBER 6th

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

303 Fifth Avenue



New York, N. Y.

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

October, 1917.



THE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS' IDEA OF A MAINE JURY

The women who OPPOSE Equal Suffrage point with horror to the possible event of a woman being obliged to serve on a jury with eleven men.

"Suppose they were locked up together over night!" they exclaim.

The SUFFRAGISTS are glad to say that they have not lost faith in the integrity and chivalry of the MEN OF MAINE.

from the

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.
171 Madison Ave.,

New York City.

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 an 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 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.)

1. *When.* IV.—ELECTIONS.

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.)

*what every citizen
of New York should know*

elections held in New York State
voting regulations
general directions for casting a ballot
sample ballot
nomination of candidates
departments of state government
government of New York City
naturalization

order the New York edition 1918 of the

PRIMER FOR VOTERS

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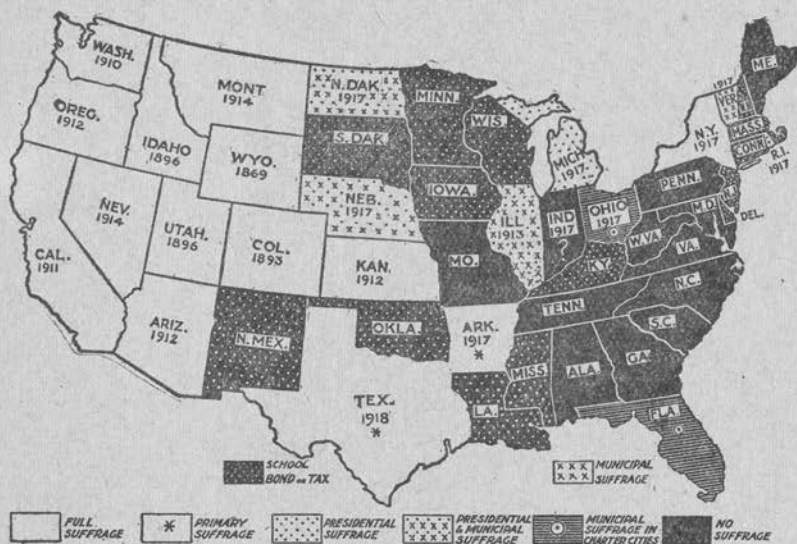
NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

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 two additional states women vote in the primaries.

These States Control 213 Electoral Votes

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

171 Madison Avenue

Printed April 1918



New York City

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

Facts and Dates to Remember

The Extent of Equal Suffrage All Over the World

WOMEN HAVE FULL SUFFRAGE

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

WOMEN HAVE A LARGE DEGREE OF SUFFRAGE

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

WOMEN HAVE SCHOOL OR TAX SUFFRAGE

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

Footnotes:—

¹ Parliamentary Suffrage for close relatives of soldiers in all Canadian Provinces.

² Municipal Suffrage.

³ Presidential and Local.

⁴ Presidential.

⁵ Primary.

⁶ Tax.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue

Printed April 1918



New York City

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

The Suffrage Planks

Democratic Suffrage Plank

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

Adopted at the Democratic Convention, St. Louis, July, 1916.

Progressive Suffrage Plank

We believe the women of the country, who share with men the burdens of government in time of peace and make equal sacrifice in time of war, should be given the full political right of suffrage, both by Federal and State action.

Adopted at the Progressive Convention, Chicago, June, 1916.

Prohibition Suffrage Plank

The right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. We declare in favor of the enfranchisement of women by amendment to State and Federal constitutions. We condemn the Republican and Democratic Parties for their failure to submit an equal suffrage amendment to the national constitution. We remind the four million women voters that our party was the first to declare for their political rights, which it did in 1872. We invite their co-operation in electing the Prohibition Party to power.

Adopted at the Prohibition Convention, St. Paul, July, 1916.

Republican Suffrage Plank

The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, favors the extension of the suffrage to women as a measure of justice, to one-half the adult people of this country, but recognizes the right of each State to settle the question for itself.

