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.

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

Application for Membership

IN THE AMERICAN RED CROSS AND SUBSCRIPTION TO
THE AMERICAN RED CROSS MAGAZINE

American Red Cross,
Washington, D. C.

Date.....

I hereby apply for membership in the American Red Cross (which includes subscription to the Red Cross Magazine) and enclose the sum of $.....therefor.

Membership is of four classes:

Annual Member - One Dollar a Year
Sustaining Member Ten Dollars a Year
Life Member - Twenty-five Dollars
Patron Member One Hundred Dollars

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Send this application and remittance to—
AMERICAN RED CROSS, 1624 H STREET N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Bureau of Membership
Jan. 1916—50M—Rep. 16-21

JOIN NOW

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS NEEDS YOU

JAPAN with a population of 40,000,000 has 1,800,000 Red Cross members.

GERMANY with a population of 67,000,000 has 1,000,000 Red Cross members, and other countries have also large memberships.

The UNITED STATES and its dependencies with a population of 100,000,000 has only 27,000 members.

Can you afford to let your Red Cross lag so far behind in this great world-work?

Will you not be patriotic and humane enough to become a member at only a dollar a year and to urge others to do the same?

Help our Red Cross to be prepared for the conservation of human life and the mitigating of suffering in war and disaster.

National Headquarters
1624 H Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Membership in the Red Cross DOES NOT INVOLVE ANY FINANCIAL OBLIGATION, OTHER THAN THE PAYMENT OF DUES, or any obligation of service. All active service is performed by its directors, surgeons, nurses, and other trained agents.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS asks the cooperation of every man, woman, and child in the United States in its effort to increase its membership.

The work of the Red Cross should command the interest and support of every citizen of the country. It is not a private organization or a limited corporation. It is an organization "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Its rolls at present contain the names of persons in all walks of life, from the most humble citizen to those of the highest financial, business, and social standing. But the number is woefully small.

This statement is an invitation to the recipient to make application for membership. If he is already enrolled, he should consider it a duty to hand this folder to some one who is not a member.

Any citizen or resident of the United States or of its dependencies may become a member of the American Red Cross by the payment of the dues of the class of membership into which he desires election.

The four classes of membership are as follows:

Annual membership.....$1 per year
Sustaining membership.....$10 per year
Life membership.....$25 in one payment
Patron membership....$100 in one payment

Each member is provided with a button or pin and receives the Red Cross Magazine, a monthly publication devoted to, and keeping its members in touch with, the work of this society and of the Red Cross throughout the world.

The application blank on page 4 should be sent to a local Chapter or to The American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. Checks or money orders should be made payable to the American Red Cross. Receipt for dues will be sent each member. Membership is an expression of your patriotism and humanity.

CAN YOU AFFORD NOT TO BE A MEMBER?

A FEW FACTS

The American Red Cross (present organization) was chartered by Congress in 1905.

Its President is the President of the United States.

It is the one volunteer relief organization for war and disaster recognized by the United States Government.

It has expended in ten years for the people of the United States in humanitarian work over thirteen millions of dollars in money and supplies.

It is non-sectarian and non-political.

It is organized to furnish aid to sick and wounded of armies in time of war, and to devise and carry on measures of relief for those suffering from pestilence, famine, fire, floods, and other great calamities.

If this country should ever become engaged in war the Red Cross would be the official channel through which friends or relatives would be able to locate and communicate with sick, wounded, or imprisoned soldiers.

It expends its relief funds in accordance with the designation of donors.

Its accounts are audited by the United States War Department.

For further general information or information concerning any of the various activities of the Red Cross, address The Bureau of Information, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Woman's America.

Tune—America.

Man, the so-called "*lord* of creation," used to sing
"*My* country."
Woman, the truly called "*crown* of creation,"
now sings "*Our* country."

Our country! 'tis of thee
We plead for liberty,
So long denied!
Our hearts, like men's, vibrate
To make thee strong and great.
To steer thy Ship of State
Share *woman's* guide.

Our country! Long gave we
Our noble sons to thee,
At thy command.
Long have our hearts been wrung,
Long was our cause unsung,
Long graft its blight has flung,
On man's demand!

Our country! Thou shalt be
All we have sung of thee,
Of noble birth!
Let *woman's* cause be thine,
Let her with man combine
To make thy glories shine
O'er all the earth!

Our country! Would'st thou be
Full free from sea to sea?
Set woman free!
Then shall thy perils flee,
Great wrong soon vanquished be;
Then peace shall reign in thee
E-TER-NAL-LY!

Copyright, 1915, by Mrs. Elva Christiana Holzapfel.
Published by Elva Publishing Company, Cleona, Pa.
Prices: 5 copies, 5 cts; 12 copies, 10 cts; 100 copies, 50 cts;
500 copies, $2.00; 1000 copies, $3.00; all postpaid.

[1915-16?]

- Votes for Women -
by
Dr. U. V. Williams.

Lack of votes for women - devoted band,
Caused sorrow in the Bluegrass land,
In the Legislature your dreams of winning fled,
Left Rachel mourning for her dead,
Fond hopes that shone in smiling face,
For uplift of the human race,
To warn mankind that help was nigh,
But for lack of votes was doomed to die.

Bright hopes thrown down in needless slaughter,
But sustained in truth like Jeptha's daughter.
Deem not the failure all in vain,
But persevere and try again,
Not trials borne nor bitter crosses,
Phoenix like arise from all your losses.
Despair not as friendless and all forlorn
Nor in defeat in silence mourne,
Nor in disaster, unhappy turn
Beside Niobe's shattered urn,.

The impulse which stirs the human heart
Of mankind is still the nobler part.
Is worth the loss of hopes cast down
Behind the cross shines bright the crown.
For man's ambition, fair Helen's charms
Set all the ancient world at arms.

Proud Achilles doomed at last to feel
His fiery spirit pass from his heel.
Proud Rome where Tully and Virgil wrote
Owed her salvation to a ganders note.
And when at last you reach the limit
Adam like, men will say " A woman did it".

Proud in defense of woman's homes
Stood the champion, Senator T. A. Combs
Like Stonewall Jackson in the frey
And in the Senate won the day.
No less his confreres good and true
Inspires to see the conflict through.
Until the battle, nobly won
Conceived their duty fully done.

Remarks on "The Ladies' Battle"

By Alice Stone Blackwell

Miss Molly Elliot Seawell has expanded into a small book her recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly* against woman suffrage. She asserts that, if women gain the ballot, they must forfeit "enormous property privileges," and that all sorts of disasters will follow. Her statements are unqualifiedly denied by the leading legal authorities of the enfranchised States.

Chief Justice Potter, of Wyoming, says:

"None of the consequences or complications mentioned by Miss Seawell have arisen in Wyoming, where women have had full suffrage since 1869. Married women have not only not been deprived of any property rights which they had before equal suffrage was adopted, but from time to time statutes have been passed extending the property rights of married women." —*The Woman's Journal,* January 7, 1911.

Judge Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court annotated a whole series of Miss Seawell's statements, writing against each the words, "Absolutely false." He added:

"It is hard to understand how anyone with a grain of intelligence could sign her name to such absurdities. The statements are false in every detail, and our experience in Colorado proves that not one of them ever operated in actual practice, as claimed."—*The Woman's Journal,* October 8, 1910.

Chief Justice Sullivan, of Idaho, says:

"It seems strange that a magazine with the standing of the *Atlantic Monthly* would give space to an article containing not only an utter misconception of the legal principles applicable to women who have the right of suffrage, but so many erroneous statements and misrepresentations of the historical facts of the real condition of woman suffrage where it is now in actual operation. I am unable to understand why an author would risk her reputation by making so many false statements. It seems to me that nothing but ignorance, prejudice and a wilful intention to misrepresent could have instigated such an article.

"The idea that every legal voter must be able to fight his way to the polls, and after he has done so, possess the physical ability to enforce the effect of his ballot, is a proposition that would not stand the test in any civilized country. If this so-called basic principle were correct, it would disfranchise at least one-fourth of the male voters in the United States."

Of Miss Seawell's assertion that ruffians would undoubtedly prevent women by force from casting their ballots, Chief Justice Sullivan says:

"No such thing has ever occurred in any of the suffrage States. What would the good men at the polling place be doing while the ruffians were

belaboring their mothers and wives, sisters and sweethearts, and preventing them from depositing their ballots? If anything like that had occurred, the rowdy who attempted it would never attempt such an act again.

"Miss Seawell's second so-called basic principle is that one voter cannot claim maintenance from another voter. Where in the common law or in any statute law in any of the States of this Union can she find such a principle? In some States, inhabitants of almshouses are not permitted to vote; but that is not a case in point. She says the moment a married woman claimed the right to vote, she would be deprived of any claim to support from her husband. There are no such laws in any of the four suffrage States mentioned, and no such laws exist in any other State of this Union, nor is any such principle found in the common law.

"We have made an actual test of woman suffrage in this State for fourteen years, and there has not been a 'stupendous loss to women,' nor any loss whatever; but it has proven beneficial to the best interests of the State. And there is no doubt that the results would be just as beneficial in the more thickly populated States of the Union.

"Paraphrasing Miss Seawell, I believe that the most important factors in the State are the wives and mothers who make of their sons and daughters good citizens to govern and protect the State, and woman suffrage is one of the greatest means to effect that end."—*The Woman's Journal,* November 12, 1910.

Miss Seawell worships the past and is blind to present-day problems. Denouncing certain suffragists who said that they wanted a vote in order to promote education and sanitation, Miss Seawell says:

"Neither sanitation nor popular education was known to the founders of the Republic; yet these founders added more to the forces of civilization than any group of sanitarians or educators that ever lived. Sanitation and education are already well attended to by men, and as large a share of the public income is devoted to them as the people will bear."

It is impossible, within a limited space, to take up one-tenth part of the flagrant errors of fact contained in this little volume. It is a book that may well make suffragists laugh and anti-suffragists blush.

Send for catalog of suffrage literature and supplies

Subscribe for THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Address

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

505 Fifth Avenue, New York City

119

[Sept 21, 1916]

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LAWSON PURDY
New York

Secretary
CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF
Philadelphia

Treasurer
GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.
Philadelphia

Objects of the National Municipal League

First.—To multiply the numbers, harmonize the methods and combine the forces of those who are interested in good municipal government.

Second.—To promote the thorough investigation and discussion of the conditions and details of municipal administration, and of the methods for selecting and appointing officials in American cities, and of constitutions, laws and ordinances relating to such subjects.

Third.—To furnish data for public information and discussion, by the publication of the proceedings of the meetings, reports of committees, and other papers, books and periodicals bearing upon the subjects of municipal government and municipal affairs.

Fourth.— The League shall have no connection with state or national parties or issues as such.

National Municipal League

I DESIRE to be enrolled as a { Annual Member ($5) / Contributing Member ($25) } and subscriber to the *National Municipal Review*, and enclose herewith ..... Dollars in payment of ..... membership fee. You may address the *Review* to me, as follows:

Name .....

Street .....

City & State .....

Checks may be drawn to the order of the National Municipal League, and mailed to 121 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM
OF
THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY

**Adopted December 9, 1916, at Washington, D. C.,
at the Second Annual Meeting**

The Legislative Committee is instructed to put forth every practicable effort in behalf of Congressional or Executive action, directed to the following ends:

1. To prevent the adoption of measures that would force upon the country a system of universal, compulsory military service.

2. To prevent the adoption of measures providing for the military training of minors.

3. To secure the repeal of the "draft" clause in the Army Reorganization Bill.

4. To secure, through the creation of a joint commission or of joint commissions, on which experts from Japan and China and the United States shall sit, dispassionate and far-sighted views concerning the complex and difficult issues arising between the United States and the Orient.

5. To establish Federal jurisdiction over issues which concern unnaturalized residents in the various States.

6. To secure the passage of the Federal amendment granting the franchise to women.

7. To secure the formulation of the principle that foreign investments shall be made at the risk of the investor, without claim to the military and naval protection of the United States Government.

8. To further the legislation dealing with Porto Rico, urged by President Wilson in his Annual Message, and also that shortening the period of control over the Philippine Islands.

9. To secure before the completion of the negotiations with Denmark for the purchase of the Danish West Indies, an expression of the will of the people of the Islands.

10. To secure the calling of the Third Hague Conference at the earliest practicable moment.

11. To secure action under the "Hensley" clause of the Naval Appropriations Act.

12. To secure such dealing with neighboring Republics that our relationships with them shall be free from the evils of secret diplomacy, and that in arriving at decisions affecting their well-being, counsel be taken with the governments of other American States and with those groups in our own population most sympathetic and most likely to be intelligent as to the interests of the people of those Republics.

84

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

BY

THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY

December 9, 1916, at Washington, D. C.

at the Second Annual Meeting

Whereas, There has been created a demand, which a few years ago would have been inconceivable, for compulsory military service in the United States; and

Whereas, Such conscription is radically opposed to all American ideals of citizenship and is full of menace to social, industrial and political liberties; therefore be it

Resolved: That the Woman's Peace Party pledges its uncompromising opposition to every form of conscription or compulsory military service.

Whereas, The burden of testimony of American experts on physical education is opposed to military training in schools as not only wholly inadequate, but actually detrimental to all-round development; and

Whereas, Such training is not required in even the most military European nations; and

Whereas, We believe the social effect of shaping physical education with reference to military service to be thoroughly harmful; therefore be it

Resolved: That the Woman's Peace Party earnestly advocates radical opposition to all military training of minors in or out of school, and recommends that the effort to defeat reactionary proposals of this nature take the shape of securing modern scientific physical education and outdoor life, coupled with health examination and instruction, for all boys and girls.

Resolved: That the Woman's Peace Party urges that action be taken by our Government to convene the Third Hague Conference at the earliest practicable moment. That all voting delegates shall be civilians, men and women, representing the varied interests of the country, and that the delegates from the United States be instructed to advocate world organization and a peaceful settlement of all international difficulties.

Resolved: That the Woman's Peace Party deplores the over-emphasis on the army and navy in the ceremony of inaugurating the President and recommends that in future this great national ceremony should represent the varied interests of the country, social, civic, philanthropic, educational, industrial, artistic, scientific and religious.

Resolved: That the Woman's Peace Party respectfully requests the President of the United States to issue a public proclamation on New Year's Day to call the attention of the belligerent and neutral nations to the fact that he has been empowered by Congress to initiate and sponsor an international conference for the abolition of war and the promotion of general disarmament.

Resolved: That the Woman's Peace Party urges its individual members and its branches and affiliated organizations to co-operate with the American Neutral Conference Committee in its endeavor to secure active and intelligent public support of any effort that our government may make toward a just and lasting peace, by using every possible means to enlighten public opinion and by securing signatures to the petition now being put forth by the American Neutral Conference Committee.

Resolved: That the Woman's Peace Party endorses the platform of the World Court League and urges its members to make the public familiar with it.

Resolved: That the Woman's Peace Party welcomes the plan to establish a Woman's Auxiliary to the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches and asks all members of the Woman's Peace Party who are members of churches to co-operate so far as possible with such Auxiliary in promoting the establishment of Peace-Makers Committees in the local Churches.

Resolved: That the Woman's Peace Party send a message of sympathy to our sisters in the warring countries, assuring them that we suffer with them and echo their hope for the speedy end of the war.

Resolved: That the Woman's Peace Party expresses most hearty thanks to the very efficient local committee who have so greatly facilitated the deliberations of our conference by their arrangements for our comfort and convenience.

84

Woman's America.

Tune—America.

Man, the so-called "*lord* of creation," used to sing "*My* country."
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Is this in your public library? [Mar. 1914]

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Address: MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER

245 West 51st Street New York City

VOLUME III WILL BE SENT PREPAID FOR TWO DOLLARS.

[Mar. 1, 1916]

to study these questions and make recommendations to the various countries involved, after considering all interests concerned, local, national, and international.

Signed:

LILLIAN D. WALD, *Chairman*
PAUL U. KELLOGG, *Vice-Chairman*
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD, *Treasurer*
CRYSTAL EASTMAN, *Secretary*
CHARLES T. HALLINAN, *Editorial Director*
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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY
ALICE LEWISOHN
FREDERICK LYNCH
JAMES P. WARBASSE
STEPHEN S. WISE

This is a National Crisis. If you are with us wire or write to your Congressman to Go Slow on "Preparedness."

4 NATIONAL CAPITAL PRESS, INC., WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Anti "Preparedness" Committee

HEADQUARTERS: MUNSEY BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

We are a committee of American citizens formed to protest against the attempt to stampede this nation into a reckless program of military and naval expansion.

No danger of invasion threatens this country and there is no excuse for hasty, ill-considered action. We protest against the effort being made to divert the public mind from those **preparations for world peace** based on international agreement which it might be our country's privilege to initiate at the close of this War. And we protest against the effort being made to **divert public funds,** sorely needed in constructive programs for national health and well-being, into the manufacture of engines of death.

We are against all the various "preparedness" programs, **because they are extravagant, unneces-**

sary, and contrary to all that is best in our national traditions.

Believing that this statement represents the thoughtful conclusions of a large number of patriotic Americans, we urge them to support us in the following program:

Go Slow on Preparedness

Our immediate purpose is to prevent any unusual expenditure for armament during the present session of Congress.

Stop the Waste on Preparedness

We demand public investigation of our present huge war budget so that every dollar now spent for the Army and Navy may bring 100 per cent of efficiency.

Who Wants Preparedness?

We stand for a Congressional investigation as to the sources of the insistent demand for a large increase in Army and Navy appropriations.

Taking the Profit out of Preparedness

We stand for taking all possibility of private profit out of armament manufacture.

Who is to Pay for Preparedness?

We hold that any increased expense for armament should be met by income and inheritance taxes, and not by taxes which place additional burdens on the poor.

A New Foreign Policy Instead of Preparedness

We hold with the President that the time has come to develop the Monroe doctrine with its inherent dangers and difficulties, into a real Pan-American union, and therefore urge that a fifth Pan-American conference be called early in 1916, and that our delegates be instructed to recommend a federation of the twenty-one American republics in the interests of peace and democracy.

The "Yellow Peril" and Preparedness

Since the questions at issue between America and the Orient are serious and complex, we urge, as a rational approach to their solution, the appointment of a joint Government commission, representing Japan, China and the United States

IOWA CAMPAIGN FUND

VOTES FOR WOMEN

I will give ..... *to help secure the vote for the women of Iowa in 1916.*

I will pay the amount (date) .....

Name .....

Address .....

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Dec, 1914



This little girl if on the window-sill hung out
The weather she foretells without a doubt,
If Blue she wears you need not hesitate,
For weather Dry and Fair will you await,
But if in Pink you see her dressed—take warning
Rain and Storm in air she finds alarming.
And if in Violet gown she doth herself array,
A Change of Weather you may expect straightway.

COLOR BAROMETER

In the Winter months when the outside air is shut out of the house—this Barometer must be hung out the Window for ten minutes to indicate. The humidity of the Seashore will keep the dress Pink when the skies are bright, in other localities this does not occur unless Rain is in the air.