Adopted at the Republican Convention, Chicago, June, 1916.

Socialist Suffrage Plank

Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women. The immediate adoption of the so-called Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting the suffrage to women on equal terms with men.

Adopted at Socialist Convention and ratified by membership of Socialist Party, 1916.

Six Reasons Why Farmers' Wives Should Vote

(AMELIA MACDONALD CUTLER)

1. Because the farmer's wife is the farmer's working partner and she ought to have an equal right to vote on questions affecting their business.
2. Because she is vitally affected by the laws under which inspectors from the city can investigate farm produce and drastically enforce farm laws.
3. Because she is deeply concerned in the laws governing her neighborhood. If the farm hands vote license it is the farmer's wife who suffers.
4. Because by her work on the farm she helps to pay road taxes, and she should be allowed to vote on where the roads are built.
5. Because experience in the granges has shown that women vote for farm interests.
6. Because the votes of the farm women would double the rural vote.

Farmers have less political influence than they had before the civil war.

Farmers need to get back their political power to protect their interests.

Farm interests concern the farmer's wife just as much as the farmer.

Farmers and their wives voting together would conserve farm interests.

**FARMERS, YOUR BEST INTERESTS WOULD
BE SERVED BY VOTES FOR YOUR WIVES.**

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

NOT AT HOME YOU WERE OUT TODAY!

Some say "WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME."

We say:

**YOU MIGHT HAVE BEEN AT YOUR CHILDREN'S
SCHOOL.**

(POLITICS controls the Schools)

YOU MIGHT HAVE BEEN BUYING YOUR DINNER.

(POLITICS controls Pure Food Laws and Market conditions)

**YOU MIGHT HAVE BEEN BUYING READY MADE
CLOTHES.**

(POLITICS controls the conditions under which they are made)

**YOU MIGHT HAVE BEEN SEEKING A POSITION
BY WHICH YOU CAN SUPPORT YOUR
FATHERLESS CHILDREN.**

(POLITICS controls the hours and conditions of Woman's Labor)

What CONTROLS POLITICS? THE BALLOT

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue



New York City

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

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New York City

HANDICAPPED

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.

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New York City

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

Colorado Speaks

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

To the Women of This State:

Is your husband interested in an appropriation for good roads?
Your vote joined to his would be a help.

Do you believe that the rural schools should give your children the best educational advantages? The vote of all the women of the rural districts would be an influence that would help do this.

Is the country town nearest your home, with its poolroom and saloon, a fit place of recreation for your boy? If the women of that town had the vote, they would make it a more wholesome place.

When your girl leaves home to find work in the city, what of her health and safety? The women of that city are asking for the vote in order that they may offer her protection and better working conditions.

The man who said women were too scatter-brained and unreliable to be trusted with the ballot wasn't a Farmer.

The Farmer knows better. A farm that is run without a woman's help isn't much of a farm. And a government that is run without the advice of women is a one-sided government.

It is because the farmers of our Western States and of the Provinces of Canada, knew this that they gave their women the vote.

How about the farmers of this state?

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



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

True Democracy

We Believe

That "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We Believe

That a democracy is "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

We Believe

That women are people and are governed.

We Believe

That no state can be a true democracy in which one-half the people are denied the right to vote.

We Believe

That women need the vote for the same reason that men need it.

We Believe

That because laws regulate a woman's life and the lives of her children, and because they tax her property and may even sentence her to death, she should have the right to share in the making of the laws.

We Believe

That democracy bids everyone stand up and be counted, and that on Election Day no one may be counted for more than one.

IF YOU BELIEVE THIS JOIN THE MOVEMENT FOR

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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

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.**

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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

What is the Ballot?

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!

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New York City

What Every Woman Knows

That any work that needs doing is Woman's Work.

When the men are late coming home from market she does the chores.

When they are busy with the hay she milks the cows.

When an extra hand is needed with the harvest she helps in the field.