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Each State 1000
August 13



WOMAN'S JOURNAL
AND
SUFFRAGE NEWS
BOSTON

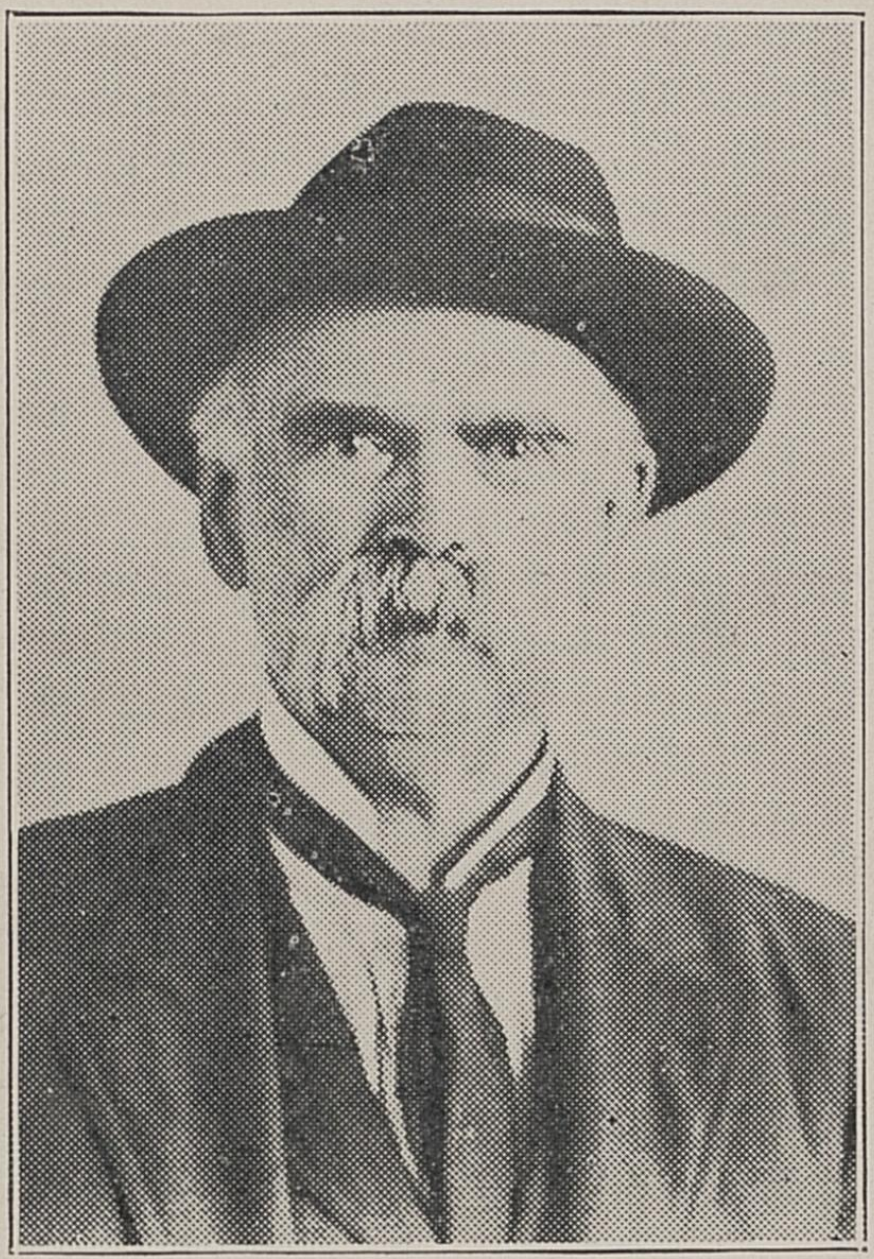
IF YOU BELIEVE IN SUFFRAGE
USE YOUR SUFFRAGE PAPER

Each State 1000
August 13



WOMAN'S JOURNAL
AND
SUFFRAGE NEWS
BOSTON

IF YOU BELIEVE IN SUFFRAGE
USE YOUR SUFFRAGE PAPER



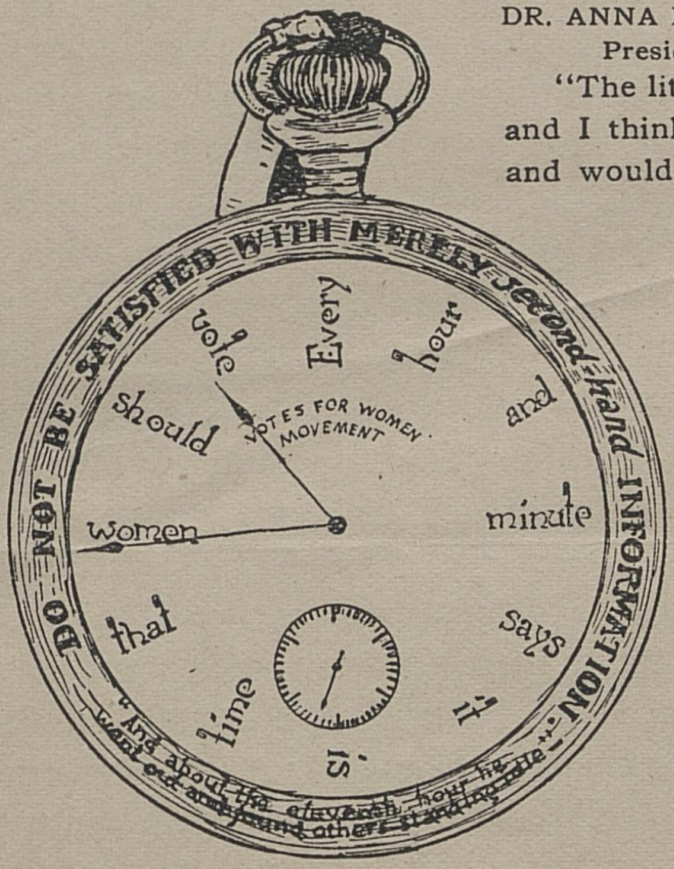
☒ C. M. PARIS

Republican Candidate For Treasurer
of Monroe County.
Subject to Primary June 5, 1916.

[1914]

We Publish the Suffrage Watch Again This Week

because we think you will be interested to know what some of your friends think of it.



DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
President National Association

"The little article you speak of has come, and I think the idea is a very excellent one and would serve a very good purpose just to slip into letters, etc."

MISS LUCY BURNS,
Congressional Union

"I think the watch is very clever, indeed."

DR. THADDEUS P. THOMAS,
Goucher College:

"I want to thank you * * * also for sending me the exceptionally clever little booklet."

MRS. A. K. DENT,
President Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association:

"It is as catchy a suffrage favor as I have ever seen. Please rush order. Want them for a special occasion."

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"It is the only piece of literature distributed of which we found none thrown away."

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"I have before me one of your suffrage watches. It impresses me as a most attractive favor for suffrage luncheons and parties."

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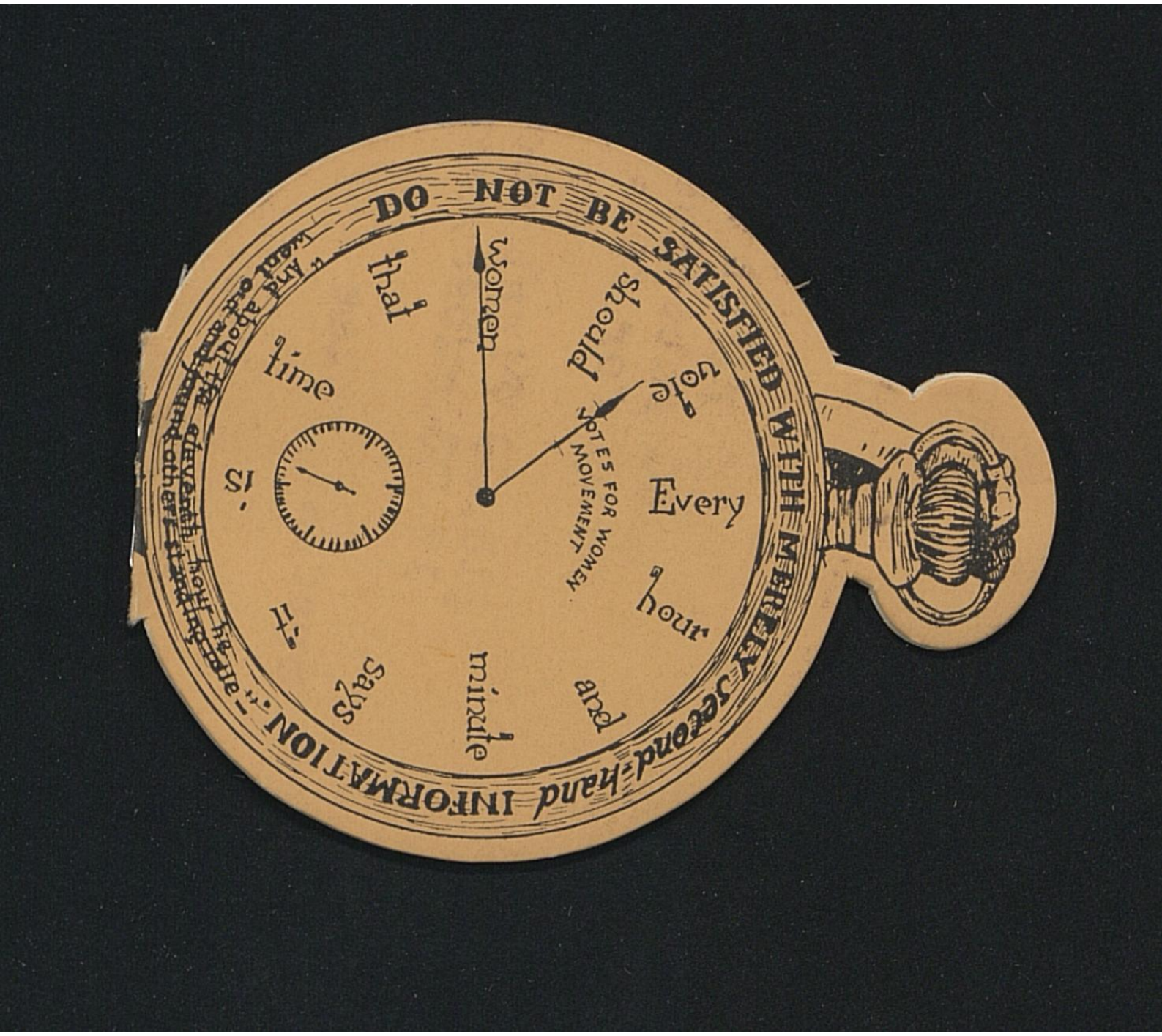
DO NOT BE SATISFIED WITH MERELY second-hand INFORMATION.
"And about the eleventh hour he went out and found others standing idle."
women
should
vote
Every
hour
and
minute
says
it
is
time
that
VOTES FOR WOMEN MOVEMENT

"AS WOMAN IS THE JEWEL OF THE HOME,
AND HOME IS THE MAIN SPRING OF THE NATION,
SO WOULD EQUAL SUFFRAGE BE THE BALANCE
WHEEL OF GOVERNMENT."

E,
ON,
CE

HOW IT WORKS

Copyright. M. G. Keller
1914. Baltimore.
Md.

IN WYOMING

"Woman suffrage in Wyoming has been in every respect as successful as man suffrage. It has put equality laws upon the staute books. It has not debased woman socially. She has not neglected her home duties. It has not caused trouble for husbands or children. It has opened the same opportunities for women to make a living that are accorded to men. It is accepted here as a matter of course, and I know of none who would take the right of suffrage from women if it were in his power to do so."

Hon. JOSEPH M. CAREY,

Governor of Wyoming

IN COLORADO

"***I believe that the influence of Woman Suffrage has always been for the betterment of political conditions and that it has accomplished much and especially in matters of legislation relating to women and children."

Hon. E. M. AMMONS, Governor

"***Women Suffrage has been tried and it has risen in full measure to the expectations of those who were orginally its advocates. I think, therefore, I can speak as one with authority when I say that the extension of the franchise to both sexes simply extends the area of that privilege to the limit which is demanded by the principle of universal suffrage."

Hon. C. S. THOMAS,
U. S. Senator

IN UTAH

"The women of Utah have been exercising the right of suffrage for many years to the advantage of the State, the home and the women themselves. We have every reason to be satisfied with the results of equal suffrage in this State."

Hon. WM. SPRY, Governor of Utah

"***From the results following the granting of equal suffrage in my State, I am pleased to say that no evil effects have followed, but, on the contrary, a better condition in public affairs is the result."

Hon. REED SMOOT,
U. S. Senator from Utah

IN IDAHO

"Women Suffrage has accomplished much good for Idaho. *** Let the work of extending the sphere of woman's influence go on."

Hon. JOHN M. HAINES,
Governor of Idaho

"The presence of women in politics, armed with the power to enforce her demands, has been substantially for the benefit of society. It is sometimes argued that women will vote largely with their brothers or husbands, but I have observed that there comes a time upon certain questions when the husbands and brothers vote with the women."

Hon. WM. E. BORAH,
U. S. Senator

IN WASHINGTON

"In so far as women have not exercised the right to vote, they are women who are not informed about political affairs, who are indifferent about the consequences of the great political issues of the day; and the women who have voted are those who are best qualified to have the right to vote, who are the best informed and the most interested and the most concerned about the effect upon conditions, upon themselves and upon their families of the laws which are enacted in response to the suffrage of the people at the polls."

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
U. S. Senator from
Washington

IN CALIFORNIA

"There is every reason to regard equal suffrage as having justified itself in California. **** Woman's understanding of politics is surprisingly keen. On every occasion when they have thus far exercised the franchise, they have proven themselves intelligent voters. In several particular instances the women have waged battles in this State in behalf of decency and good government that challenge the highest regard for them as voting citizens."

Hon. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, Governor

"****I am proud of the men of my state who were broad-minded and far-seeing and patrotic enough to grant the franchise to their women."

Hon. JOHN D. WORKS,
U.S. Senator from California

IN OREGON

"While equal suffrage has been in existence but a short time in Oregon, it has nevertheless been put to a test and results show that it is productive of good as its friends had claimed for it. The women not only register and vote, but they vote for those men and those measures that make for decent government."

Hon. OSWALD WEST, Governor of Oregon.

"****Good legislation and properly conducted government go right into the homes of the families of this country and bear directly upon the happiness, the fate, and the fortunes of the family, including the women. Naturally and logically women should have a voice and a share in saying what manner of government should be placed upon herself and her children."—Hon. HARRY LANE,
U.S. Senator from Oregon

IN KANSAS

"I feel assured that the women's vote of the State will be directed towards the betterment of our schools, towards better morals, and towards all those questions that have a tendency for better citizenship. I hope the time will soon be here when we will have nation-wide equal suffrage."

Hon. GEORGE H. HODGES, Governor

"The State that withholds the right from its women of participating in the affairs of its government is doing itself an injustice, because their participation in the affairs of the State will benefit every Commonwealth that enjoys that privilege."

Hon. JOSEPH L. BRISTOW,
U. S. Senator from Kansas

IN ARIZONA

"***** I may further say that none of the 'alleged evils' of equal suffrage, so frequently proclaimed by its opponents, have so far been apparent in Arizona."—Hon. GEO. W. P. HUNT, Governor of Arizona.

"It is, or at least ought to be, an axiom of American liberty that a class of persons obedient to the law as are the women; a class that has a peculiar care for the rights of others; a class which is taxed upon its labor and property for the support of the Government;**** which is patriotic, learned, and in a measure capable of the highest degree of efficiency in the useful arts and sciences, ****should not be denied a voice in the enactment and enforcement of laws and concerns of the Government." Hon. HENRY F. ASHURST, U. S. Senator

IN ILLINOIS
PRAISES WOMEN VOTERS

Chicago Election Commissioner Sees Uplift in Their Ballot

"As an influence for good politics, Chicago women are to be congratulated," said Czarnechki. "Their presence was like oil upon the turbulent waters in every precinct of every ward in which there were bitter clashes. In no precinct did the presence and activity in the political contest of women make them mannish. The women demeaned themselves as becomes them and, with few exceptions, the men active in politics respected and treated the women in a courteous manner."

"Female
suffrage will come.
Not fully and at once, but
by varying steps. Woman's
broader education, her increasing
familiarity with business and public
affairs will lead to it. And why not? The
chief reply is the *home*. God forbid that
it should be jeopardized. But female suffrage
will not debase the home, nor lessen its power
and influence. On the other hand it will in-
troduce a refining and uplifting power
into our political life."

Hon. DAVID J. BREWER,

Chief Justice
United States Supreme Court

THIS
IS THE CASE

THOUSANDS OF PERSONS WHO HAVE QUALIFIED THEMSELVES FOR THE BALLOT ARE DEBARRED FROM ITS USE SIMPLY BECAUSE **THEY ARE WOMEN;** WHILE THOUSANDS OF UNQUALIFIED PERSONS ARE GRANTED ITS PRIVILEGES AND PROTECTION, SIMPLY BECAUSE

THEY ARE

MEN!


VOTES FOR WOMEN

[July 11-13, 1915]

JULY 13. AT THE EXPOSITION

10:00 a. m.—In the ball room of the California Building, Informal reception and greetings.
The Woman's Board.
The Susan B. Anthony Club. Mrs. Mary B. Sperry,
Mrs. Wm. Kent and others.
Responses—Rev. Olympia Brown, President,
Elizabeth Lowe Watson, Vice-President.
"Our Work with Congress"—Clara Bewick Colby.

DINNER

5:30 p. m.—Dinner at "Old Faithful Inn"
(Zone entrance at Van Ness Avenue)

Official Presentation by the Exposition
Acceptance and Response by Rev. Olympia Brown

Toastmaster, Miss Hester E. Hosford
"California"—Edwin Markham
"The Woman Voter"—Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe
"International Amity"—Mrs. Andrea Hofer Proudfoot
"The Women of the Orient"—Mirza Ali Kuli Khan
Minister from Persia
"The Wide, Wide World"—
Mrs. May Wright Sewall
"Our Suffrage Mother" Hon. Mary G. Bellamy,
Wyoming
"Our Suffrage Baby"—Hon. O. Wadsted
Commissioner from Denmark
"The Invisble Host"—Mrs. Ida Husted Harper
"Women in the Building of America"—Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby

PAGEANTRY

8:00 p. m.—In the Court of Abundance, Pageantry
Directed by Miss Mari Hofer

Congress can enable women to vote for U. S. Senators and Representatives

Federal Suffrage Association of the United States

Holds a Congress in San Francisco July, 11, 12, and 13

OFFICIAL DAY AT THE EXPOSITION
TUESDAY, JULY 13

Sunday and Monday Sessions in the Civic Auditorium, Hall "A"

SUNDAY, 3:00 P. M.

Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, Presiding

Solo—"The King of Love My Shepherd Is"
Mrs. Kate Bridewell Anderson
Address—"Put on the Whole Armor of God"
Rev. Olympia Brown
Poem—"The Vision"
Miss Carolyn Renfrew
Address—"The Spiritual Significance of the Woman Movement"
Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby
Benediction.

While we must work along all lines until full suffrage is secured for all women, this demand for Federal Suffrage based on the original Constitution of the United States adds dignity to our movement, and lays upon men the responsibility to secure to women their inheritance of liberty according to the foundation principles of our Government.

MONDAY, JULY 12

10:00 A. M.

Address—"The Work of the Association"
Rev. Olympia Brown, President
Message—From the Honorary President
Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, L L. D.
Greetings—
Report—"Our Work With Congress"
Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, Chairman
Discussion—Led by Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe

2:00 P. M.

Address—"Relation of Woman's Civic Work to Federal Suffrage"
Mrs. Jean Swinton Hutchins
Address—"Bugaboos Vanquished"
Dr. Blanche E. Sanborn
Address—"Federal Suffrage for Women and International Relations"
Mrs. Andrea Hofer Proudfoot
Memorial Tributes—
Mrs. Julia B. Nelson
Mrs. E. V. Spencer
Discussion—"What Women Voters Can Do for All Women"
Led by Mrs. Virginia W. Mason

8:00 P. M.

Rev. Olympia Brown, Presiding
Folk Songs—
Miss Mari Hofer
Miss Helene Proudfoot, Accompanist
Address—"A Truer Democracy"
Mrs. Clara Neymann

Address—"Women of Hawaii"
Mrs. Alice Park

Address—"A Constitution for Half the Nation"
Mrs. Ida Husted Harper

Address—"What Federal Suffrage for Women Means to the Woman Voter"
Dr. Eva St. Clair Osborne

INFORMATION

Membership—An invitation is extended to all persons to join the Federal Suffrage Association. Membership $1.00.

Committee on Membership:
Miss Gwendolyn B. Willis
Mrs. Jennie W. Cox

TICKETS for the Dinner $1.25 including admission to Yellowstone Park

Chairman of Tickets:
Miss Gwendolyn B. Willis

Dinner guests are conducted to a spectatorium exhibit of Old Faithful Geyser Eruption at 5 p. m. (sharp). Seats for the Pageantry in the Court of Abundance are reserved. Cars will be in readiness at 8 p. m. (ten cents for the double trip).

PAGEANTRY—Miss Mari Hofer, assisted by fifty characters, will illustrate the address by Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby on "Women in the Building of America" in the Court of Abundance, Tuesday, 8:00 p. m.

Official Band plays at 7:30 p. m.

A State Superintendent who believes that without woman's vote there can be no solution of the problem of the liquor traffic, and who will work unceasingly in the interests of this department.

An appropriation by each local union for this department. Make it possible for your local superintendent to purchase the best and latest literature.

A fund in each county to carry on campaign work. The appropriation for the Franchise department by each state should be most generous. There is no more vital question before the people today than woman suffrage. Make it easy for your superintendent to enter every open door, to send out free literature, and to send speakers to the unorganized parts of your state.

PRESS WORK

Use the daily papers. They reach the largest audience in the world. Send the *latest* news concerning this great movement, and do not fail to show that among all the opposing forces the liquor traffic is the greatest foe to the granting of suffrage to women.