And she knows that her dignity does not suffer and that she loses none of her womanliness.

When the taxes are due she draws on her butter and egg money hidden away in the blue sugar bowl.

To help pay off the mortgage she spends long winter evenings putting patches on the boys' trousers.

Does this not prove that the farmer and his wife are partners?

They work together.

Why not vote together?

Let your husband know how you feel about it so that he will help you to get the vote.

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171 Madison Avenue, New York City

[Rural Series.]

Who Represents Her?

- IF a woman is responsible for an accident, if she defaults on her contracts, if she slanders her neighbors, is any man arrested, sued, bound over to keep the peace?
- IF a woman steals from her employer, does her father, husband, brother or son serve out her term in prison?
- IF a woman kills somebody, what man represents her in the prisoner's dock during her trial? What man represents her in the electric chair if she is convicted?
- IF a widow or an unmarried woman fails to pay her taxes, is the property of a male relative or of the man next door sold to satisfy the debt to the State?
- IF a woman forges a check, does her father, her husband, her employer, go to jail for felony?
- WHY is it that the only place in the world where man wants to represent woman is at the ballot box?

???

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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New York City

Women Do Want the Vote

These Women Have Said So

International Council of Women

Representing over 7,000,000 women.

General Federation of Women's Clubs

Representing over 2,000,000 women.

Every State Federation of Women's Clubs where women vote,
and many where they do not vote.

National Women's Trade Union League.

National Order of Maccabees.

International Council of Nurses.

World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

American Nurses' Association.

Women Should Have the Vote

These Men and Women Have Said So

National Educational Association.

National Grange (men and women engaged in farming).

American Federation of Labor.

National Miners' Federation.

National Purity Conference.

National Association of Letter Carriers.

National Association of Post Office Clerks.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Farmers' National Congress.

Grand Council of United Commercial Travellers.

THESE REPRESENT MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

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New York City

Women in the Home

The place of the Woman is in the Home. But merely to stay in the Home is not enough. She must care for the health and welfare moral as well as physical of her family.

SHE is responsible for the cleanliness of the house.

SHE is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.

SHE is responsible for the children's health.

SHE is responsible above all for their morals.

How far can the mother control these things?

She can clean her own rooms and care for her own plumbing and refuse, **BUT** if the building is unsanitary, the streets filthy, and the garbage allowed to accumulate, she cannot protect her children from the sickness that will result.

She can cook her food well, **BUT** if dealers are permitted to sell adulterated food, unclean milk or short weight, or measure, she cannot provide either wholesome or sufficient feeding for her family.

She can open her windows to give her children air, **BUT** if the air is laden with infection, she cannot protect her children from disease.

She can send her children out for exercise, **BUT** if the conditions on the streets are immoral and degrading, she cannot shield them from these dangers.

It is the government of the town or city that controls these things and the officials are controlled by the men who elect them.

Women do not elect these officials yet we hold the women responsible for the results of

Unclean Houses, Defective Sewerage, Unwholesome Food, Fire Risks, Danger of Infection, Immoral Influence on the Streets. If women are responsible for the results, let them have something to say as to what the conditions shall be. There is one simple way to do this. **GIVE THEM THE VOTE.**