Remember, we ask the ballot for the same reason that other organizations ask for it, and with this added reason—that we believe it will hasten the day when this nation will be free from the blighting curse of the liquor traffic, and thus hasten the coming of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Copies of this leaflet may be obtained of the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of the Department of Franchise, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, 149 Cedar Street, Bangor, Maine, or of the National W. C. T. U., Literature Building, Evanston, Illinois. Sent for 2 cents postage.

[May 8, 1914]

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

DEPARTMENT OF FRANCHISE

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON, *Superintendent*

PLAN OF WORK

"True manliness and true womanliness will be permanently maintained, not through the supremacy of either sex, but by equality and justice to all, irrespective of sex. This is the keynote today of the woman suffrage movement." —LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS.

OBJECT

To secure the ballot for women on equal terms with men.

To educate women in relation to the laws that govern them.

To prepare women for the intelligent use of the ballot by a course of study in citizenship.

To secure the woman's vote in equal suffrage states for the enactment of laws prohibiting the liquor traffic, and to secure the enforcement of such laws.

MEETINGS

LOCAL UNION MEETINGS. Each local union to hold at least quarterly franchise meetings, when the members can come together to study the following subjects:

1. The legal status of women in your state.
2. Has the granting of suffrage to women been an aid to the securing of temperance legislation?
3. Suffrage in relation to taxation, child labor, traffic in women, and the conservation of the public health.

4. In what states and countries do we find equal suffrage?

PUBLIC MEETINGS. The people in every community must be aroused to the necessity of the ballot for women. Secure a central place for the meeting, obtain the best speaker possible, have inspiring music, send out printed invitations, advertise in the public press, use the telephone and in every way possible try to have a large audience. There is always enthusiasm where there are numbers.

PARLOR MEETINGS. There are many women who can be reached by a parlor meeting who would never go to a public suffrage meeting. These meetings can be made most attractive.

Decorate the rooms in yellow, the suffrage color, but see that strands of white are everywhere in evidence. Refreshments, consisting of amber tea and white cakes frosted in yellow, will carry out the color scheme. White dresses with yellow sashes may be worn by the committee. The program can be printed by hand on white paper, using yellow ink.

OTHER PLACES WHERE WE MAY PUSH OUR PROPAGANDA:

State and County Fairs
Farmers' Institutes
Grange Meetings
Home and Foreign Missionary Meetings
Camp Meetings
Food Fairs
Teachers' Institutes
Factory Noon Meetings
Woman's Clubs
Chautauqua Assemblies

SPECIAL EFFORT

The National W. C. T. U. has organized a campaign for National Constitutional Prohibition. Each department is asked to co-operate in this great effort.

This department must show:

a. The Woman's Ballot needed to secure National Constitutional Prohibition.
b. The Woman's Ballot needed to aid in the enforcement of law.
c. The Woman's Ballot needed for the election of clean legislators.
d. The Woman's Ballot a necessity to increase the Prosperity, Peace and Power of our Country.

METHODS

MEDAL CONTESTS. No 14 of the series of Medal Contest books has been devoted to suffrage. There is no better way of bringing our arguments and facts before the general public than by the Medal Contest.

SUFFRAGE DEBATES. Wherever possible let the local union hold a debate, in which its members take part. Secure debates in high schools, preparatory schools, and in colleges. These young people should be trained for future citizenship.

ENROLLMENT. Make a canvass of every woman of voting age, and have her sign a card asking for the ballot.

DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE. Distribute literature everywhere that you find people congregated. Do not exclude the men. We need to educate the men as well as the women to the necessity of woman's vote. Splendid opportunities are afforded for the distribution of literature at fairs, institutes, camp meetings and Chautauquas. Use the mails, send a personal note with the literature, use a two-cent stamp. This is an especially good method in rural localities.

REQUIREMENTS

A Local Superintendent in every local union.

A County Superintendent in every county union.

[May 8, 1914]

FRANCHISE INSTITUTE PROGRAM

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

Scripture Reading, Gen. 1:26-31.

I. Outline of National Government.

a. Of whom is the Senate composed?

b. Of whom is the House of Representatives composed?

c. Define the duties of the President and Cabinet.

II. Outline of state and local government.

a. How many officials? Name them.

b. How are these officials elected?

III. What is Commission Government?

IV. Define the following:

Alien
Australian Ballot
Ballot
Caucus
Citizen
Habeas Corpus Writ
Registration
Veto
Initiative and Referendum
Lobby
Mandamus
Precinct
Primary
Recall
Vote

V. **Outline of the status of women in the United States.**

a. Laws of your state regarding woman's property rights.

b. Disabilities of married women.

c. The co-guardianship of children.

VI. **Outline of the liquor laws of your state.**

VII. **General Discussion, "How the woman's vote would help in affairs of government."**

Copies of this leaflet may be obtained of the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of the Department of Franchise, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, 149 Cedar Street, Bangor, Maine, or of the National W. C. T. U., Literature Building, Evanston, Illinois.

Price, each 2 cents; per 50, 10 cents; per 100, 15 cents

The International Conference of Women Workers to Promote Permanent Peace will be held in the Civic Auditorium, July 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, under the chairmanship of Mrs. May Wright Sewall.

The Federal Suffrage Association will also hold its convention in the same auditorium July 11th, 12th and 13th, under the presidency of Rev. Olympia Brown, making in all ten days of active suffrage work at the San Francisco Exposition.

It is hoped there will be a large attendance at each of these assemblages.

If you intend being present at the convention of the Council of Women Voters, please communicate with Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, 505 Perkins Building, Tacoma, Washington.

EMMA SMITH DE VOE, President,
505 Perkins Building, Tacoma, Wash.

DR. CORA SMITH KING,
63 The Olympia, Washington, D. C.

MISS JANE ADDAMS,
Vice-President-at-Large.

MRS. VIRGINIA WILSON MASON,
Editorial Secretary.

MRS. LEONA CARTEE,
Recording Secretary.

MRS. C. H. McMAHON, Auditor.

ALLSTRUM PRINTING CO. TACOMA, WASH

National Council OF Women Voters CONVENTION

(A Non-Partisan Organization of Women Voters)

JULY 8, 9 & 10, 1915
in the
CIVIC AUDITORIUM
of the
Panama-Pacific International Exposition

San Francisco, California

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL *of* WOMEN VOTERS

Sends greetings to the Women Voters of the United States, also to the women of all States who are seeking enfranchisement.

The Second National Convention of the Council of Women Voters will be held in San Francisco in the Civic Auditorium, July 8th, 9th and 10th. You are cordially invited to be present.

The Panama Pacific International Exposition Board has placed the large Exposition Auditorium at the service of the National Council for three days and will give it official recognition. In connection with this National meeting it is hoped the objects of the Council may be pledged in a world-wide movement. These objects are:

To educate women voters in citizenship.

To secure legislation in the interests of men and women, of children and the home.

To aid in the extension of suffrage to women yet unenfranchised.

There will appear upon the program, United States Senator James H. Brady of Idaho, who, as Chairman of the Campaign Committee of the State of Washington, issued the call for the organization of the National Council of Women Voters.

Other notable people who will take part in the Convention are: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Rev. Olympia Brown, Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Dr. Lucy Waite, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Miss Margaret Roberts, Mrs. Frances W. Munds, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, Mrs. Josephine K. Preston, Dr. Cora Smith King, Mrs. Ida Harris Mondell, Mrs. John E. Baker, Dr. Viola M. Coe, Mrs. Cornelia T. Hatcher and others.

In response to a wide demand for partial membership in the National Council of Women Voters by women not yet enfranchised, a Prospective Voters Auxiliary was formed at the last conference held in Washington City, giving them the privilege of the floor, but no vote in the body.

At the present time in the United States one-fifth of the Senate, one-seventh of the House of Representatives and one-sixth of the Presidential vote came from equal suffrage States, where there is a total of more than 4,000,000 women voters. More than half of the area of the United States is covered by woman suffrage.

[July 12, 1915]

Congress can enable women to vote for U. S. Senators and Representatives.

The Federal Suffrage Association of the United States

Holds a Congress at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, San Francisco, July 11, 12, 13

Meetings in the Large Hall of the Auditorium.

OFFICIAL DAY ON THE GROUNDS, JULY 12.

Programme in the Court of the Universe

Preceding the Federal Suffrage Congress are the International Conference of Women Workers, July 4-7; and the National Council of Women Voters, July 8-10. Following it, the International Purity Congress, July 18-24

Everybody interested in obtaining for women the rights inherent in their national citizenship should take some part in this Federal Suffrage Congress.

For particulars write to the Corresponding Secretary, Clara Bewick Colby, 522 6th St. N. W., Washington, D. C. 220 Post St. San Francisco

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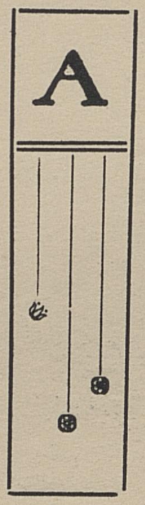
While we must work along all lines until full suffrage is secured for all women, this demand for Federal Suffrage based on the original Constitution of the United States adds dignity to our movement, and lays upon men the responsibility to secure to women their inheritance of liberty according to the foundation principles of our Government.

[May 25, 1916]



Chicago's Problem is the Problem of the Uninformed



A CLEAN MUNICI-PALITY DEPENDS UPON A STRONG MORALITY

Turn on the Light

FOR A CLEAN CHICAGO

YOUNG PEOPLE'S CIVIC LEAGUE
FOR TEMPERANCE–CIVIC RIGHTEOUSNESS–SOCIAL JUSTICE
301 Security Building
CHICAGO

Let us Skill the Youth in a Noble Americanism



COUNSELLORS

REV. WILLIAM ELEAZOR BARTON,
M. S., A. M., D. D.
ARTHUR MILLS CORWIN, A. M., M. D.
HON. CHARLES SIDNEY CUTTING, LL. D.
NATHAN SMITH DAVIS, A. M., M. D.
PRES. OZORA STEARNS DAVIS,
A. M., Ph. D., D. D.
MR. GEORGE W. DIXON.
WILLIAM AUGUSTUS EVANS,
M. S., M. D., LL. D., Ph. D., D. P. H.
BISHOP SAMUEL FALLOWS, A.M., LL.D., D.D.
REV. JOHN GARDNER, D. D.
REV. HERBERT B. GWYN, A. M.
PROF. WINFIELD SCOTT HALL,
M. S., Ph. D., M. D.
PRES. ABRAM WINEGARDNER HARRIS,
A. M., Sc. D., LL. D.
MR. HARLOW NILES HIGINBOTHAM.
HON. JESSE HOLDOM.
DEAN SHAILER MATHEWS, A. M., D. D. LL. D.
BISHOP WILLIAM FRASER McDOWELL,
Ph. D., LL. D., D. D.
HON. ROBERT McMURDY.
MR. L. WILBER MESSER, A. M.
REV. CHARLES BAYARD MITCHELL,
Ph. D., LL. D., D. D.
MR. JOHN NUVEEN.
WILLIAM S. SADLER, M. D.
REV. JOHN TIMOTHY STONE, LL. D., D. D.
REV. JOHN THOMPSON, D. D.
REV. CHARLES F. WISHART, D. D.

THE PROBLEM

A polyglot city, speaking in fifty-two languages; a population seventy-seven per cent. foreign born, or of foreign parentage; an alarming percentage unchurched; drinking in seven thousand licensed saloons; often nearly sixty thousand youths in liquor selling dance halls in a single evening; the home of big business, art, and education, yet with morality and decency threatened by ill-housed poverty; characteristically American in its struggle for municipal ideals, yet endangered by cynical and corrupt politicians; how can it be cleansed of its evils and established in its virtues?

CHRISTIAN YOUNG PEOPLE AS ANSWER

Thirty-five thousand Christian young people in 500 societies; 200,000 attendants upon nearly a thousand Sunday Schools; community, charity and settlement workers, and members in scores of other sympathetic agencies ready to co-operate with every sensible movement for reform—leagued together for a threefold civic purpose: Temperance, Righteousness, Justice; and with the all-powerful TRUTH on their side.

THE METHOD.

1. Enlist one or more workers from every church.
2. Gather these workers into training classes for expert services in higher civics and social service.
3. Through these put the facts concerning moral needs of the city before every church attendant.
4. Organize working groups of Christian young people in every voting precinct.
5. Send workers out to the unchurched, with charts and stereopticons, in order thus to extend the principles of the modern Scientific Temperance movement.
6. Recruit special workers to address meetings in foreign tongues upon the ideals of Christian citizenship.
7. Circulate appropriate literature systematically in every community.

THE NEED

Information! If poverty, disease and crime are to be eradicated we must TURN ON THE LIGHT upon actual conditions and fundamental causes.

Before reform legislation of any sort can be secured—long after it has been enacted—educational work is indispensable—citizenhship grows lax as it grows uninformed.

[May 25, 1916]

FIRST VOTERS MEETING

Monday June 5, 8 P. M.

AUDITORIUM

Corner Wabash and Congress

ALEXANDER H. REVELL, Presides

William Jennings Bryan

AND OTHERS

WILL SPEAK ON

Christian Ideals in Civic Life

Main Floor reserved for FIRST VOTERS

A Score of Co-operating Organizations

For free reserved Tickets apply at once
State whether for voter or general admission
(If writing enclose 2c stamp)
Seats reserved until 8 o'clock

Young Peoples Civic League

301 Security Building

Main 992 **Franklin 2280**

Offering and pledges will be taken for the work

MR. WILSON, HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE NOW?

It is an outrage to give women political freedom in one state and leave them political slaves in another.

Mr. Wilson can best celebrate his victory and most fittingly express his thanks to the women, who made him President for a second time, by announcing his determination to put through a federal amendment, and we hope that he will do it.—*American,* Chicago, Ill., Nov. 14, 1916.

IS A FEDERAL ELECTION LAW NEEDED?

"The *Herald* is not speaking from a partisan standpoint, for it is not partisan. It is speaking from the standpoint of broad Americanism and is speaking for the future.

"The United States cannot long remain a republic in fact if such inequalities in our political system are permitted to continue. The only way to cure these evils is by the enactment of a federal election law."

Perhaps a federal election law might be framed to correct errors, omissions and inequalities in the electoral customs of the individual states. A uniform law to which all states must conform at a general election could not be objected to, if it obviated the possibility of one state or a group of states defeating the expressed will of the other states and the nation as a whole by limiting the franchise by local laws or customs. If a group of women on the Pacific Coast can determine the election by their votes, then there should be an opportunity for another group of women on the Atlantic seaboard to offset that vote if they

wish to do so. The *Herald* is right in its ground that to be entirely fair the franchise should, in federal elections, be extended to all —men and women alike.—*Standard,* Bridgeport, Conn., Nov. 14, 1916 (quotation from New York *Herald*).

SUFFRAGE IN THE RESULT

Of course, the question will be settled, as it ought, before another presidential election. President Wilson told the suffragists he was fighting with them, and of course he meant it. Congress would have submitted a federal amendment at the last session had it not seemed wiser to play for delay. But it will not be held up longer.—*Star,* Marion, Ohio, Nov. 10, 1916.

WESTERN WOMEN EMERGE WITH CREDIT

We are of the opinion that the suffragists should concentrate on Congress if they would accelerate the action of the states still unregenerate. Mr. Wilson ought to have a kindly and a grateful feeling for the women voters who have proved their true democracy. With a Congress that is slightly adverse, politically, he can well afford to test its sincerity by recommending in his annual message an amendment to the Constitution. We urge the women to get together on this proposition. It will save them hours of travail and bruising of the spirit if this can be accomplished, while the states, by means of the referendum, will still have the right of rejection.—*Journal,* Richmond, Va., Nov. 11, 1916.

[Mar 1, 1917

To the ANTI "PREPAREDNESS" COMMITTEE,
Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

Please count me a supporter of your PROGRAM.

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

_____

*Contribution $*_____

The forces we are fighting have unlimited funds.
We need every dollar we can get in this struggle of democracy against militarism.

4

eration by Congress and in many states of our Union. Suffrage is both a federal and a state question. If this were not so we would not be a **United States.** We would be a loose confederacy. If it were not also a federal question, a federal statute could not over-ride a state constitution, as does this Act of 1907.

Article XIV, Section 1, of United States Constitution, reads: Any person born or naturalized in the United States is a citizen thereof. To so modify, or qualify, this section of our federal constitution as to deny to a married woman, citizenship, **hers by birth or adoption,** is very clearly unconstitutional. The case of Edith McKenzie of California should arouse every lover of justice to demand not only the repeal of the section of Expatriation Act of 1907, which denies women the equal rights granted to them by their state constitutions; but also to demand an amendment to the federal constitution which shall forever forbid the denial of franchise on account of sex. Write to your Congressmen urging them to have a bill framed similar to the excellent Thompson Bill of the Sixty-third Congress, known as S. 4022, and to do all in their power to remove this fundamental disability.

Remember that the passage of the suffrage bill, before Congress now, would leave this question untouched. The close connection of this question with the immigration problems should arouse our organized women to plan classes for the teaching of American citizenship to foreign women.

Write **personal** letters embodying what you please of these arguments in favor of your request, and remember **personal letters** always count.

Yours for a free citizenship,
SOPHIE L. W. CLARK.

24

S. 718 in 64. Cong.

[May 25, 1916]

Citizenship of Married Women

SOPHIE L. W. CLARK

WESTERN WASHINGTON WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

CIVIC HOUSEKEEPING DEPT.

CITIZENSHIP OF MARRIED WOMEN

We may divide law into three great divisions: Common, Statutory and Constitutional law.

Common law is deduced from the decisions of courts.

Statutory laws are statutes, or ordinances, passed by law-making bodies, recorded on statute books of community, state or nation; viz., they may be city, state or federal. Constitutional laws are such as are enunciated in the constitution, either originally or by amendment thereto.

The expatriation act of Congress 1907 is statutory law. It is called a federal law because passed by Congress of the United States. Section 3 of this act should be repealed.

First—Because it is not in conformity with human rights as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

Second—Because it nullifies Article XIV, Section 1, of Amendments to Constitution of our United States.

Third—Because it directly contradicts

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the state amendments giving women the ballot, on same terms as given to men, in their respective, so-called, suffrage states.

Fourth—Because the interdependence of husband and wife (in the state of matrimony), should not be interpreted to mean the merging of wife in husband. In relation to the **state** each is an individual, responsible to the powers that be for individual obedience; or if a transgressor of law must suffer the penalty as an individual. Marriage does not change a husband's status, toward the state, but towards women. That marriage should change a woman's status, **toward the state** is an absurdity. This conception grew out of the common law which held woman to be man's property. Maid, wife, mother, sister, daughter or widow was under tutelage to a male relative. Statutory laws of many countries confirmed these arbitrary relationships. In our United States we have progressed beyond these feudal concepts, recognizing the individual rights of a woman person to "liberty and the pursuit of happiness." In twelve states women have even been granted political rights, but Section 3 of Act of Congress 1907 relating to expatriation of **married women** is built upon the old common law assumption, that a **wife's citizenship must depend upon the citizenship of her husband.**

The Washington state amendment giving its women the ballot reads: "There shall be no denial of the elective franchise, at any election on account of sex." Yet when a married woman registers, as a voter, she is asked: "Are **you** married to an American citizen?" Equal rights would demand that the man be asked the same question. In all fairness aliens who marry citizens should be entitled to special considerations, during their residence in the United States. Such marriage might be equivalent to a declaration of intention, for such foreigner, whether the alien be a man or a woman.

To give to foreigners full citizenship, through marriage, is neither sane, safe nor expedient. Especially at this time, when the countries, from which the ancestors of our native-born citizens emigrated, are at war.

We would not think of making a foreign-born male person automatically (through marriage with a citizen) a full-fledged American citizen. Is it any safer to do so with the foreign female person? Citizenship should be a precious valued possession, which should not be lightly assumed nor readily cast off.

Whatever requirements are considered wise for one sex, before admission to citizenship, should apply with equal force to the other sex. This will base citizenship on justice and equality before the law.

For the safety of our American institutions, citizenship should depend on birth, or deliberate, intelligent choice of the individual. Up to the date of the Expatriation Act of 1907 court decisions were various concerning the status of the American woman married to a foreign husband. The decision of several courts was to the effect that so long as the American woman remained a resident of the United States she would still be a citizen of the country which gave her birth. The conference called by United States Congress to unify and crystallize these court decisions into one statutory law resulted in the backward step evidenced by reading Section 3 of Expatriation Act of 1907.

This question underlies the measure for woman suffrage, now under consid-

[Dec 18, 1914]

What the Joint Commission on Social Service Has Accomplished

The Joint Commission on Social Service
of the
Protestant Episcopal Church

CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE
NEW YORK CITY

WHAT THE JOINT COMMISSION ON SOCIAL SERVICE HAS ACCOMPLISHED.

The Joint Commission on Social Service, appointed at Cincinnati in 1910, and re-appointed in New York in 1913, has

(1) Since October, 1911, *employed an executive secretary,* who has travelled 30,000 miles on the Commission's business, and filled some 150 out-of-town engagements—meetings with *representatives of provincial and diocesan social service agencies and parish leaders,* conferences with social agents of secular and religious organizations in general, addresses at Church and interdenominational services and conferences, etc. (See below.)

(2) Since October 1, 1912, *maintained an office* in the Church Missions House, New York City, under the direction of the executive secretary, from which *an extensive correspondence and educational propaganda has been carried on*—including about 25,000 letters sent and received, and an equal number of copies of literature—comprising some dozen different publications (see below)—distributed to Church leaders and workers, and outsiders.

(3) Been largely instrumental in *increasing the number of diocesan social service commissions from fifteen to seventy-six.* (These commissions work in co-operation on the one hand with the Joint Commission, and on the other hand with parish social agencies. See the Commission's publications, *Social Service for Diocesan Commissions, A Model Canon for Diocesan Social Service Commissions, Social Service and the Episcopal Church,* pp. 15-17, the triennial *Report of the Joint Commission* (1913), pp. 8-9, and *Social Service at the General Convention of* 1913, Appendix A.*

(4) *Stimulated many parishes* throughout the country *to enlist in community service.* (The parishes are encouraged to work in co-operation on the one hand with the diocesan commissions, and on the other with local social agencies, secular and religious. See the Commission's publications, *A Social Service Program for the Parish, Social Service and the Episcopal Church,* pp. 13-15, the triennial *Report* (1913), pp. 9-10, and *Social Service at the General Convention of 1913,* Part IV.)

(5) Been largely instrumental in securing the appointment of *social service boards or commissions in the provinces* (formerly missionary departments. The provincial board or commission is devised to co-ordinate the social effort of the province with its efforts in missions and religious education; it works in co-operation on the one hand with the Joint Commission, and on the other hand with the diocesan commissions in the province. See the Commission's publications, *A Proposed Canon of Provincial Social Service, Social Service and the Episcopal Church,* pp. 17-18, and the triennial *Report* (1913), pp. 10-12.

(6) *Issued a dozen publications** as follows:

"A Social Service Program for the Parish" ($3 per 100).....5c per copy
"Social Service for Diocesan Commissions" .....15c per copy
"A Model Canon for Diocesan Social Service Commissions" .....2c per copy
"Social Service and the Episcopal Church" .....15c per copy
"Program of a Social Service Week (in Connection with the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church)" .....No charge
"Report of the Joint Commission on Social Service" .....No charge
"Social Service at the General Convention of 1913" .....$1 per copy
"A Proposed Program of Provincial Social Service" .....2c per copy

(Of these 25,000 copies have been distributed to Church workers and others.)

(7) Prepared a *Correspondence Course* (in ten lessons) *for Parish Workers in Industrial Communities* for the use of the General Board of Religious Education.** (Other courses are in contemplation.)

*Copies of these and other publications of the Commission may be obtained on application to the executive secretary, at the Commission's office, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

**Inquiries concerning this course should be addressed to the office of the Board, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City. The registration fee for the course is $3.00, including the required texts.

(8) *Arranged a Social Service Week in connection with the General Convention of* 1913—including a mass meeting, a series of four conferences, an exhibit, visits to social agencies of New York City and vicinity, and sermons in local pulpits; the total attendance being upwards of 2,000. (See *Social Service at the General Convention of 1913.*)

(9) *Co-operated with the Commission on the Church and Social Service,* appointed in 1908 by *the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,* and through this Commission *with the social agencies of other communions*—the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Methodists. (The secretary of the Joint Commission is an associate secretary of the Federal Council's Commission, and a member of that Commission's secretarial council, which meets at intervals for conference; he has spoken on behalf of the Federal Council's Commission, and has co-operated in the investigation of social and industrial problems undertaken by the Federal Council. See *Social Service and the Episcopal Church,* pp. 29-31, and the triennial *Report,* p. 13.

(10) Co-operated with voluntary agencies of the Church devoted to social and moral reform, such as the Girls' Friendly Society, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor ("C. A. I. L."), the Church Mission of Help, etc. (The secretary of the Com-

mission has lectured before the G. F. S. Social Service Department's summer conference (1914), and has conferred with representatives of C. A. I. L., the C. M. H., etc. (See the Commission's triennial *Report,* pp. 12-13.)

(11) *Supported general movements devoted to social service,* such as the Social Service campaign under the auspices of the Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912.

(12) Advocated reform legislation of state and nation, in co-operation with organized secular agencies, voluntary and official, such as the National Committee on Prison Labor, the National Consumers' League, etc.

(13) Appointed sub-committees to investigate phases of social and industrial reform, including prison labor, workingmen's compensation, moral responsibility of small investors, etc.

(14) Prepared a travelling exhibit, which has been on view at the General Convention of 1913, at diocesan conventions and provincial synods, at parish meetings, at public and interdenominational conferences, etc.* (See *Social Service at the General Convention of 1913,* Appendix D.)

(15) Stressed the need of *education for social service in parish, Sunday school, and theological seminary.* (See *A Social Service Program for the Parish,* pp. 15-16,

*Applications for the use of the exhibit may be addressed to the Commission's office.

Social Service and the Episcopal Church, pp. 19-25, the triennial *Report* (1913) pp. 13-16, *Social Service at the General Convention of 1913,* Part V.)

(16) Developed a reference file in the central office for the convenience of social workers of the Church.* (See *Social Service and the Episcopal Church,* p. 25.)

(17) Stressed the need of *systematic study of the problems of industrial and rural communities* and opportunities for service therein. (See *A Social Service Program for the Parish,* pp. 10-13, the triennial *Report,* pp. 16-22, *Social Service at the General Convention of 1913,* Parts II and III.)

*Requests for information on any phase of social service, including bibliographies, will be welcomed at the Commission's office.

JOINT COMMISSION ON SOCIAL SERVICE
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[May 27, 1914]

MISSISSIPPI WOMEN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Report of Legislative Work.

"The last annual meeting directed the legislative committee to ask for the submitting of an amendment to enfranchise Mississippi women. The preliminary work of sending out literature and learning the views of the members of the legislature, was divided between the state president and myself, other members of the committee asissting as called upon. At her own expense the state president sent the Women's Journal to all members of the legislature for a period of three months, also other literature.

"I went to Jackson January 7, 1914, to take up the active work. The concurrent resolution asking for the amendment was offered in the house by Hon. N. A. Mott, of Yazoo, on January 9, in the senate, by Senator Hall Sanders, on January 12. After being in Jackson for a week, I was convinced our best policy would be to make a quick canvass and get a vote as soon as possible. I wrote to a few members of the committee, asking them to come at once and assist in a personal canvass, and to all

members of the committee and many members of the Association asking them to write to legislators. In response to my request, many such letters were written. Mrs. Monroe McClurg, of Greenwood, and Miss Pauline Orr, of Columbus, came to our assistance; we had the pleasure of a brief visit from Miss Ethel Claget, of Natchez, and Mr. Walter Clark, of Clarksdale, would have come but for a mistake in telegram. Valuable help was given by the local members of the committee, Mrs. Lily Wilkinson, Col. Sharkey, and Mr. Allen Thompson. Miss Belle Kearney was in Jackson and gave her help. In response to an urgent request, Miss Kate Gordon came and gave most valuable assistance.

The House committe on constitution gave us a hearing on Monday, January 22, 1914. Short speeches were made by Mrs. Monroe McClurg, Miss Kearney, Miss Gordon, Colonel Sharkey, Mr. Allen Thompson, Mrs. Lily Wilkinson Thompson, Mrs. Dent and myself.

The report was against us by a majority of one. A minority report was sent in which included a request that we be allowed to present our case in the House on the next day. January 21. 1914, at 11 o'clock. This was carried by a close vote. It is to be noted that this proposition for a

public hearing did not come from the women, but from the men who supported us. We did not ask it, and, speaking for myself, I may say that I was not entirely free from fear and trembling when this was offered us. The public hearing was a notable occasion. The senate adjourned, all available space was filled with interested listeners, every possible courtesy was extended by the speaker and members. Short speeches were made by Mrs. McClurg, Miss Kearney, Miss Orr, Miss Lily W. Thompson, Miss Gordon, Miss Dent and myself. The vote was taken the next day, January 29, 1914. It stood 43 for to 88 against. Two men who would have voted aye were absent. Only one man was considered for us changed at the last moment and voted "no."

EXPENSES

"The expense of the work was covered by the following subscriptions: Dr. H. T. Stewart, Greenville, $10; Greenville Club, $10; Mrs. M. C. Farrington, Hernando, $5; Major Millsaps, $10; Col. Sharkey, $5; Allen Thompson, $5. All these came to me but were turned over to the treasurer and paid out by her. The expenses incurred were for printing, typewriting, postage and Miss Gordon's expenses. This was accepted by her reluctantly, and only because I insisted positively. The Mississippi wom-

en who assisted paid their own expenses.

SPECIAL THANKS

"Special thanks are due the Daily News for generous support. My personal thanks and official also are due Mrs. J. W. Tucker, president of the Equity League, for untiring efforts and most valuable support, as well as to Mrs. Thompson and other members.

"Most gratefully do I mention the help given by Colonel Sharkey and Mr. Allen Thompson, who came to the capitol frequently to talk to members.

STATE PRESIDENT'S WORK.

"In all of this work, Mrs. Dent and myself were in entire accord, and an equal if not greater, share was hers. She was watchful and untiring, and little could have been done without her.

EXPLANATION.

"The fact that our work was done chiefly in the House was due to existing conditions, and also due to the fact that I have not learned how to be in two different places at the same time. Mrs. Dent was temporarily in charge of the House post office. It was necessary for me to be where I could have her advice and assistance, and in this way our efforts were restricted to the House almost exclusively.

LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE.

"The past always holds a lesson for the

future. The following suggestions are offered as a result of this experience:

1. An expense fund is necessary. Four women are needed for an effective campaign, two for each house, and their expenses should be paid. Some kind of headquarters should be maintained.

2. As a preliminary, a state-wide petition should be circulated, as I advised last year, or some plan for making a showing of support from every county in the state.

ARGUMENTS TO BE MET.

"Besides the negro question, the arguments most frequently used were: First—Biblical; that woman suffrage is contrary to scriptures. Second—That Mississippi women are taken care of and do not need the ballot, and Third—That we have not a sufficient showing of support. The Biblical argument is an honest one, and should be met by circulating literature and other plans which can be made. The argument that Mississippi women are taken care of should be provided for by securing information as to the work of self-supporting women in this state. To meet the last argument, organizing and petition work.

DEFINE ATHORITY OF CHAIRMAN.

"The experience this year -shows that the authority of this chairman should be defined. It might be well to pass a by-law giving her specifically the authority to di-

rect legislative work in the state; until our working force is larger, it might be well to place national legislative work under the direction of this committee also. It is my firm belief that this year the course adopted was best. In future, I do not think the committee or its chairman should be shut up to any one course, but should have a general order to get whatever they can in the way of advance suffrage legislation. I do not believe the wisest decision can be made as to the best course until the legislature has assembled. After the chairman and a few chosen assistants have been on the ground for a week or two, they can judge as to what can be secured, but not earlier. Authority and responsibility should always go together. If this chairman has the responsibility for achieving results, she must have commensurate authority and must be supported financially and otherwise.

"In conclusion, I may say our first campaign was taken seriously, and we must progress or lose some of the respect which has been won. The next two years should cxertainly be the most active in the history of the association."

NELLIE N. SOMERVILLE,

May 27, 1914. Chairman.

STATE OFFICERS 1914-15.

President, Mrs. Annie K. Dent, Yazoo City; First Vice-President, Miss Pauline V. Orr, Columbus; Second Vice-President, Mrs. F. R. Birdsall, Yazoo City; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Nellie N. Somerville, Greenville; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Ella O. Biggs, 818 W. Capitol Street, Jackson; Treasurer, Miss Ethel M. Clagett, Natchez.



A Plan *of* Organization and Work

for the

Woman's Suffrage Campaign in Iowa

REVISED EDITION
DECEMBER, 1915

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL DES MOINES 25

Iowa Equal Suffrage Association
FLEMING BUILDING DES MOINES, IOWA

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION AND WORK.

Iowa is now a campaign state and the question of suffrage for women will be submitted to the electors of the state on June 5, 1916.

For the purpose of giving information concerning the character of organization and the methods of campaign work the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association issues this booklet.

The general plan followed is the same as that used by the political parties.

Under this plan for county organization there shall be a county chairman in each county of the state, appointed by the Board of Directors of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association.

The appointed or elected officers of the county organization shall be a chairman, a secretary, a treasurer and a press chairman. The County Chairman shall appoint a township or ward chairman for each township or ward in her county.

She may also appoint the following committees:

1. Literature Committee.
2. Finance Committee.
3. Speakers Committee.
4. General Publicity Committee.

Any other necessary committees.

Duties of the County Chairman.

The success of the Woman's Suffrage Campaign in Iowa depends largely upon the organizing and executive ability of the county chairman and the township or ward chairmen whom she secures.

The county chairman is responsible for all the work in her county. To her belongs the organization and oversight of the county committees and the township or ward chairmen.

She must endeavor to specialize the work for her county and see to it that there is no waste of effort, but that all effort is expended where it will count most.

She should especially see to it that township or ward chairmen keep her informed of the progress of the enrollment in their districts. She should hold conferences for workers in any locality that seems to need them.

If she has no organization at all in her county she should carry on publicity work until she has aroused sufficient interest to make organization feasible. She may secure a speaker, advertise a mass meeting, and at the close of the meeting perfect organization, asking the audience to sign enrollment cards, all those signing having the right to vote. Or she may call a conference and plan in the conference as much of the organization as possible. A state worker may be secured for such a conference.

Duties of the Township or Ward Chairman.

The township or ward chairman shall be responsible for all publicity and practical work in her district. She shall receive all enrollment cards for her district and check them with a voters list.

She should keep the county chairman informed of all work in her district, especially of the number and per cent of the enrollment.

On election day she should get out all the favorable voters and see that the workers are at the polling place all day.

Duties of the Press Chairman.

To keep in close touch with the newspapers of the county and see that every item of suffrage news is given the widest circulation possible. To ask each editor to use the press matter sent out by the State Press Bureau. To find out whether he desires the news letter or plate material, and to inform the State Press Bureau of his choice at once. To keep the State Press Bureau informed of all suffrage activities in the county. Advance information should be furnished whenever possible to both the State Press Chairman and the local papers, as timeliness is a most important factor in all press work.

Duties of the Literature Committee.

To distribute literature at all public places, especially where a crowd has gathered or a meeting has been called for other purposes than suffrage, as granges, homecomings, short courses, etc. To send literature by mail if necessary. To sell literature and supplies.

Duties of the Speakers Committee.

To list speakers, taking care not to neglect local talent, to find on what terms speakers are available and to put them on as often as possible, especially at meetings where people have gathered for another purpose than suffrage, as sewing circles, church societies, grange meetings, etc.

To interview every speaker who visits the county, also ministers and other public speakers in the county and ask them to introduce suffrage into their discourses. Also to interview singers and ask them to use suffrage songs as encores.

Duties of the Finance Committee.

To raise funds directly through collections at meetings or solicitation of contributions; indirectly through food sales,

bazaars, banquets, suffrage plays, entertainments or by any other method that fits the community. This committee should finance all county work and contribute to the state campaign fund.

Duties of the General Publicity Committee.

This committee has charge of all publicity work that is not cared for by special committees, as the literature committee, etc. It is desirable to create new special committees and thus relieve this committee as occasion warrants.

A resolutions committee may be formed to see that every organization such as granges, church societies, etc., and every convention meeting in the county be given an opportunity to pass a resolution endorsing suffrage.

A poster squad may be created. Such a squad should put up suffrage pennants on the inside of garages, shops, etc. It should get every suffragist to ask her grocer, meat man, etc., to display a pennant. It may also ask the local movie to run a slide between films and post tin signs on fences in the country.

Also a special group of suffrage singers may be organized, if deemed advisable, to offer their services free for a half hour's entertainment at public gatherings.

Any publicity work that fits the community and may be engaged in continuously may have a special committee created for it.

A study of a catalog of suffrage supplies will suggest many things to the general publicity committee.

THE LOCAL CLUB.

Nearly every county has one or more towns which includes more than one voting precinct. In that case, a local club may be formed and the township or ward

chairman secured from the club membership. But whether or not a local club is formed the county chairman should see to it that each township or ward has a chairman who can enlist the co-operation of a group of workers.

A state worker may be secured to help organize local clubs.

As often as a local club is formed the county chairman and her committees should turn over the work in the township or wards which it includes, to the local club as soon as local committees are created to care for it.

This does not mean that the county chairman should fix arbitrary limits to the activities of the local club, or that the county chairman and her committees may not co-operate with the local club, or carry on work that it neglects. It does mean that the local club should know accurately what territory it is reaching in its publicity work; also that it should hold itself responsible to the county chairman for the enrollment and election day work in any particular territory.

It is suggested that there be no dues for local clubs, but that each local organization finance itself through its finance committee, and be ready to contribute to the county campaign fund.

Any person who signs the enrollment card may thus become a member.

THE ENROLLMENT.

The purpose of the enrollment is to know in advance what vote to get out on June 5th, and where to find workers.

Every man and woman should be given an opportunity to enroll.

The enrollment should be completed long enough before June 5th for the township or ward chairman and her workers

to go over the cards carefully and plan to get out the favorable vote on election day. The county chairman should see that this is done.

Much of the enrollment may be taken at public meetings, and in other incidental ways. Every worker should be supplied with blanks for this purpose. Signatures so secured should be forwarded to the township or ward chairman to whom they belong, in case of doubt to the county chairman.

The township or ward chairman should have a list of the voters in her district and should check it with the cards. Such a list may be obtained through the county auditor or the help of almost anyone who is or has been a candidate for public office.

The township or ward chairman should keep the county chairman informed of the number and per cent of signatures she obtains. The county chairman should forward similar data from all her township or ward chairmen to state headquarters. She should also give it to the local press chairman.

The house to house enrolling should be done by the people who live in the township or ward, if possible. This will assure the chairman of a group of workers for election day.

Leave literature at every house. Don't hurry the enrollment. Give every one, both for and against, a chance to talk it over with you.

Don't be discouraged if you are told that the enrollment is not an accurate index of sentiment. Most people are honest.

Besides the main reason stated above, other reasons for the enrollment are:

It gives every one a chance to consider equal suffrage at least once. Some people never have.

It reaches every one with literature at least once. Some people have never seen any.

It shows the voters that women in their own community want the ballot enough to work for it. This is necessary in many instances.

It develops the canvassers for further work.

If the enrollment has not been attended to in your township or ward it is your business. Do it now. Write to your county chairman. If you do not know her, to state headquarters.

ELECTION DAY.

The township or ward chairman should have two or more persons at every polling place all day, to hand slips furnished by her county chairman to every voter. These slips will be sent from State Headquarters to the county chairman or direct to the township or ward chairman, if she so desires.

She should have typewritten lists of voters, arranged conveniently for conveying voters to the polls, in towns by streets, in the country by roads. She should be sure that she has dependable people and sufficient conveyances for this purpose.

Every worker should know how and where to communicate with her township or ward chairman and the county chairman on election day.

The county chairman should make an extraordinary effort to take care of districts that have been short of workers during the campaign. It may be necessary to call a conference of all workers two weeks or more in advance of election day.

SUGGESTIONS.

1 Be sure that every worker has necessary information and equipment for her work.

2. *Secure a county map and study the election precincts with the workers.
3. Send a postal card request to the office of the Secretary of State in Des Moines for an official state register, and study the vote in the county by precincts. This is necessary in estimating the work of enrollment for each chairman and in helping her to organize her workers for election day.
4. Chairmen should make all information and supplies as available as possible.
5. Whenever any person or organization is asked to do something for suffrage, as for example a singer to use a suffrage song as an encore, or a convention to pass a resolution endorsing suffrage, see to it that the persons interviewed are supplied with whatever is necessary to meet the request.
6. Know everything, no matter how irrelevant it may seem, about your county, township or ward.
7. Do not neglect publicity, such as placing speakers, circulating literature, etc., but remember that the practical work of enrollment and planning for election day is also necessary.
8. Every suffrage worker is urged to communicate with her county chairman, or with state headquarters, 617 Fleming building, Des Moines, and to ask for help and suggestions whenever she needs them.