Women are by nature and training housekeepers. Let them help in the city housekeeping. They will introduce an occasional spring cleaning.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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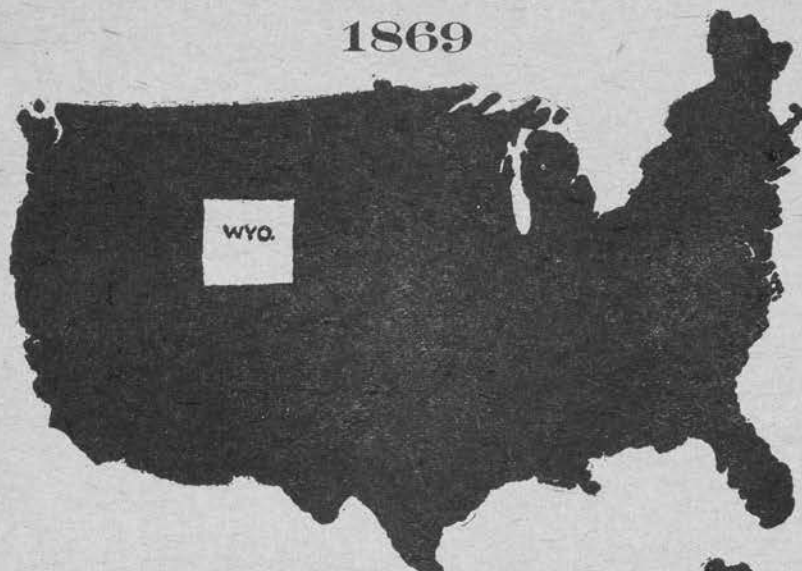
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New York City

SEEIN' IS BELIEVIN'—HAVE A LOOK!

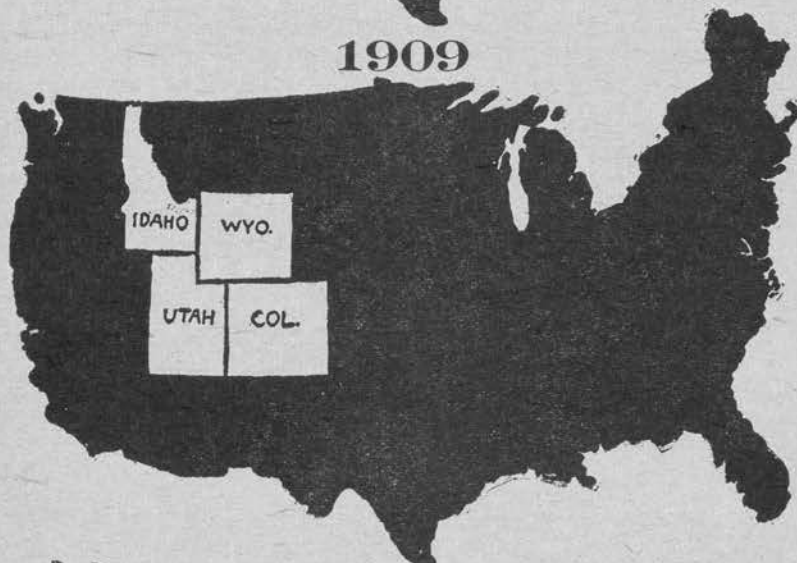
1869



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.

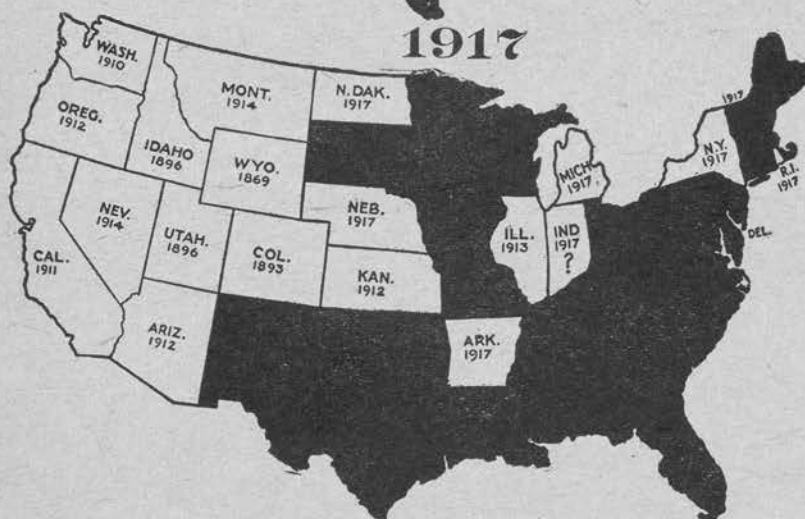
1909



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.