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*The precinct is the voting unit. The County Chairman should not be confused by the fact that in some instances the precinct is a township, in other instances part of a township, in other instances a town ward, in still other instances part of a town ward. She should find out the exact limits of every precinct in her county and the location of the polling place in each precinct.

[Sept 21, 1916]

The Work of the National Municipal League



April, 1916

THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.*

The National Municipal League is unique among the associations for municipal betterment in this country. It is not the local association of any city, it is not even a state association or a league of the municipalities of a state.

From the beginning it has studied the municipal problem not in one city only, or in one state, but in many cities, in many states.

Such a method has certain advantages. Among others, it helps one to retain, if he has it, and to gain, if he does not have it already, some sense of perspective.

The city problem is a whole with many parts. The National Municipal League has appreciated this. It has tried to see the whole of the problem and not merely one or several parts of it. It has tried to see the relation of the whole to the parts and of the parts to the whole and to one another. The League, therefore, has never advocated a particular method *as the only method* of betterment or represented a partial remedy, however helpful, as a complete cure for municipal misrule.

I recall that at the outset of the movement for improving city government in this country the article of faith upon whose effi-

*Being the substance of an address by Horace E. Deming, Esq., at the Buffalo Meeting.

cacy municipal reformers relied was *the divorce of national politics from local elections.* To keep the decision of local issues free from the influence of national politics is of vast importance, but it will not by itself bring about municipal redemption.

Then I remember that *civil service reform,* the application of the merit principle in appointments to office, was going to take all the evil out of municipal affairs. This will help, it will help amazingly, but the spoils evil, great as it is, is not the only evil from which our cities suffer.

Then another perfect remedy was found —*the emancipation of our cities from the dominion of the state legislature.* Buffalo does not need to be told how necessary this is, no city in New York needs to be told of the harm wrought by legislative meddling. To free our cities from unwise and often capricious state legislation will be an unmixed good, but it will not necessarily make them well governed.

Accurate and informing methods of *city accounting* is another cure-all. We must find out where our dollars go and what we get in return for them. Surely we need this information, but a scientific system of accounts and intelligible budgets are not the whole of the municipal problem.

Then a number of gentlemen, who have studied municipal government in Europe, found that the civil service of European cities

offered attractive life careers to men of ability and training, that men of the highest professional standing were sought for as heads of the great administrative departments and were eager to take charge of them. This was in sharp contrast to our methods and, since the cities of Europe are marvelously well-governed as compared with the cities of this country, these gentlemen are sure that all we need to do in order to have good city government is to have experts in charge. This would certainly bring about a vast change for the better. But first we must find an effective way to put the *experts in charge.*

Then there are others who say that *our city governments are too complicated* in structure, that our city charters are incomprehensible verbal jumbles which it taxes the utmost efforts of specially trained lawyers to decipher, that we must simplify our form of city government. These things are true, but they are only part of the problem.

Others are confident that the whole trouble is in the improper and often unjust *methods of nominating candidates* for elective public office. Our nominating methods need vast improvement and very possibly should be entirely superseded. But surely, making nominations, in even the best possible way, does not promise any thorough-going solution of our problem.

The short ballot is another prescription.

"Make a drastic reduction in the number of elective offices. A ballot containing the names of so many candidates for so many different offices is an inextricable tangle. It makes intelligent voting impracticable," so runs the argument. The muddled and muddling ballots commonly used deserve all the condemnation they receive and more. A short ballot would help immensely toward solving the municipal problem, but its complete solution will require more than a short ballot.

Let me refer to one more all-sufficient remedy for bad local conditions:

"Put into the city's charter *a large grant of power* to deal with the local needs." This would be a long step forward, but it will not remove the necessity of other steps, if we are to put bad government to rout.

And so I might go on.

I have mentioned, without enlarging upon them, some of the various remedies recommended for our municipal ills. The National Municipal League is in favor of them all. It believes that the more thoroughly any one of them is applied, the further is our progress toward the goal of responsible and efficient city government in the United States. But no one of them by itself will usher in a municipal millennium.

The truth is, it is only within thirty years that public attention in this country began to be effectively directed to the low condi-

tion into which our city governments had fallen. Our method of procedure has been characteristically American, which is the same thing as saying, it has been in accordance with the traditions and habits we inherit from our political ancestors, the sturdy men who were content to earn their living and to bother themselves very little, or not at all, with questions of government unless the conduct of the government bothered them. Like them, as this or that evil in our own city has become too grievous, we have rebelled against it and set about finding a remedy. It is the particular evil that rouses us to action and its special remedy that occupies our whole attention.

However much this method of procedure may be criticised it has this great and fundamental merit; it is the natural process through which the people have developed a constantly increasing control of the conduct of their government not for the sake of control, the control is not the end, but as a means to the improvement of the government.

This has been strikingly true of the municipal reform work of the last thirty years along the different lines to which I have called attention. Divergent as they may seem, they have this characteristic in common. Each seeks to better the government by supplying some aid to the people of the city in their effort to control its conduct or to remove some obstacle to such control.

IF THE GOVERNMENT OF A CITY IS TO SUIT ITS PEOPLE, IF IT IS TO REPRESENT THEIR WISHES AND MEET THEIR NEEDS, THEY MUST CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT. THIS IS FUNDAMENTAL.

If the people of the town control the government of the town, then for the first time will the government they deserve be the government they wish. In the cities of the United States it will become good government.

There has been effective work to this end in numerous cities in many states along each of the lines of which I have spoken and along others as well. As compared with the municipal situation in the '70's and early '80's, enormous progress has been made. Come to the meetings of our League and hear of some of the things that have been accomplished and of the further efforts now making.

The National Municipal League has three classes of membership:

Annual	$5
Contributing	25
Life	100

You are eligible in any class.

Address

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF
Secretary
703 North American Building
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THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

A quarterly periodical is sent free to all members. It records and evaluates the progress of municipal affairs all over the country.

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"What Hast Thou To Do With Peace?"--*The Bible*

A loving call to the colors, addressed to his companions-in-arms in The Army of Peace

President Wilson's Message, August 18, 1914

My fellow countrymen:

I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself during the last troubled weeks, what influence the European war may exert upon the United States; and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be, and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the nation against distress and disaster.

The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned.

The spirit of the nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say; upon what newspapers and magazines contain; upon what our ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions on the streets.

The people of the United States are drawn from many nations and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle.

It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility; responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country, and whose loyalty to its government should unite them as Americans, all bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinions, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse, and opinion, if not in action.

Such diversions amongst us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial meditation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides.

The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another. My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels, and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraint which will bring to our people the happiness and the great lasting influence for peace we covet for them?

Woodrow Wilson

To arms! Let each faithful soldier in the cause of "on earth peace, good will toward men" do his part in the nation-wide distribution of these gentle words of Mr. Wilson. The far-reaching effects of each single copy cannot be over estimated. What, then, the happy fruits of many I have a practically inexhaustible supply of this reprint of The Message, which I am furnishing, be it in lots of hundreds or thousands, for the cost of paper, printing, and postage--thirty-two cents per hundred copies, postpaid

Address: W. F. B.
51 Loan & Trust Building
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

A Brief

In which I give

Some of my reasons why I think Congress has a constitutional right to make the laws that I have requested it to enact in my petition, and why I think Congress will have to exercise this right in order to preserve our Federal Government.

Mrs. James Bennett

Richmond, Ky.

Feby. 28, 1914.

It is a well established fact that a right to vote at public elections was conferred upon some colored men in the States of New York, New Jersey and North Carolina in the early days of our Republic.

And that some white and colored women as well as some colored men exercised a legal right to vote at state elections upon the *same* terms as white men in New Jersey from 1776 until that State entered the union in 1789, and then exercised a legal right to vote at *State elections* and for *members of Congress and Presidential Electors* in New Jersey upon the *same* terms as white men until 1807, when the Legislature of that State made a law which added

"white and male" to the list of qualifications that the Constitution of New Jersey had prescribed for Electors of the most numerous branch of the Legislature of that State when it was adopted in 1776.

But at the time the 14th and 15th Amendments of our Federal Constitution were adopted in 1868 and 1870, every State in the union, so far as I know to the contrary, had adopted a Constitution and laws which confined the right to vote at State elections and for members of Congress and Presidential Electors to white men.

The Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States declared in their Slaughter-House cases decision of 1873, that their Court had decided in the Dred Scott case that negroes were not and could not be citizens under the Original Constitution of the Unites States; but that if this was a fact, negroes had been made citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they resided, by that clause of the 14th Amendment of the Federal Constitution which said: "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."

But these Judges proved by a long argument in their Minor vs. Happensett decision of 1875, that white women had been citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they resided, equally with white men, ever since the Federal Government was established.

The Supreme Court claimed in its Slaughter-House cases of 1873, that the 14th Amendment "recognized and established" the distinction between the rights of citizens of the United States and the rights of citizens of a State. And that this Court intended to claim the above mentioned thing, is evident from the fact that in its U. S. vs. Cruikshank decision of 1876, it uses the following words in refer-

ence to its Slaughter-House cases decision of 1873: "We have in our political system a government of the United States and a government of each of the several States. Each one of these governments is distinct from the others, and each has citizens of its own, who owe it allegiance, and whose rights, within its jurisdiction it must protect. The same person may be, at the same time a citizen of the United States, and a citizen of a State, but his rights of citizenship under one of these governments will be different from that he has under the other. Slaughter-House cases 16 Well 74 (83, U. S xxi, 408)."

The Supreme Court also claimed in this Slaughter-House cases of 1873, that the rights of citizens of the United States were those which "owe their existence to the Federal Government, its national character, its *Constitution* or its laws;" that the rights of citizens of the United States were guaranteed the protection of Congress against the enforcement of State laws by that paragraph of the 14th Amendment of the Federal Constitution which said: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States;" but that the rights of citizens of a State "whatever they may be are not intended to have any additional protection by this paragraph."

And after claiming the above mentioned things in its Slaughter-House cases of 1873, the Supreme Court declared in its Minor vs. Happensett decision of 1875, that women were "entitled to *all* of the privileges and immunities of citizenship," and that the 14th Amendment had "prohibited" the States of which women were citizens from making or enforcing any laws which deprived them of "any" of their rights as *citizens of the United States*, when it said: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall

abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States ''

Now since the Supreme Court affirmed that the rights of citizens of the United States were those which ''owe their existence to the Federal Government, its national character, its *Constitution* or its Laws;''*

That women were ''entitled to *all* of the priveleges and immunities of citizenship,'' and that the 14th, Amendment had ''prohibited'' the states of which women were citizens from making or enforcing any laws that deprived them of ''*any*'' of their rights as citizens of the United States† it is evident that the Court simply decided that the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Elections was not one of therights of citizens of the United States, when it decided that the 14th, Amendment had not made void the Constitutions and laws of the State which deprived women of a right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Elections by saying in the conclusion of its Minor vs. Happensett decision:—''Being unanimously of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of sufferage upon any one, and that the Constitutions and laws of the several States which commit that important trust to men alone, are not necessarily void we affirm the judgment of the court below.'' And that the Court therefore did not decide in their case, that women were not guaranteed the protection of Congress against the enforcement of such state laws as deprived them of such rights as owed ''their existence to the Federal Government, its national character, its *Constitutional* or its laws ''

And since the foregoing statements are true, it is

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* Slaughter-House cases of 1873

† Minor vs. Happensett of 1875

evident that the Supreme Court necessarily decided that the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Elections was one of the rights of citizens of the United States, and that the 14th, Amendment had made void the Constitutions and laws of the state which deprived female citizens of of the right to vote for these federal offices by deciding in Ex Porte Yarbrough of 1884 that "the right to vote" for members of Congress and Presidential Elections in the several States of this union was secured to citizens of the United States by the Federal Constitution.

That the Judges of the Supreme Court who rendered the Minor vs. Happersett decision of 1875, intended to decide in it, that "the Constitution of the United States did not confer the right of suffrage upon any one," is evident from the fact that these Judges have themselves declared that they did in their U S. vs. Cruikshank decision of 1876.

For these Judges refused to protect some blackmen in exercising a right to vote at "*any* election" in the State of Louisiana under the 6th. Section of the Congressional Act of 1870, now called Section 5508 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, by using the following words in their U. S. vs. Cruikshank decision of 1876: "In Minor vs. Happensett 21 Wall 178 (88, U. S. xxii, 631) we decided that the Constitution of the Uuited States has not conferred the right of suffrage upon any one, and that the United States have no voters of their own creation in the States. In U.S. vs. Reese just decided, we hold that the 15th, Amendment has invested the citizens of the United States with a new constitutional right, which is exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. From this it appears that the right of suffrage is not a necessary attribute of national citizenship; but that exemption from

discrimination in the exercise of that right on account of race etc., is. The right to vote in the States comes from the States; but the right of exemption from the prohibited discrimination comes from the United States. The first has not been granted or secured by the Constitution of the United States; but the last has been.

Inasmuch therefore, as it does not appear in these counts that the intent of the defendants was to prevent these parties from exercising their right to vote on account of their race etc., it does not appear that it was their intent to interfere with any right granted or secured by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

And that the Judges of the Supreme Court who rendered the Ex Parte Yarbrough decision of 1884, intended to decide in it, that "the right to vote" for Presidential Elections and members of Congress was secured to citizens of the United States by the Federal Constitution, is evident from the fact that Mr. Justice Gray of that court has declared that they did, by using the following words in the case of In Re Quarles and David Butler of 1895:—"Among the rights and privileges which has been recognized by this Court to be secured to citizens of the United States by the Constitution, are the right to petition Congress for a redress of grievances U. S. vs. Cruikshank 82 U. S. 583, 582 (23: 588, 591), and the *right to vote* for Presidential Elections and members of Congress Ex Parte Yarbrough 110 U. S. 651 (88. 274)."

The Supreme Court affirmed in U S. vs. Reese of 1876, that the 15th, Amendment did not confer a "right to vote" at *state elections* upon the citizens of the United States, but a "new" right which was a "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

That Congress could protect citizens in exercising this new right by making laws which contained the words race, color or previous condition of servitude so as to confine their protection within the limits required by the 15th, Amendment. Because this new right was derived from this Amendment, and Congress had a constitutional power to make laws for the protection of citizens in exercising such rights as were "created by or dependent upon the constitution of the United States." And that the form and manner of protection might be such as Congresss in the legitimate exercise of its legislative discretion should provide.

But the Supreme Court indirectly affirmed in this U. S. vs. Reese decision of 1876, that there was nothing in the Constitution of the United States that authorized Congress to make federal laws which protected citizens in exercising a "right to vote" at *State elections*, by first declaring in this decision that the 15th Amendment had not conferred upon citizens a "right to vote" at State elections, but a "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race color or previous condition of servitude," and then saying in it: 'The power of Congress to legislate at all upon the subject of voting at State elections rests upon this Amendment."

And when we entreated Senator Manderson and other leading Congressmen to protect women against State denial of the right of citizens of the United States to vote for members of Congress with the power that had been conferred upon them by the 14th Amendment of our Federal Constitution, and these gentlemen complied with our entreaty in so far as to have Senator Manderson introduce a bill in the United States Senate for the above mentioned purpose on February 13th, 1889, the bill did not authorize women to vote at State elections.

The bill indirectly claimed that the 14th and 15th Amendments had annulled the words "white and male" in the Constitutions and laws of the States, as qualification for voting by indirectly claiming that there were some women in each of our several States and Territories who possessed *all of the qualifications* requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of their Legislatures; but the bill only authorized women to vote for members of Congress.

This bill is entitled—"A bill to secure to all citizens of the United States the right to vote at certain elections without distinction of SEX, and for other purposes. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all citizens of the United States *having the qualifications* requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of any State or Territorial legislature shall be entitled and allowed to vote at any election for Representative or Delegate in the Congress of the United States without distinction or SEX, any constitution, law, custom, usage, or regulation of any State or Territory or by or under its authority to the contrary notwithstanding.

Section 2, That the provisions of the act entitled,—"An act to enforce the right of citizens of the United States to vote, in the several States of this union and for other purposes approved May thirty-first, eighteen hundred and sevty, shall govern to enforce the provisions of this act so far as the same are applicable."

Now I think, as I believe that the gentlemen who wrote this bill thought at the time they wrote it, that the 14th and 15th Amendments only annulled the words "white and male" that were in the Constitutions and laws of our States as qualifications for voting when they were adopted in 1868 and 1870, in so far as these words prevented white women

and colored men and women from having the SAME right to vote for *federal officers* that white men possessed.

So in my petition I have only requested Congress to make federal laws that enable white women and colored men and women to exercise the right of citizens of the United States to vote for members of Congress, Presidential Elector and United States Senators in the State wherein they reside upon the SAME terms that white men are allowed to exercise this right in the State.

The Supreme Court affirmed in its Ex Parte Yarbrough decision of 1884 that "the States in prescribing the qualifications of voters for the most numerous branch of their own Legislature do not do this with reference to the election for members of Congress." .....But simply define "who are to vote for the popular branch of their own Legislature."

And I know that it is the United States which prescribes the qualifications of electors of members of Congress and United States Senators. Because I realize that it is our Federal Constitution and not the Constitutions of the several States which says that "the Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature."

And from something that happened in the State of Kentucky in the early days of our Republic, I know that persons can have every one of the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of the Legislature, and therefore be legally entitled to vote for members of Congress in a State, when they do not possess a legal right to vote for members of the most numerous branch of the Legislature of the State.

The thing that happened in Kentucky to which I allude is this: This State was admitted into the union in 1792

with a Constitution which conferred a right to vote for members of the most numerous branch of its Legislature upon—"free male citizens," when there were some free negro, mulatto and Indian men in this State, but Kentucky adopted a new Constitution in 1799, which conferred a right to vote for members of the most numerous branch of its own Legislature upon "free male citizens, negroes, mulattoes and Indians excepted." This deprived colored men of a legal right to vote for members of the most numerous branch of the Kentucky Legislature; but it left them in possession of a legal right to vote for members of Congress in the State; because it left them in possession of freeness, masculinity, and all of the other *qualifications requisite for Electors* of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature, which is all that the Federal Constitutian required them to possess in order to have a legal right to vote for members of Congress in the State.

And colored men therefore had a legal right to vote for members of Congress in the State of Kentucky upon the *same* terms as white men from 1799 until 1850, when this State adopted a Constitution which added "white" to the list of qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of its own Legislature.

When colored men and white and colored women possess a legal right to vote for members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators upon the *same* terms as white men in the States of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas and Arizona, it is evident that our Federal Constitution confers the right to vote for the above named federal officers upon these colored men and white and colored women, if it confers it upon these white men.

And after the Supreme Court of the United States has claimed in its Slaughter-House cases decision of 1873, that citizens of the United States are guaranteed the protection of Congress against the enforcement of State laws which deprive them of such rights as "owe their existence to the Federal Government, its national character, its *Constitution or its laws*," by that clause of the 14th Amendment which says—"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," Congress cannot *refuse or neglect* to protect colored male, and white and colored female citizens of the United States against the enforcement of State laws which deprive them of a right to vote for members of Congress, Presidential Electors or United States Senators, without holding that the right to vote for these federal offices is not derived from the Federal Constitution.

And if Congress holds that the right to vote for members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators is not derived from the Federal Constitution, it will hold that Congress has no constitution power to make appropriate laws for the protection of citizens of the United States in exercising their right to vote for the above named federal officers. And I think that this would eventually lead to the distruction of our Federal Government; just as the Supreme Court of the United States evidently thought when they said in Ex Parte Yarbrough of 1884—"If this government is anything more than a mere aggregation of delegated agents of other States and governments, each of which is superior to the General Government it MUST have the power to protect the elections on which its existence depends from violence and corruption. If it has not this power it is left helpless before the two great natural and

historical enemies of all republics, open violence and insidious corruption."

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 1 (Series II) **DENVER, November 10, 1914**

THE COLORADO FUEL AND IRON COMPANY AND THE COAL STRIKE.

That the strike in Colorado is now over, in so far as it affects the ability of The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company to supply the market requirements of coal, is set forth in the Annual Report to the stockholders of that Company by President J. F. Welborn, which states:

"Our former employees have been very anxious to secure work again at our mines, and we have quite willingly taken back such as we had reason to believe were not connected with the violence. The result is now a working force that is producing sufficient coal to more than supply the somewhat reduced market requirements.

"At no time during this struggle would we have been unable to produce sufficient coal to meet all demands, had order been maintained and the men desiring to work, been free from violence.

"The charge has often been made that the State troops were under the control of the coal companies. There is no foundation in fact for this charge. The relations between ourselves and the State soldiers were the same in every essential particular as those that have existed between us and the Federal soldiers. We have looked upon both as the proper peace officers of the district.

"Our employment of camp marshals in normal times has been heralded broadcast by the so-called labor leaders as a 'notorious and criminal guard system.' Our practice, in fact, has been to employ the smallest possible number of such men, and for a long time before the strike was called we had but seven camp marshals at our twenty-two working properties. They also acted as sanitary and truant officers, as well as being charged with the care of miners' houses."

* * * * *

In summing up the main facts relating to the strike, the Report says:

"The strike, from the first, was neither agitated nor called because of differences between the workmen and employers.

"It has been in fact a contest between an outside labor organization, known as the United Mine Workers of America, trying to force its regime upon the coal mining industry of this State, on one side, and the operators acting with a large majority of their workmen opposed to an affiliation with that organization, on the other side.

"It has been financed by the national body of that organization, with headquarters at Indianapolis, Indiana, the funds having been supplied by dues, fines and assessments collected from workmen living almost entirely outside this State.

"Soon after Vice-President Hayes (of the United Mine Workers of America) came to Colorado in August, 1913, he acknowledged that the coal mining companies had, by their acts showing consideration for the men, anticipated his demands.

"He claimed, however, that only by the assistance of his organization, extended through the operation of contracts between it and the coal mining companies, could there be assurance of the enforcement of the State laws against the latter. He made it clear to State officials and others with whom he talked, that unless the coal companies 'recognized the union,' a strike would be called.

FIGHTING FOR THE OPEN SHOP.

" 'Recognition of the union' would have involved making a contract with it providing for the employment of none but members of the union, and requiring us to collect for it all dues, fines and assessments levied by it against the workmen.

"We knew that but few of our employees were members of the union and that the very large majority of them did not want to join it.

"Had we been willing to disregard their wishes and by contracting with the union, require them to join it if they remained in our employ, a very large proportion of the men would have left our service and sought other fields.

"They had come to Colorado because of the existence of 'open shop' conditions, as well as the high wages paid, and they would not have remained here had it been necessary to submit to the domination of the United Mine Workers' organization.

"The laws were being complied with, and the earnings of miners, which averaged about $4 per day, and at many mines much more, were better than the best in other states.

"In August, 1913, the coal mine employees of the State numbered 12,059; in September they numbered 12,346. Not over 10 per cent. of these men belonged to the union. This number, and a few more, promptly responded to the strike call.

"A somewhat greater number left the State immediately preceding the strike and during the first few weeks of its progress to avoid participation in it; and the intimidation that began even before the strike, caused many more to give up their places.

"Hundreds of these men came to our superintendents expressing regret at being forced to leave and declaring their intention of returning when they could safely do so.

"Many of them showed written evidence of the threats of death and violence to themselves and families that prompted and justified their action. Sixty-two per cent. of all the men remained at work, and the number working was never smaller than this.

* * * * *

IMPORTATION OF FIRE ARMS.

"A large quantity of arms and ammunition had been bought and shipped to the southern coal fields by strike leaders. This was but the beginning of an almost continuous movement of fire-arms into the district, and within a short time after the strike took effect, from 1,500 to 2,000 of the strike element were fully armed in that part of Colorado.

"The purpose of the strike leaders in thus arming themselves and their followers was obvious to the operators, and they employed a number of guards at each of their mines for the protection of their workmen and property. The necessity for this action was frequently demonstrated before the workers were called out. The men assigned to this protective work were selected with the utmost care and after a thorough investigation as to their experience, habits and efficiency as peace officers.

* * * * *

"On September 24 the marshal at our Segundo coke oven camp, while arresting some strikers in an orderly manner for attempted destruction of property, was ambushed and killed by one of their number.

"This marked the beginning of a reign of terror which continued almost without interruption for five weeks, reaching its climax at the end of October, and ending only on the arrival of the State militia.

"Anarchy in its worst form, in which dynamite was frequently used, was in control of this coal area with a population of 45,000 people.

"Several of our workmen were killed while defending themselves and the mines.

"Two children of one of our foremen were seriously injured, while in bed, by rifle fire from the striking forces engaged in an attack on the Berwind mine and its employees.

"No non-combatant was safe, and the lives of those in the employ of the coal companies were in constant peril.

"Men known to have been in the employ of coal companies were ambushed and killed without being given any chance to defend themselves.

"Five occupants of an automobile, one of whom was a student mechanic working his way through college at Colorado Springs, were shot down while driving from La Veta to a mine a few miles distant where they were employed.

"Three were killed outright; another died immediately after reaching our hospital, because the wound in his arm had been made by a mushroom bullet and the assaulting party had, under threat of death, prevented doctors from going to his assistance for several hours after he was shot. The fifth, though wounded, recovered.

"Immediately upon the arrival of the State militia, order was restored.

* * * * *

"The restoration of order brought the return of most of our former employees to their old places. Early in the year 1914 the production of coal had reached an amount sufficient to meet all requirements.

* * * * *

THE BATTLE OF LUDLOW.

"By the middle of April all but a small detachment of the National Guard consisting of less than fifty men had been withdrawn. These were stationed at and in the vicinity of Ludlow.

"On the morning of April 20 they were attacked by the strikers and their leaders from the tent colony, whose force was about ten times that of the soldiers.

"Much misinformation has been published about this incident, and doubtless many people believe there was an actual massacre of women and children.

"The reports of military officers and evidence of many reliable people able to obtain the facts, indicate that the militia as a whole conducted themselves with credit against overwhelming odds, though individual members in the heat of battle may have acted without discretion.

"Without question the women and children who lost their lives in this affray were smothered in a covered cave, through the foolish, if not criminal, act of their own men who put them there and sealed the cover with dirt. Horrible as were these deaths, none of the bodies showed any evidence of having been shot.

* * * * *

"When the strike was called we assured our employees who desired to remain at work, that we would protect them, and we have carried out this purpose to the best of our ability.

"Happily we found these loyal workmen were not only willing but anxious to assist in the protection of the working places of their choice, and we cannot too strongly express our appreciation of the able assistance they rendered.

"They have truly been our allies in the contest against the vicious and unwarranted attacks of the lawless labor organization in its efforts to force its domination upon us.

* * * * *

The last day before the arrival of the Federal troops, while a portion of the militia, acting under the terms of the truce between the Governor and the United Mine Workers, remained at Ludlow, a large body of men marched on the Forbes mine five miles away (belonging to the Rocky Mountain Fuel Co.), which was unprotected, killed nine of its employees in cold blood, and wantonly destroyed practically all property above ground, including over thirty mules.

* * * * *

NEW THREAT.

"While preparing this report, word comes to me from sources the reliability of which cannot be questioned, that one of the officers of the United Mine Workers of America, and a leader among the striking forces, recently said at Trinidad, in effect—that as soon as the Federal troops are withdrawn the strikers will attack the State militia, if recalled, and the property of the mining companies; that in preparation for such an event union men in the neighboring states to the number of three thousand have been organized, drilled and armed, and are in readiness to move when called upon.

"This shows conclusively that, although the strike has been broken, there has been no abatement of the spirit of lawlessness and treason against the State, which has been the guiding principle of the strike leaders.

* * * * *

"RECOGNIZING OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO THE STOCKHOLDERS, TO OUR EMPLOYEES AND TO THE PUBLIC, FOR THE PROPER CONDUCT OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE COMPANY, WE BELIEVED IT TO BE OUR DUTY TO TAKE A STAND WITH OUR WORKMEN AGAINST THE INVASION OF THAT LABOR ORGANIZATION."

E1914J

THE JOINT COMMISSION ON SOCIAL SERVICE
OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
ANNOUNCES THE PUBLICATION OF

"SOCIAL SERVICE AT THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1913"

THIS RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE WEEK UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE COMMISSION MAY BE OBTAINED ON APPLICATION TO THE REV. F. M. CROUCH, FIELD SECRETARY, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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(Printed by the Woman's Peace Party)

A Letter from Miss Emily Hobhouse

London, England, Dec. 20th, 1914

To American Women, Friends of Humanity and Peace.

FRIENDS: — May I appeal to you in the name of Humanity, on behalf of the children of Europe, before whom suffering or death has already taken place, and whose future is fraught with pain? In you lies our hope of help for them, for you are free to speak and act.

Will you not come to our troubled world, unite with the women of other neutral lands and initiate a crusade — a real "holy" war, fought with the sword of the Spirit?

Appalling as is this massacre of the manhood of Europe, that is not the worst. As long as men adopt barbaric methods of settling disputes they must abide by the consequences; but for those innocent victims, the non-combatants—women, babes, old and sick—I crave your help. Their names and number will never be known. They are multiplying in Poland and Galicia, in Belgium and France, in East Prussia and Holland, and elsewhere. Ponder this vast host, voiceless, suffering, dying, crouching beside their blackened ruins or fleeing from the devastated areas both east and west. Think of disease let loose, of the horrors of cold and famine.

I know it is not easy to visualize details of conditions so foreign to average experience. It needs a mental effort few can make. It is because I was daily witness of such things in the South African War that I dare not be silent. Disease, devastation, starvation and death were words I then learned as war interprets them. I saw a country burnt and devastated as large parts of Europe are today; I saw old and sick, women and children turned out of house and home; I saw them, half clad, starving, lying sick to death upon the bare earth; I saw babies that were

born in open, crowded trucks; I saw haggard, endless sick, gaunt skeletons, hourly deaths. There in the Boer States death swept away non-combatants in the proportion of five to one of those who fell in the field.

It is because I know the brunt of this war, too, is falling, and must fall, heaviest upon the weak and young, that I appeal now on their behalf, not merely to those who love peace, but to the great body of women who love children.

Little children, more sensitive to exposure, to extremes of heat and cold, to tainted food, to starvation, and to the stench, the poisonous stench of war, quickly fade, quickly die.

Will you not arise and work for peace?—for peace alone can save the children. It would be, I well know, a struggle against powers of darkness and will need the whole armor of God. Yet every sentiment of pity and of civilization, leave alone Christianity, demands the effort. The victims cannot help themselves; succor must come from without.

Relief, we know, you pour most generously, but relief cannot meet a want so colossal, neither can it touch the worst ills. Cut at the root of the evil—the war itself. A strong lead is needed. Myriads want peace; they never wanted war. In each country this is true; constant proofs reach us from Germany and France, as well as various parts of England. The press of each nation asserts that the people are unanimous for war. It is not so, but those who have the means of speaking, and who swim with their governmental streams, can speak the loudest and alone are heard. Many dare not, many cannot speak. Others make a truce and save thousands and thousands of human lives and receive the blessings of thousands of wives and mothers.

A union of neutral women could investigate the facts of the sufferings amongst non-combatants, and founded upon acquired personal knowledge they could in the name of Humanity formulate demands persistent, cogent, irresistible, not in favor of any one party or nation, but simply for Peace.

Miss Durham's testimony to the greater suffering of women and children in war endorses my own; after nursing wounded soldiers under terrible conditions in Montenegro and Servia she writes:

"Bad as the lot of the sick and wounded may be, I consider it child's play to the sufferings of the wholly innocent victims of the war, the burnt-out women and children who wander miserably and starve slowly; mothers trying to feed their children on boiled grass and crouching in the rain against the blackened walls of their ruined homes. It is an easy death to die of a wound. War is the martyrdom of the helpless non-combatants. I am not sure whether anything justifies it. It is a reversion to primitive barbarism and even decent folk go mad with bloodlust."

Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, after her experience of nursing soldiers in Bulgaria, reaches a similar conclusion:

"For the first time I realized a grim reality that was subsequently often enough impressed upon me — that one of the cruelest results of war that men wage upon each other is the sufferings of the women and children. In dispatches no mention is made of the heroism shown and the tortures endured by women, by mothers for their starving children. It is an evil thing that men should witness the results of war. Wars will never cease till women, at whatever cost to themselves, are admitted behind the drop curtain."

In the Boer War I was behind the drop curtain, and feel these words well express the view I wish to convey to you.

It seems futile to turn to statesmen, governments or prelates for aid. They are tied and bound by position, custom and mutual fear. They await propitious moments. Famine, disease and death do not wait.

Women have this advantage: they are still unfettered by custom and expediency; they need consult only the dictates of humanity. If ever the world needed their intervention on a vast scale, it needs it now.

Failure in such a task would have no fears for them; failure in noble effort is often a measure to success. The greatest have seemed to fail. Judged by human standards, Christ's life on earth was a failure. The effort in any case would leave its mark upon the thought and history of the world. Womanhood will have arisen in vindication of a higher humanity—to avenge desolated motherhood and protect martyred children; it will have asserted its right to shield the weak and young from the fatal results of the organized murder called war.

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

1420 F Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.

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From Lafayette Square to the Capitol,
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Saturday, May 9, 1914

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A United States Constitutional Amendment Enfranchising Women

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In The Belasco Theatre
AT ONE P. M.

The procession will form at 2 p. m. outside the Belasco Theatre and will start at 3 p. m.

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MAY NINTH, 1914

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WOMEN'S PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL WASHINGTON

ill-conceived and objectionable statutes that have been passed in moments of excitement, frenzy, animosity or revenge. Note the infinite harm they have done. Recall the advocacy of a rag money curren the anti-Masonic, and the Know-Nothing movements and the men of pre inence connected with these manifestations of popular unrest. No politic l party has the credit of having done right always, though conspicuous leaders of both parties have been men of high impulses, good purposes and wide experience.

This has been the story of the past, but we seem to be drifting into a new era, in which statesmen are being relegated to the rear and their places taken by demagogues of the commonest type. The latter's highest ambition is to pursue a policy of destruction, unrest and unreason.

The people of this country, the substantial and thoughtful men among the working masses, the shopkeepers, the employers of laborers, the investors of capital, great and small, who recall the story of the past, see the signs of trouble. Let them unite to avert the tempest.

Let thoughtful people rule.—Ex., Leslie's.

Alban Wolffs Print, Covington, Ky.

[Feb 6, 1914]

FOR INFORMATION.

Dear Sir:--

The Mutual Protective Association kindly ask you to spend a few moments of your valuable time in reading the following articles :

THE NEW PURITANISM

BY CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,

President International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

IN THE last analysis, a monopoly of virtue must be denied to our ancestors who prided themselves on their Puritan code of morals and usages—they were merely less well-informed and more selfish than the present generation. Believing that we are witnessing the break-down of the old Puritanism in America, I nevertheless assert that this is one of the most truly moral ages that the world has ever known. The alarmists who see black portents in the growing frankness with which men and women talk about the hitherto unmentionable problems of society, are misreading the signs of the times. The modern American is not degenerate; he is unafraid, even to the point of smashing hoary fetiches when they stand in the way of progress.

What, after all, was the Puritanism that, finding expression in the laws of New England and the creeds of the early American churches, became established as the customs of the people? If one should go behind customs and seek for the cause of their being, it would be found in the idea prevalent at the time that strict living for the individual was a guarantee of his personal glory and reward. This represented an extremely refined form of selfishness, for we cannot get away from the fact that if a man was good according to the definitions of that day, he could count on receiving honor at the hands of his neighbors as well as the rewards of immortality.

One hundred years has brought an utter change in the point of view. Among those who think most inclusively, the life of most value is no longer the one which represents virtue in itself, but the one which represents social virtue. We feel that there is something ignoble in seeking personal salvation, if one does not also enlist in the ranks of those who are seeking the material as well as the spiritual salvation of humanity.

To be specific, one of the obsolete blue laws of Connecticut forbade a man to kiss his wife on Sunday. That seems ridiculous to our modern notions. We are beginning to suspect that it might be a good thing to modify Sabbath observance laws still further, and allow men who are penned up in offices and factories through the week to take their wives out into the pure air and sunshine on Sunday. In other words, the modern tendency is against suppressing the normal and wholesome impulses of the human being, in order to conform to a too rigid personal code. The blue law brand of Puritanism has gone forever, but upon its ruins is building a new morality that is higher and more useful, that is going to make the world a better place to live in.

Nothing is to be gained by suppressing facts. The reformers of to-day are seeking for more and more knowledge, and they cannot afford to turn their backs upon any writer who speaks out cleanly and honestly.

Of course, there is the danger of mistaking liberty for license, but those who stray in that direction are few compared with those who are strengthened by a wider knowledge of the facts of existence.

It is these manifestations which have led many clergymen, pious laymen and pessimistic moralists to lament the passing of Puritanism. But they are manifestations only, mere side issues of the great world movement that has made them possible. Nature never goes backward. Morals mean civilization, and morals are not going to be lost.

The sudden appearance of books and plays which picture graphically the moral conditions of the present time are symptoms of a fundamental change in public thought.

The efforts of the sincere, if revolutionary, authors of to-day should bear fruit in a higher standard of public morals. They will hasten the advent of a new and better Puritanism, which manifesting itself in a social form, will be free of the bigotry and individual selfishness of the old.

(From Leslie's Weekly.

* * *

NOBODY is willing to admit his own shortcomings. It is always the other fellow's fault. To admit that we are wrong is the hardest thing in the world, because most people are wrong. It is the easiest thing for the broad-minded, because they are usually right. But the broad-minded are in minority.

If a demagogue proposes a foolish law and succeeds in getting it passed and it fails to benefit the people, he never holds himself responsible. If a statesman makes a mistake, he acknowledges it. Recall the ill-digested,

The Joint Commission on Social Service

THE Joint Commission on Social Service, appointed at the General Convention (1910) in Cincinnati, was charged "to study and report upon social and industrial conditions; to co-ordinate the activities of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interests of social service; to co-operate with similar bodies in other communions; to encourage sympathetic relations between capital and labor, and to deal according to their discretion with these and kindred matters."

In pursuance of these instructions, the Commission has encouraged the organization of social service agencies in the various missionary departments, dioceses and parishes throughout the country. The Commission has also co-operated with the various voluntary agencies of the Church engaged in social and moral reform, such as the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor ("C. A. I. L."), the Social Service Department of the Girls' Friendly Society, the Church Mission of Help and others. Another social agency of the Church, the Christian Social Union, disbanded in 1912 and handed over its work to the present Commission. The Commission has further co-operated during the past three years with the Commission on the Church and Social Service, appointed in 1908 by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and through this medium with the social agencies of various communions, including the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Congregational and the North Baptist Churches.

In order to give delegates and visitors an opportunity to learn something of its work and plans, the Joint Commission arranged a Social Service Week in connection with the General Convention of 1913. The program included a mass meeting in the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, a series of conferences, a social service exhibit, special sermons in the local churches, and educational visits to some of the civic and social institutions in New York City and vicinity. The proceedings of this week are included in the volume announced in the enclosed circular.

At the recent Convention the Joint Commission was made permanent, and was authorized to continue and expand its work along the lines laid down in the resolution of 1910. The Commission hopes during the coming three years to secure the appointment of a social service commission in every diocese and missionary district which have not yet appointed such commissions (seventy-five have already been appointed), and of a special board of social service in each province, in accordance with the terms of the canon passed by the recent General Convention, and, with the assistance of these agencies, to organize the parishes for effective social action.

To accomplish the above purposes, a comprehensive program of education must be undertaken, through secretarial visitation, through correspondence, and through specially prepared literature. For this reason the Commission needs funds. The recent General Convention authorized the Commission to apply to the Church at large for the support of its work. For the time being, however, in the Commission's judgment, any "apportionment" plan is impracticable. During the coming year, therefore, as in the past, the Commission must depend for the support of its work upon voluntary contributions. The Commission would like to raise during the year $15,000.

Checks should be made payable to the order of W. Fellowes Morgan, treasurer, and mailed to the Rev. F. M. Crouch, field secretary, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

[1915]

I. "PREPAREDNESS."

Those who assume that, as a matter of course, Japan or Germany could conquer the United States with great ease should attend a night school class in history.

We have double Japan's population and ten times her wealth. Our credit is the best in the world, and 6,000 miles of salt water separate Japan's navy from a better one of our own and California.

We have 35 per cent. more people than Germany, 200 per cent. more wealth and 3,000 miles of ocean lie between us.

When England, which already had possession of the American colonies prior to 1775, tried to hold them, it had several times their population, a dozen times their available wealth, undisputed control of the sea and a big army.

England seized Boston, then New York, then Philadelphia and then Charleston. It sent hither the largest army which that empire had ever shipped across an ocean. It hired 29,000 Germans, many of them the ancestors of England's foes to-day, to battle against the Americans.

For seven years England struggled and still failed.

I have no patience with the man who says: "Why, Germany could send a fleet to lie off New York and bombard it into submission. It could then land an army, capture the town and hold it indefinitely."

So can a primary school boy lick Jess Willard. All he has to do is to catch the champion fighter of the world in such an amiable mood that he will sit down in an easy chair, smoke a cigarette and permit the lad to beat his brains out with a baseball bat.