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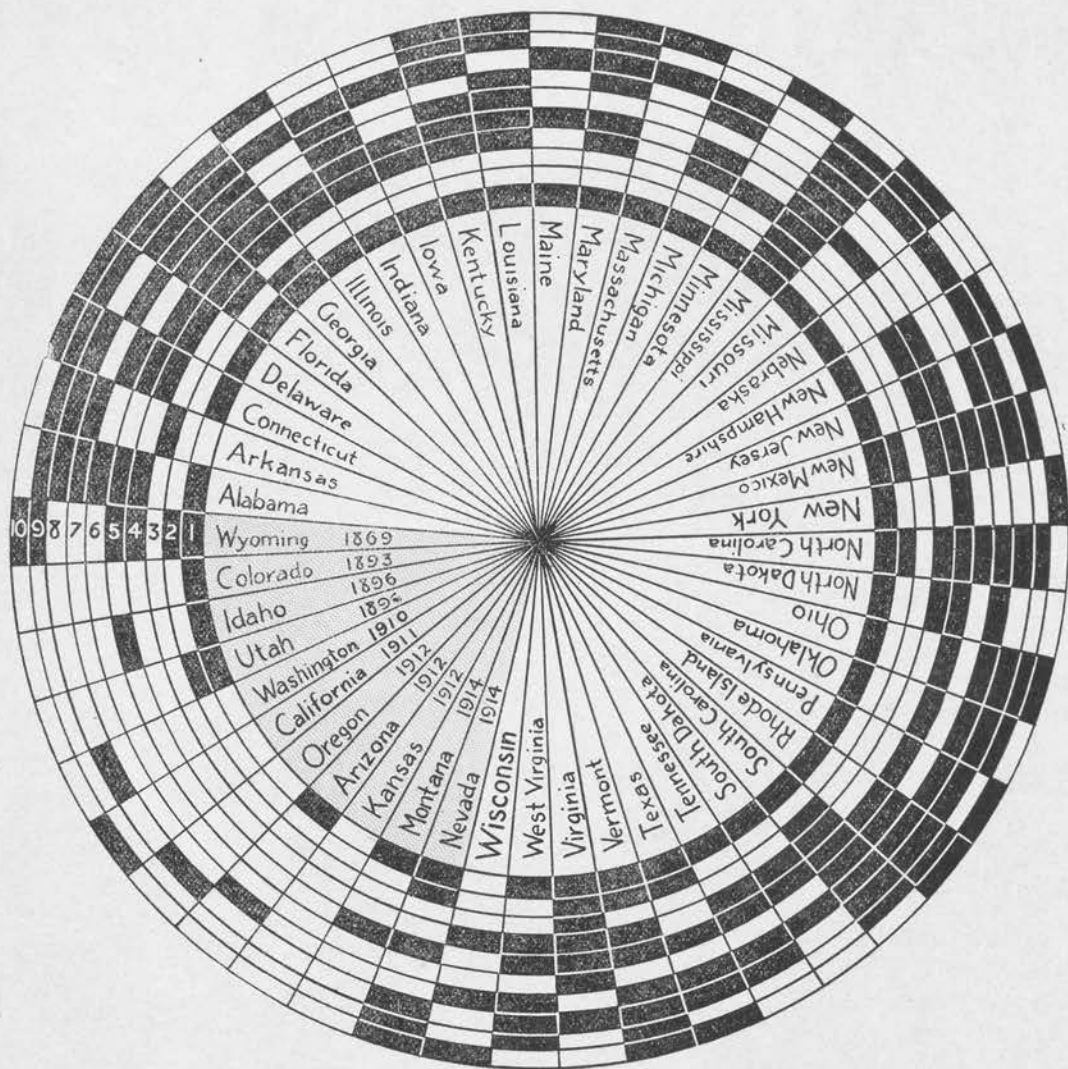
171 Madison Avenue

Printed February, 1918



New York City

IMPORTANT LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES AFFECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN



WHITE SPACES INDICATE GOOD LEGISLATION,
BLACK SPACES POOR OR NO LEGISLATION,
COLOR SPACES FULL SUFFRAGE STATES

Circle 1 Industrial Welfare Commission to regulate hours, wages and working conditions of women and children.