I submit this query: Can a nation with only 65 per cent. of our population and a third of our wealth and a fifth of our natural advantages, transport an army of a couple million soldiers 3,000 miles across the Atlantic and find us asleep? If not, what would we be doing?

One man says to me: "Oh, but we are not prepared."

I. "PREPAREDNESS" (*Continued*).

Not, eh? Well, we have more money, more men, more food, more iron, more coal, more timber, more factories, and more cotton, than Germany.

While it was taking a fleet of 100 fast ships six months to bring a million soldiers to America from Germany, we could be doing something in the way of defense.

We are the only great nation that can live upon itself and by itself. We can't be starved. We can't be deprived of clothing. We can't be robbed of our fuel and iron.

England in 1775 was theoretically as much greater than the American colonies as England, France and Germany combined are greater than the United States to-day. But the Declaration of Independence is the record of what that supposed preponderance availed.

It took the British Empire with 375,000,000 people three years to subdue the Boer Republics having but half a million. Why? South Africa was too far off!

Russia's 150,000,000 could not prevail against Japan's 45,000,000. Why? Ten times as far from the scene of fighting. Had Japan tried to cross Siberia and invade Russia it would never have gone home.

Napoleon led an army of 500,000 to Moscow, but Marshal Ney staggered back across the Niemen some months later with only 30,000. The Czar said General Winter was his best officer, because it saved him from the French.

The Atlantic is our great defense against Europe, and nobody appreciates that so much as Europe itself. But it is not our only defense by a long shot, and Europe also knows that.

—Girard, in the Public Ledger, Philadelphia, May 15, 1915.

(Please read this and pass it along. For more copies send to **Woman's Peace Party, 116 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.**)

[1915]

II. WHAT DOES "RIGHTEOUSNESS" DEMAND?

Mr. Gardner in congress sneers at "Sunday-school" policies.

But that party in the United States who are opposed to the policy of "military preparedness" are not chicken-livered cowards. . . .

We—and I am proud to speak as one of them—are merely plain, commonsense folk, who refuse to be blinded by custom or to be stampeded by appeals to fear or to race hate.

The policy of military preparedness which some desire to force on us is not new. It has been tried pretty consistently some six thousand years.

It smashed eventually Egypt, Greece, Rome, Spain, and France as world empires.

It is now bearing its logical fruit in Europe, ruining commerce, agriculture, manufacture, and all right human enterprise in a tornado of folly.

When gentlemen therefore urge Uncle Sam to adopt the precise policy that is devastating Europe, he is not a dreamer, but rather shows the hardest kind of sense when he says: "I rather guess not."

We do not want to "change human nature," we want to substitute intelligence for idiocy in the men who do the governing.

We do not believe justice is the product of gunpowder; liberty is not the quotient of a preponderating navy, and honor is not to be determined by duels, individual or national."—*Frank Crane, D.D., in "War and World Government," published by John Lane, N.Y., 1915.*

(Please read this and pass it along. For more copies send to **Woman's Peace Party, 116 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.**)

III. WHAT SHALL OUR COUNTRY DO FIRST?

Don't ask too much at first. Begin with the simplest problem. The question of the rights of neutrals at sea should be the entering wedge.

We sister republics are all suffering. International law is not yet big enough to deal with all our troubles.

There must be more Law. No one nation can make law for itself. We must get together if we are going to make law. When twenty nations agree with us, then we can do something.

Before we can make law we must hold an international Conference which can create an International Court. The Conference must settle how it will enforce law. How can neutrals make belligerents protect their rights? Well, suppose twenty republics should agree simultaneously to cut off trade when they were wronged? Wouldn't that make the belligerents take notice?

Then the republics can form a "League to Enforce Peace" which shall compel each member to take its disputes to the new court to be judged by the laws they all had made.

Next, these republics, acting together, can offer mediation and keep offering it.

And when the war is over, the world will not need to wait for new machinery. The League will simply open its arms and say, "Come In." As fast as the fighters come in, the stronger the League will grow until some day it develops into a Federated World.—*L. A. M.*

(Please read this and pass it along. For more copies send to **Woman's Peace Party, 116 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.**)

IV. WHAT ARE WE TO "PREPARE" FOR?

To fight old enemies? Spain and Mexico? Well, hardly.

Great Britain? As long as a hundred million Americans live across an undefended border line between us and ten million Canadians, we need not fear the biggest navy in the world which stands back of them.

Great Britain has signed a treaty with us to wait a year before going to war and to submit any quarrel to impartial investigation. She will not tear up that scrap of paper.

France and Russia have promised the same thing. They too will keep their word. Violating treaties will not be fashionable in the future.

They never yet fought against us, and we shall not build submarines for them.

Shall we prepare to defend our great rich continent against little Japan whose tax per capita is several times ours?

Japan wants power in Asia. She wants no trouble with us. Her special commission years ago which investigated the Philippines, reported that it was too hot and no place for Japanese colonists. She would not take the gift of the Philippines if she had to fortify and defend them. All the Orient wants is justice. Congress in one session could put all unnaturalized aliens under Federal control and wipe out one great danger of irritation. Congress could remake our broken treaty with China and bind the great Asiatic republic of the future in eternal friendship to us.

Congress could pass a law to treat all immigrants alike, but to pre-

[1915]

IV. WHAT ARE WE TO "PREPARE" FOR? (*Continued*).

vent more than a certain per cent of foreigners entering annually. This per cent might be based on the numbers of each nation already here. That would remove Japan's sense of grievance against us.

These laws would be cheaper than guns.

Shall we prepare to fight Germany?

Supposing she would win, how could she hold seven million rebellious Belgians unless she kept a standing army there?

How could she send thousands of soldiers needed to hold down Tripoli, Morocco, Tunis, Algiers, South Africa, etc., etc.?

How could she spare a single regiment to send 3,000 miles beyond sea to attack us even if she wanted to? She cannot attack us until she is ready to leave her land a prey to a ring of four hundred and fifty million revengeful foes, who would override her, the day her army sailed.

Beware of alarmists, even if they are college professors or Congressmen, not to say men who earn their bread by war scares. The man in the street knows just as much as any admiral or general what we should prepare for; in fact he knows a little more when he remembers that we let over six hundred thousand Americans die annually from preventable accident or disease. Most of these could be saved at the cost of a few battleships.

—*L. A. M.*

(Please read this and pass it along. For more copies send to **Woman's Peace Party, 116 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.**)

German Women Win Recognition. [1916]

Whether German armies win or lose, the German women have won recognition undreamed of before the European War.

The first woman ever to be named as head of a municipal Berlin school has just been selected by the magistrate as superintendent of the new "girls' middle school" which supports the old "higher girls' school" of Kaun-Eupel.

Frau Goerke, who comes from Frausstadt in Silesia and is but 33 years old was recommended to the magistrate by a deputation which studied the needs of the new school and the fitness of prospective heads for it. She has already had successful experience in administering schools. Her sex, however, has up to now been barred from such positions in the capital.

New equality in political affairs will enable the German woman to rehabilitate her country which she has served equally well with men.

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Women on the Inaugural Committee.

One by one past precedents in regard to women are broken. More and more women are given recognition for services rendered. Witness the appointment of Mrs. J.P.Boggs and Mrs. Wesley Martin Stoner of Washington, D.C., to the Inaugural Committee. In the long record of these ceremonials this is the first time women have served in an official capacity. It is a gracious tribute to the untiring services of the "Woman's Wilson League" which influenced so many of the department employees to cast their votes in their home states for the Wilson and Marshall electors.

****

of the United States declared in its U. S. vs. Reese decision of 1876, that the 15th Amendment of our Federal Constitution had conferred upon citizens.

And Congress has just as much power and right *to* enforce the provisions of the 14th Amendment by appropriate legislation, as it had to make federal laws to enforce the provisions of the 13th and 15th Amendments.

So I hope that the members of our Mississippi Valley Conference will adopt a Resolution in which they petition Congress to protect women against state denial of the right of citizens of the United States to vote for Members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators in the States wherein they reside, by making federal laws in pursuance of that clause of the 14th Amendment of our National Constitution which says: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

Congress cannot protect women against the enforcement of State laws which deprive them of a right to vote at State elections by enforcing the provisions of the 14th Amendment Because the Supreme Court of the United States has declared in its U. S. vs. Reese decision of 1876, that "the power of Congress to legislate at all upon the subject of voting at State elections rests" upon the 15th Amendment. And that this Amendment has not conferred upon citizens a right to vote at State elections, but a new right, which is the "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

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c1915?

AN APPEAL

Of Mrs. James Bennett, of Richmond, Kentucky, to the members of the Mississippi Womans' Suffrage Conference to adopt a Resolution like that which the Members of the National American Women Suffrage Association adopted at their late Convention in Nashville, Tennessee.

At their late Annual Convention in Nashville, Tenn., the Members of our National American Women Suffrage Association adopted a Resolution which petitioned Congress to protect women against state denial of the right of citizens of the United States to vote for Members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators in the State wherein they reside, by making federal laws in pursuance of that clause of the 14th Amendment of our National Constitution which says: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." And I hope that the members of our Mississippi Valley Women Suffrage conference will do the same thing.

Women now possess a legal right to vote for Members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators in eleven of our Western States, because these States have no Constitutions or laws which prescribe "male" as one of the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of their State Legislatures. But women do not possess a legal right to vote for the above mentioned

federal officers in the majority of our States, because these States possess and execute Constitutions or laws which prescribe "male" as one of the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of their State Legislatures.

These facts show that a majority of our States possess and enforce laws which deprive women of the right of citizens of the United States to vote for Members of Congress. Presidential Electors and United States Senators in them. And by doing this these States are violating that clause of 14th Amendment of our Federal Constitution which says: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

The Supreme Court of the United States has indirectly declared in its combined Minor vs Happersett, and Ex Parte Yarbrough decisions that the above quoted clause of the 14th Amendment of our Federal Constitution prohibited the States of which women were citizens from making or enforcing any law that would deprive women of the right of citizens of the United States to vote for Members of Congress, and Presidential Electors in them. And this declaration of the Supreme Court applies to the right to vote for United States Senators as well as the right to vote for Members of Congress and Presidential Electors, now that the 17th Amendment of our Federal Constitution has conferred a right to vote for United States Senator upon the people of each State.

But as the Supreme Court of the United States have declared in its Ex Parte Virginia decision of 1879, it is not upon the judicial power of our federal government, but upon the Congress, that the authority to enforce the provisions of the 14th Amendment of our Federal Constitution has been conferred.

For the last Section of the 14th Amendment says: "The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation."

The last Section of the 13th, the 14th and the 15th Amendments of our Federal Constitution says: "The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation." And the Supreme Court of the United States in commenting upon these Sections has declared, that it is not upon the "judicial power" of the federal government, but upon "the Congress," that the authority to enforce the provisions of the 13th, the 14th and 15th Amendments and been conferred, by using the following words in its Ex Parte Virginia decision of 1879: "All of the Amendments derive much of their force from this latter provision. It is not said that the judicial power of the general government shall extend to enforcing the prohibitions and to protecting the rights and immunities guaranteed. It is not said that branch of the government shall be authorized to declare void any action of a state in violation of the prohibitions. It is the power of Congress that has been enlarged. Congress is authorized to enforce the prohibitions by appropriate legislation. Some legislation is contemplated to make the Amendments fully effective."

Now Congress has enforced the provisions of the 13th Amendment by making federal laws which protected citizens against the enforcement of State laws which held them in slavery or involuntary servitude. Congress has enforced the provisions of the 15th Amendment by making federal laws which protected citizens against the enforcement of State laws which deprived them of that new "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the lective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," at public elections, which the Supreme Court

and female citizens of the United States are entitled, and shall be allowed to vote for members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators upon the *same* terms, in the States wherein they reside; and which provide every thing that is necessary to enable them to exercise their constitutional right to vote for these federal officers in the State.

In short, Mrs. Bennett most respectfully petitions the honorable members of the present Congress to protect white and colored male and female citizens of the United States in their constitutional "right to vote" for members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators upon the *same* terms in the State wherein they reside, by making federal laws somewhat similar to those which the Congress of 1870 made to enforce the new "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color on previous condition of servitude" at public elections, that the Supreme Court of the United States has affirmed in its Ex Parte Yarbrough decision of of 1884, that the 15th Amendment of the Federal Constitution conferred upon the white and colored male and female citizens of the United States when it was adopted in 1870.

C1915?

A PETITION

Of Mrs. James Bennett of Kentucky to the Honorable Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled.

Mrs. Bennett to the honorable members of Congress most respectfully showeth: That the States of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas and Arizona by removing the words "white and male" from their Constitutions and laws as qualifications for voting, have enabled colored male, and white and colored female citizens of the United States to have the *same* right to vote for members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators in them that white male citizens of the United States possess:

That some of our States by having grand-father and other clauses in their Constitutions and laws which directly or indirectly prescribe "white and male" as qualifications for voting, are preventing colored male and white and colored female citizens of the United States from having the *same* right to vote for members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators in them that white male citizens of the United States possess;

That these States by doing the above mentioned things have made it appear that the right to vote for federal officers is secured to citizens of the United States by the Constitutions and laws of the States and not by the federal Constitution;

After the Supreme Court of the United States *decided* in U. S. vs. Reese of 1876, that Congress had no constitutional power to make federal laws that provided punish-

ments for persons who hindered or prevented citizens from exercising a "right to vote" at any election that was secured to them by the Constitution or laws of a State. And after the Supreme Court said in Ex Parte Yarbrough in 1884,— "If this government is anything more than a mere aggregation of delegated agents of other States and governments each of which is superior to the General Government it must have the power to protect the elections upon which its existence depends from violence and corruption. If it has not this power it is left helpless before the two great natural and historical enemies of all Republics, open violence and insidious corruption."

After thus declaring in the first part of its Ex Parte Yarbrough decision of 1884 that "the General Government must have the power to protect the elections upon which its existence depends from violence and corruption, the Supreme Court reversed the Minor vs Happersett and U. S. vs. Cruikshank decisions of 1875 and 1876, in which it had decided that "the Constitution of the United States did not confer the right of suffrage upon any one," by deciding in the conclusion of Ex Parte Yarbrough that the "right to vote" for members of Congress and Presidential Electors was secured to citizens of the United States by the Federal Constitution And by deciding that Sections 5508 and 5520 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, (which were inappropriate legislation for the protection of citizens in exercising the new "right of exemption, etc," that the 15th Amendment of the Federal Constitution had conferred upon them, from their lack of the limiting words of "race, color or previous condition of servitude,") were constitutional laws for the protection of citizens against the violence of private persons in exercising their "right to vote" for members of Congress and Presidential Electors. Because the 1st Section of the 14th Amendment of the Federal Constitution had authorized Congress to make laws which provided punishments for private persons as well as for State officers who hindered or prevented citizens from exercising "rights conferred by the Constitution of the United States, essential to the healthy organization of the Government itself."

The Supreme Court of the United States indirectly affirmed in its combined Minor vs. Happersett and Ex Parte Yarbrough decisions of 1875 and 1884 that the 14th and 15th Amendments of the Federal Constitution annulled the words "white and male" that were in the Constitutions and laws of the States when they were adopted as qualifications for voting, and thereby left the colored male and white and colored female citizens of the United States in each state in possession of the same "right to vote" that white male citizens of the United States already possessed. But in its Ex Parte Virginia decision of 1879, the Supreme Court says that much of the force of the 14th and 15th Amendments of the Federal Constitution is derived from that Section which declared that Congress should have power to enforce their prohibitions by 'appropriate legislation," and that some legislation by Congress was contemplated to make their provisions "fully effective." That -"it is not said the *judicial* power of the general government shall extend to enforcing the prohibitions, and to protecting the rights and immunities guaranteed. It is not said that branch of the government shall be authorized to declare void any action of a State in violation of the prohibitions. Congress is authorized to enforce their prohibitions by appropriate legislation."

In consideration of all of the above mentioned facts, Mrs. Bennett most respectfully petitions the honorable members of Congress to declare, that when the 14th and 15th Amendments of the Federal Constitution forbid the States to make or enforce any law which would deny or abridge any of the privileges or immunities of "citizens of the United States," they annulled the words "white and male" that were in the Constitutions and laws of the state as qualifications for voting, in so far as these words affected the right to vote for federal officers, and left the black male and white and colored female citizens of the United States in possession of the *same* right to vote for federal officers in the State in which they resided that white male citizens of the United States already possessed.

And she petitions Congress to declare these things, by making federal laws which say, that white and colored, male

[Dec. 7, 1915]

A PETITION

—OF—

MRS. JAMES BENNETT

—AND—

Her Argument in Support of Her Petition.

GENTLEMEN:—*Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:*

At the last annual convention of our National American Women Suffrage Association in November, 1914, it adopted some Resolutions in which it petitioned Congress to do two things.

In the 1st Resolution it indirectly petitioned Congress to recommend our State Legislatures to adopt two Amendments to our Federal Constitution that are popularly called the Susan B. Anthony and the Shefroth Amendments, by making this Resolution say: "Whereas there is no question of greater importance to the people of the United States than the political freedom of its woman; therefore be it resolved that the National American Woman Suffrage Association urges upon the United States Senate and House of Representatives to take up at once the Amendments now pending in Congress for the enfranchisement of women."

And in the 2nd Resolution it petitioned Congress to "protect women against State denial of the right of citizens of the United States to vote for members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators in the State wherein they reside, by making federal laws in pursuance

of that clause of the 14th Amendment of our National Constitution which says: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

But I call the attention of you gentlemen exclusively, to the request of our National Association to Congress, contained in its 2nd Resolution. And I petition you to comply with this request.

* * * * *

ARGUMENT.

There is a difference between the rights of persons as citizens of the United States and as citizens of a State. As the Supreme Court of the United States says, in its U. S. vs. Cruikshank decision of 1876: "We have in our political system a Government of the United States, and a Government of each of the Several States. Each one of these Governments is distinct from the others, and each has citizens of its own, who owe it allegiance, and whose rights within its jurisdiction it must protect. The same person may be at the same time, a citizen of the United States and a citizen of a State, but his rights of citizenship under one of these Governments, will be different from those he has under the other. Slaughter-House cases, 16 Well (83 U. S. XXI, 408)."

The Judges who sat upon the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1873, and 1875, claimed in their *combined* Slaughter-House cases and Minor vs. Happersett decisions, that the white, black, male and female citizens of the United States were protected against State denial of such rights as owed their "existence to the Federal Government its national character, its Constitution or its laws," by that clause of the 1st Section of the 14th Amendment of of the Federal Constitution which says: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges

or immunities of citizens of the United States." But that these parties had not received any "additional protection" against State denial of such rights as were derived from the Constitutions or laws of the several States, from this "paragraph of the Amendment."

And in view of the above mentioned claims of these Judges, it is easy to see that they simply decided that the right of citizens of the United States to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors did not owe its existence to our Federal Constitution, as Council for Mrs. Minor claimed that it did, when they decided that the above quoted clause of the 1st Section of the 14th Amendment of our Federal Constitution had not necessarily made void the Constitutions and laws of the several States which confined the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors to men, as Council for Mrs. Minor claimed that it had, by using the following words in the conclusion of their Minor vs. Happersett decision: "Being unanimously of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one, and that the Constitutions and laws of the several States which commit that important trust to men alone, are not necessarily void, we affirm the judgment of the Court below."

But after this the Judges of the Supreme Court who rendered the Ex Parte Yarbrough decision of 1884, decided in it, that the right of citizens of the United States to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors owed "its existence" to our Federal Constitution, by deciding in Ex Parte Yarbrough that the right of citizens to vote for these federal officers was secured to them by the Original Constitution of the United States.

And these Judges also decided in Ex Parte Yarbrough, that it was the 1st Section of the 14th Amendment of our

Federal Constitution, that had warranted Congress to pass Section 5520 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which provided punishments for the protection of citizens of the United States in exercising their right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors in the State wherein they reside.

* * * * *

That I was correct when I said that the Judges of the Supreme Court had decided in Ex Parte Yarbrough. that the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors was "secured" to citizens by the Original Constitution of the United States, can be readily perceived from the following words used by Mr. Justice Gray of the Supreme Court, in speaking of this matter in the case of In Re Quarles and David Butler of 1895: "Among the rights and privileges which have been recognized by this Court to be secured to citizens of the United States by the Constitution are the right to petition Congress for a redress of grievances, (U. S. vs. Cruikshank 92, U. S. 552, 553, 23: 558, 589), and the right to vote for Presidential Electors and members of Congress, (Ex Parte Yarbrough 110 U. S. 551, 28: 274)."