2 Child Labor — 14 year limit. Guarded exemptions during vacations are allowed and poverty exemptions when these are neutralized by Mothers' Pensions laws.

Circle 3 Compulsory education — State wide.

4 Eight or nine hour day for women.

5 Minimum wage.

6 Mothers' pensions.

7 Equal guardianship.

8 Age of consent, 18 years—chaste or unchaste.

9 Red light abatement.

10 Prohibition.

Note: Neither Illinois nor any of the Victory States of 1917 are included as full suffrage states in chart analysis

Reprinted from *The Woman Citizen*. February 2, 1918

2.190 per

The American's Creed

by

WILLIAM TYLER PAGE

Winner of the \$1,000 Prize in the
National Citizens' Creed Contest

I BELIEVE in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag and to defend it against all enemies."

Suffragists subscribe with heart and soul to this creed. It contains the fundamental principles on which they have always based their demand for the vote as a duty and obligation of American Citizenship.

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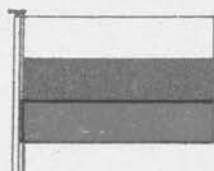


New York City

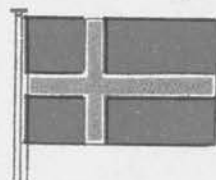
WOMEN VOTE under these FLAGS



DENMARK



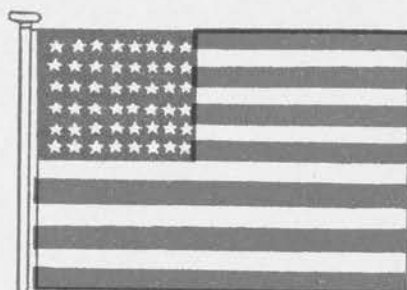
RUSSIA



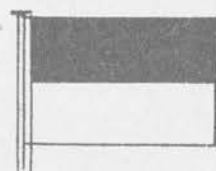
NORWAY



NEW
ZEALAND



UNITED
STATES



FINLAND



AUSTRALIA

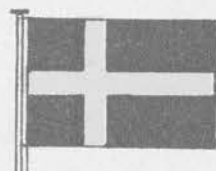


ICELAND

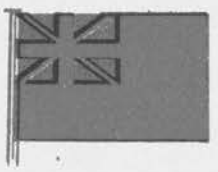


CANADA

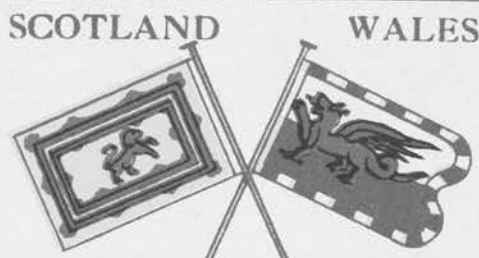
Why do not
ALL WOMEN
Vote under the flag of
DEMOCRACY



SWEDEN



ENGLAND



SCOTLAND

WALES



IRELAND

GIVE WOMEN THE VOTE
LET AMERICA LEAD

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

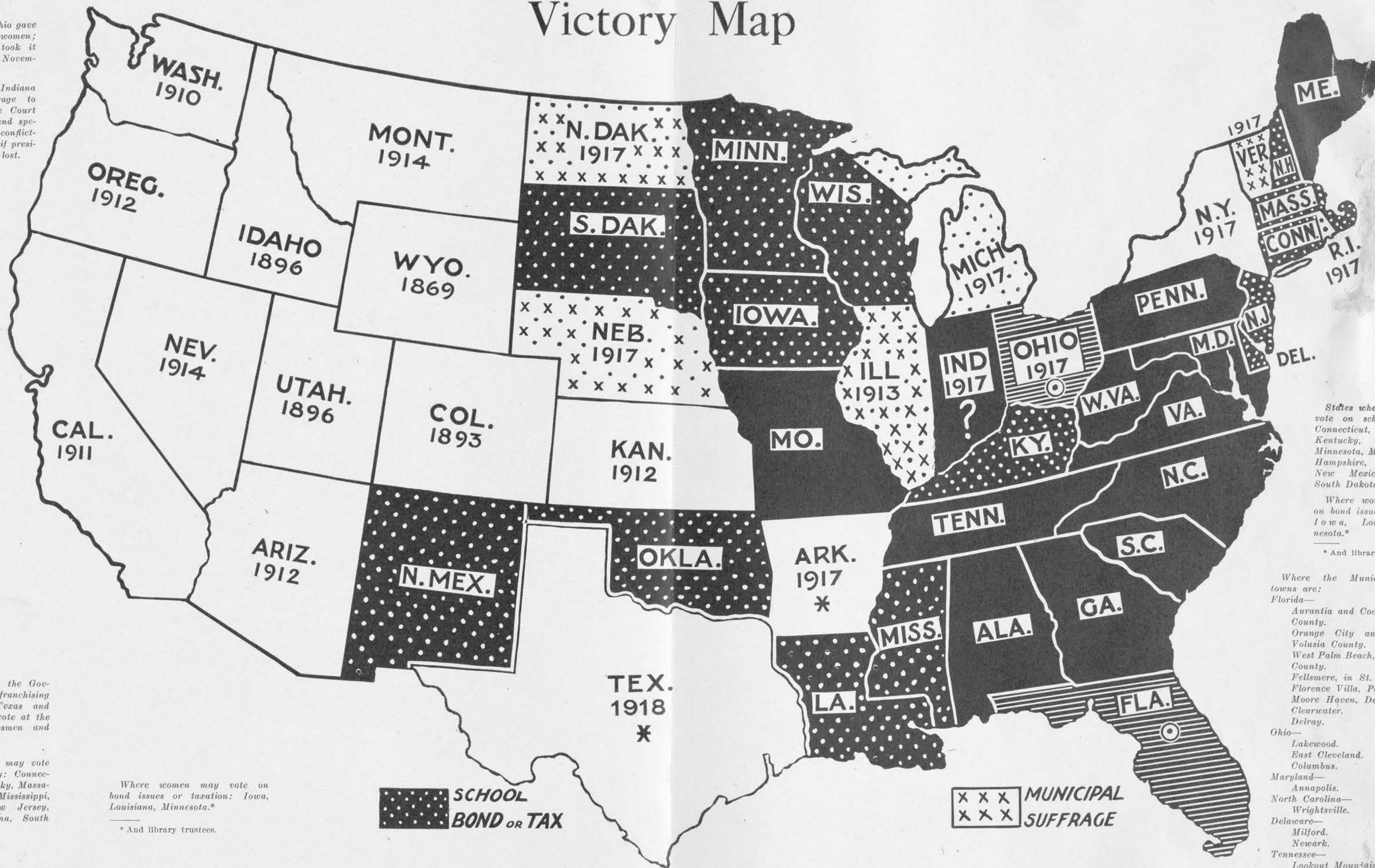
ENFRANCHISEMENT

Are the Women
Going to Get It?

Victory Map

The Legislature of Ohio gave presidential suffrage to women; but the male voters took it away at the polls on November 6, 1917.

The Legislature of Indiana gave 9/10 full suffrage to women. The Supreme Court took away municipal and special suffrage. Among conflicting reports, it seems as if presidential suffrage also is lost.



On March 26, 1918, the Governor signed the bill enfranchising Texas women. In Texas and Arkansas women may vote at the primaries for Congressmen and Senators.

States where women may vote on school questions only: Connecticut, Delaware, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Wisconsin.

Where women may vote on bond issues or taxation: Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota.*

* And library trustees.