That I was correct when I said that the Judges of the Supreme Court decided in Ex Parte Yarbrough that it was the 1st Section of the 14th Amendment of our Federal Constitution that had warranted Congress to pass Section 5520 of the Revised Statutes of the United States which provided punishments for the protection of citizens in exercising their right to vote for Members of Congress and Presidential Electors, can be readily perceived when one knows that Section 5520 is the only one of the two Sections mentioned in Ex Parte Yarbrough that provided the "hard-labor" to which the Circuit Court for Northern Georgia had condemned the petitioners.

For a knowledge of this fact enables one to perceive that it was to Section 5520 to which the Supreme Court referred when they decided that the 1st Section of the 14th Amendment had warranted Congress in passing the federal law under which the petitioners were held, by using the following words in Ex Parte Yarbrough; "The reference to cases in this Court in which the power of Congress under the 1st Section of the 14th Amendment has been held to relate alone to acts done under State authority can afford petitioners no aid in the present case. For while it may be true, that acts which are mere invasions of private rights, which acts have no sanction in the Statutes of a State, or which are not committed by any one exercising its authority, are not within the scope of that Amendment, it is quite a different matter, when Congress undertakes to protect the citizen in the exercise of rights conferred by the Constitution of the United States, essential to the healthy organization of the Government itself. * * * The rule to show cause in this case is discharged, and the writ of habeas corpus denied."

* * * * *

The things that the Judges of the Supreme Court claimed to be true, in regard to the right of citizens of the United States to vote for members of Congress in Ex Parte Yarbrough—to use my own words—are these: The right to vote for members of Congress is "secured" to the white, black, male and female citizens of the United States by the 1st Article of our Federal Constitution; but that this Article requires such of these parties as reside in each State to have all of the qualifications that the Constitution or laws of that State prescribe for Electors of the most numerous branch of its State Legislature, before they possessed a legal right to vote for members of Congress.

And that these Judges were correct when they claimed

these things, is evident from the fact that, white, black, male and female citizens of the United States voted for members of Congress in New Jersey upon the *same* terms, from the time that State entered the union in 1789, until in 1807, when the Legislature of New Jersey confined the legal right to vote for members of Congress to *white men*, by making a law which added "white and male" to the list of qualifications that the Constitution of New Jersey had prescribed for Electors of the most numerous branch of its State Legislature, when it was adopted in 1776. And from the fact that white, black, male and female citizens of the United States are now voting for members of Congress in eleven of our States upon the same terms, because the Constitutions and laws of these States have ceased to prescribe either "white or male" as a qualification requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of their State Legislatures.

* * * * *

The removal of the word "male" from the Constitution and laws of eleven of our States as a qualification for voting, has had *the effect*, of enabling the women of these States to have all of the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of their State Legislatures, and be lawfully entitled to vote for State efficers, and for members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators in these States upon the same terms as men.

And I claim that the 14th Amendment of our Federal Constitution, by forbidding our States to make or enforce any law, which would abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, has annulled the word "male" in the Constitutions and laws of the rest of our States —in so far as it had the *effect* of confining the right of voting for *federal officers* to men,—and thus enabled the women of these States to have all of the qualifications requisite for

Electors of the most numerous branch of their State Legislatures, and be lawfully entitled to vote, for members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United States Senators in these States upon the same terms as men.

I claim these things, because the Judges of the Supreme Court decided in the case of Ex Parte Yarbrough that the right of citizens of the United States to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors owed its "existence" to the Original Constitution of the United States, after the members of their Court had claimed, in their *combined* Slaughter-House cases and Minor vs. Happersett decisions, that the 14th Amendment of our Federal Constitution had protected the white, black, male and female citizens of the United States against State denial of such rights as owe their "existence" to our Federal Constitution; while the right to vote for United States Senators that white, black, male and female citizens of the United States now possess in eleven of our States owes its existence to the 17th Amendment of our Federal Constitution.

I do not claim that the above quoted clause of the 14th Amendment has enabled women to become lawfully entitled to vote for State officers in States whose Constitutions and laws prescribe "male" as one of the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of their own Legislatures. And I have not petitioned you gentlemen to make federal laws which protect women against State denial of a legal right to vote for State officers.

Because the Judges of the Supreme Court claimed in their Slaughter-House cases decision of 1873, that citizens had not received any "additional protection," against State denial of such rights as were derived from the Constitution or laws of a State, by the above quoted clause of the 14th Amendment. And because these Judges said in their United States vs. Reese decision of 1876 that: "The

power of Congress to legislate at all upon the subject of voting at State elections rests" upon the 15th Amendment of our Federal Constitution.

* * * *

But I have petitioned you gentlemen to enforce by "appropriate legislation" the provisions of the 14th Amendment for the protection of women in exercising the right of citizens of the United States to vote for members of Congress, Presidential Electors and United State Senators in the State wherein they reside, with the power that has been conferred upon you by that section of the 14th Amendment which says: "The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."

And I have prayed God to so strengthen you gentlemen by the might of His holy spirit, that every one of you may be strong enough to be able to vote for federal laws that will protect women in exercising the right of citizens of the United States to vote for the above named federal officers in the State wherein they reside upon the *same* terms that men are authorized to exercise this right.

MRS. JAMES BENNETT.

RICHMOND, KENTUCKY, December 7th, 1915.

12. Education of Children.

Realizing that for the prevention of the possibility of a future war every individual should be convinced of the inadmisability of deciding disputes by force of arms, this International Congress of Women urges the necessity of so directing the education of children as to turn their thoughts and desires toward the maintenance of peace, and to give them a moral education so as to enable them to act on this conviction whatever may happen.

IX. DISCUSSIONS

1. Action to be taken on Resolutions.
2. Methods of Influencing the Press.
3. International Federation.

X. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

THIRD DAY, EVENING—Public Meeting.

Women in general sympathy with the resolutions on the program may become members, with the right to speak and vote, on payment of the Congress fee of 10s. or $2.50. Women's Societies or mixed societies in general sympathy with the resolutions may send two women delegates with the right to speak and vote, on payment of the Congress fee. Men and women may attend as visitors on payment of the fee of 5s.

Discussions on the relative national responsibility for or conduct of the present war shall be outside the scope of the Congress.

At the business discussions in the mornings the languages shall be French, German and English. At the evening public meetings the languages shall be French, German, English and Dutch.

REGULATIONS FOR THE CONGRESS

Members of Congress.

Individual women who express themselves in general agreement with the resolutions on the programme may become members on payment of 10s. or $2.50.

A women's society or a mixed society in general agreement with the resolutions on the programme may appoint one or two women delegates on payment of 10s. or $2.50 for each delegate appointed.

Individual members and delegate members shall have the right to speak and vote.

Visitors to the Congress.

Non-members, whether men or women, may be admitted as visitors to the morning public discussion meetings and evening public meetings on payment of 5s. or $1.75.

Visitors shall not be entitled to speak or vote.

Report of the Congress.

A report of the Congress will be printed and sent to every member.

Rules of Debate.

Discussions on the relative national responsibility for or conduct of the present war shall be outside the scope of the Congress.

Languages.

At the business discussions in the mornings the languages shall be French, German and English. At the evening public meetings the languages shall be French, German, English and Dutch.

THE HILDMANN PRINTING CO. 84 722-732 SHERMAN ST., CHICAGO

The Woman's Peace Party

in response to this call from the Women of Europe are sending a delegation to The Hague.

The Executive Council of the Woman's Peace Party hopes that women from various parts of the United States representing the important women's movements will accompany the official delegation.

National Office—Room 500, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

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International Congress of Women

The Hague, Holland, April 28, 29, 30, 1915

CALL TO THE WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS

FROM many countries appeals have come asking us to call together an International Women's Congress to discuss what the women of the world can do and ought to do in the dreadful times in which we are now living.

We women of the Netherlands, living in a neutral country, accessible to the women of all other nations, therefore take upon ourselves the responsibility of calling together such an International Congress of Women. We feel strongly that at a time when there is so much hatred among nations, we women must show that we can retain our solidarity and that we are able to maintain a mutual friendship.

Women are waiting to be called together. The world is looking to them for their contribution towards the solution of the great problems of today.

Women, whatever your nationality, whatever your party, your presence will be of great importance.

The greater the number of those who take part in the Congress, the stronger will be the impression its proceedings will make.

Your presence will testify that you, too, wish to record your protest against this horrible war, and that you desire to assist in preventing a recurrence of it in the future.

Let our call to you not be in vain!

The Executive Committee:
Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, President.
Dr. Mia Boissevain, Vice President and Secretary.
Rosa Manus, Secretary.
F. J. Vattier Kraane-Daendels, Treasurer.
H. van Biema-Hymans.
C. Ramondt-Hirschmann.
H. Heineken-Daum.
J. C. van Lanschot Hubrecht.

Headquarters of the International Congress of Women, Damrak 28-30, Amsterdam, Holland.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONGRESS, HOLLAND
APRIL 28, 29 and 30th, 1915

Secretary—Miss Rosa Manus, Damrak 28-30, Amsterdam, Holland.

The following is the preliminary programme of the International Women's Congress which the Dutch women are summoning in April. The Executive Committee of the Congress includes: Dr. Aletta Jacobs, President, Dr. Boissevain, Vice President; Miss Rosa Manus, Secretary; and Mrs. Vattier Kraane-Daendels, Treasurer.

On February 12th and 13th in Amsterdam women from Belgium, Germany and Great Britain met the Dutchwomen interested in this proposal, and drafted the following resolutions.

It should be made clear that the Congress is organized by individual women. The Congress is not arranged by any previously existing women's organization. A new organization has been formed for the purpose.

PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME

FIRST DAY, 9:00—1. Business Session.

I. Roll Call.
II. Welcome by Women of the Netherlands.
III. Report of Dutch Committee of Management.
IV. Appointment of Interpreters and Secretaries.
V. Report of Resolutions Committee.
VI. Some Principles of a Peace Settlement.

1. Plea for Definition of Terms of Peace.

Considering that the people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting not as aggressors, but in self-defence and for their national existence, this International Congress of Women urges the Governments of the belligerent countries publicly to define the terms on which they are willing to make peace, and for this purpose immediately to call a truce.

2. Arbitration and Conciliation.

This International Congress of Women, believing that war is the negation of all progress and civilization, declares its conviction that future international disputes should be referred to arbitration or conciliation, and demands that in future these methods shall be adopted by the Governments of all nations.

3. International Pressure.

This International Congress of Women urges the Powers to come to an agreement to unite in bringing pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms without having referred its case to arbitration or conciliation.

FIRST DAY—EVENING—Public Meeting.

SECOND DAY, 9:30—1. Business Session.

Minutes of previous day.

VI. Some Principles of a Peace Settlement—Continued.

4. Democratic Control of Foreign Policy.

War is brought about not by the peoples of the world, who do not desire it, but by groups of individuals representing particular interests.

This International Congress of Women demands, therefore, that foreign politics shall be subject to democratic control, and at the same time declares that it can only recognize as democratic a system which includes the equal representation of men and women.

5. Transference of Territory.

That there should be no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women in it.

VII. WAR IN ITS RELATION TO WOMEN

6. Protest.

War, the *ultima ratio* of the statesmanship of men, we women declare to be a madness, possible only to a people intoxicated with a false idea; for it destroys everything the constructive powers of humanity have taken centuries to build up.

7. Women's Responsibility.

This International Congress of Women is convinced that one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war will be the combined influence of the women of all countries, and that therefore upon women as well as men rests the responsibility for the outbreak of future wars. But as women can only make their influence effective if they have equal political rights with men, this Congress declares that it is the duty of the women of all countries to work with all their force for their political enfranchisement.

8. Women's Sufferings in War.

This International Congress of Women protests against the assertion that war means the protection of women. Not forgetting their sufferings as wives, mothers, and sisters, it emphasizes the fact that the moral and physical sufferings of many women are beyoud description, and are often of such a nature that by the tacit consent of men the least possible is reported. Women raise their voices in commiseration with those women wounded in their deepest sense of womanhood and powerless to defend themselves.

9. Women Delegates to Conference of Powers.

Believing that it is essential for the future peace of the world that representatives of the people should take part in the conference of the Powers after the war, this International Women's Congress urges that among the representatives women delegates should be included.

10. Woman Suffrage Resolution.

This International Women's Congress urges that, in the interests of civilization, the conference of the Powers after the war should pass a resolution affirming the need in all countries of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women.

SECOND DAY, EVENING—Public Meeting.

THIRD DAY, 9:30—1. Business Session.

Minutes of previous day.

VIII. GENERAL

11. Promotion of International Good Feeling.

This International Women's Congress, which is in itself an evidence of the serious desire of women to bring together mankind in the work of building up our common civilization, considers that every means should be used for promoting mutual understanding and goodwill between the nations, and for resisting any tendency towards a spirit of hatred and revenge.

(b) **Stimulation of a Peace Propaganda throughout existing organizations.** Chairman, Miss Zona Gale, Portage, Wis. Secretary, Miss Ella J. Abeel, 116 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

Literature: Lists of readings and publications to be obtained through existing peace societies, as well as names and terms of speakers and lecturers may be secured through the Chicago office. The services of Mrs. Glendower Evans, the National Organizer, may be arranged for at headquarters, or by writing directly to her.

(c) **The Promotion of a Peace Educational Program for our Schools and Colleges.** Chairman, Mrs. Fanny Fern Andrews, Secretary of the American School Peace League, 405 Marlborough Street, Boston. This League, already organized throughout the states, is ready to give prompt and efficient suggestions.

(d) **The Formation of Committees for Publicity and Press Work.** Chairman, Miss Katherine Leckie, Professional Bldg., 17 E. 38th Street, New York. Suggestions for press work, posters, and material for advertising may be secured from the central office. State organizations are urged to protest through the local press against the tendency to militarize public sentiment in America.

(e) **The Encouragement of Artists, Musicians and Writers to productions promoting peace.** Chairman, Miss Florence Holbrook; Secretary, Mrs. Martin Schutze, 116 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago. Arrangements are under way to present "Euripides' Trojan Women" by The Chicago Little Theatre Company. This protest against war made by women three thousand years ago and never surpassed in beauty and poignancy, relates our protest to that of the women of all ages. Arrangements may be made through the central office to have this play presented throughout the country.

Lists of dramatic readers and singers; of available plays, stories, poems, and songs; of decorated mottoes, cartoons, and illustrations, as well as suggestions for pageants and festivals, will be supplied from the central office.

APPLICATION BLANK

I hereby apply for membership in the WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY for

{ myself / this organization } as a { sustaining / local group } member

and enclose $_____ for Dues.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Sustaining Membership, $1.00.
Local Group Membership, $5.00.

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Woman's Peace Party

PREAMBLE AND PLATFORM ADOPTED AT WASHINGTON, JANUARY 10, 1915

WE, WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, assembled in behalf of World Peace, grateful for the security of our own country, but sorrowing for the misery of all involved in the present struggle among warring nations, do hereby band ourselves together to demand that war be abolished.

Equally with men pacifists, we understand that planned-for, legalized, wholesale, human slaughter is today the sum of all villainies.

As women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and the waste of war.

As women, we are especially the custodians of the life of the ages. We will not longer consent to its reckless destruction.

As women, we are particularly charged with the future of childhood and with the care of the helpless and the unfortunate. We will not longer endure without protest that added burden of maimed and invalid men and poverty stricken widows and orphans which war places upon us.

As women, we have builded by the patient drudgery of the past the basic foundation of the home and of peaceful industry. We will not longer accept without a protest that must be heard and heeded by men, that hoary evil which in an hour destroys the social structure that centuries of toil have reared.

As women, we are called upon to start each generation onward toward a better humanity. We will not longer tolerate without determined opposition that denial of the sovereignty of reason and justice by which war and all that makes for war today render impotent the idealism of the race.

Therefore, as human beings and the mother half of humanity, we demand that our right to be consulted in the settlement of questions concerning not alone the life of individuals but of nations be recognized and respected.

We demand that women be given a share in deciding between war and peace in all the courts of high debate—within the home, the school, the church, the industrial order, and the state.

So protesting, and so demanding, we hereby form ourselves into a national organization to be called the Woman's Peace Party.

We hereby adopt the following as our platform of principles, some of the items of which have been accepted by a majority vote, and more of which have been the unanimous choice of those attending the conference that initiated the formation of this organization. We have sunk all differences of opinion on minor matters and given freedom of expression to a wide divergence of opinion in the details of our platform and in our statement of explanation and information, in a common desire to make our woman's protest against war and all that makes for war, vocal, commanding and effective. We welcome to our membership all who are in substantial sympathy with that fundamental purpose of our organization, whether or not they can accept in full our detailed statement of principles.

PLATFORM

THE PURPOSE of this Organization is to enlist all American women in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and to abolish war. The following is adopted as our platform:

1. The immediate calling of a convention of neutral nations in the interest of early peace.
2. Limitation of armaments and the nationalization of their manufacture.
3. Organized opposition to militarism in our own country.
4. Education of youth in the ideals of peace.
5. Democratic control of foreign policies.
6. The further humanizing of governments by the extension of the franchise to women.

7. "Concert of Nations" to supersede "Balance of Power."
8. Action toward the gradual organization of the world to substitute Law for War.
9. The substitution of an international police for rival armies and navies.
10. Removal of the economic causes of war.
11. The appointment by our Government of a commission of men and women, with an adequate appropriation, to promote international peace.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Room 500, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago

Chairman,
JANE ADDAMS, Chicago.

Vice Chairmen,
MRS. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, Meadville, Pa.
MRS. HENRY VILLARD, New York City.
MRS. LOUIS F. POST, Washington, D. C.
MRS. JOHN JAY WHITE, Washington, D. C.

Secretary,
MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD, Boston, Mass.

Executive Secretary,
MRS. WILLIAM I. THOMAS, 116 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

Treasurer,
MISS SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE, 116 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

National Organizer,
MRS. ELIZABETH GLENDOWER EVANS, 12 Otis Place, Boston, Mass.

Honorary Members,
MRS. PETHICK-LAWRENCE, of England.
MADAME ROSIKA SCHWIMMER, of Hungary.

Co-Operating Council

Chairman, MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, Pres., Intern'l Woman Suffrage Alliance.
MRS. KATE WALLER BARRETT, Pres., National Council of Women.
MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, Pres., Conference of Women, Panama-Pacific Expo.
DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Pres., National American Woman Suffrage Assn.
MRS. WILLIAM CUMMINGS STORY, Pres., National Society Daughters of the American Revolution.
MRS. ELLEN M. HENROTIN, Ex-Pres., General Federation of Women's Clubs.
MISS ANNA GORDON, Pres., National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
MRS. HENRY SOLOMON, Ex-Pres., National Council Jewish Women.
MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS, Pres., National Woman's Trade Union League.
MRS. LEONORA Z. MEDER, Vice-Pres., National Conference of Catholic Charities.
MRS. HENRY B. PAGE, Pres., International Kindergarten Union.
MISS GRACE DEGRAFF, Pres., National League of Teachers.
MRS. WINNIE E. BRANSTETTER, Director of Women's Work, Nat'l Socialist Party.
MRS. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, Pres., National Association of Colored Women.
MISS MARY MCDOWELL, Pres., National Federation of Settlements.
MRS. BELLE VAN DOREN HARBERT, Pres., International Congress of Farm Women.
MRS. P. P. CLAXTON, Pres., League of American Pen Women.

Other names and organizations to be added.

RULES GOVERNING THE ORGANIZATION

The name shall be Woman's Peace Party.

The officers shall be a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and four Vice-Chairmen, who together shall form an Executive Council.

A Coöperating Council shall be appointed by the Executive Council.

Chairmen of States shall be appointed by the Executive Council, and these in turn shall appoint Chairmen of their respective Congressional Districts.

The members shall be:

1. *Local groups* wherever they can be organized, each to pay $5 annually into the National Treasury.
2. *Sustaining Members,* who shall individually pay $1 annually into the National Treasury.

PLAN OF WORK AND CHAIRMEN OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

(a) The National Legislative Committee represents the Woman's Peace Party at hearings before such Congressional Committees as that on Military Affairs.

(b) This Committee enters into correspondence with the Legislative Commitees of the Woman's Peace Party in various states, securing endorsements of bills recommended by the National Executive Council. Such endorsements, when received from the states, are presented to Congress.

(c) From the fact that questions of peace and war can be considered only by the Federal Congress, the National Legislative Committee is located in Washington, with two Vice-Chairmen of the Woman's Peace Party as members of the Committee. Correspondence should be conducted through Mrs. George Odell, Secretary, The Rochambeau, Washington, D. C.

2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

(a) The results of the Washington conference were presented to all embassies and legations at Washington by Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett and her Committee. They were cordially received, and the platform has already been officially translated and transmitted to various foreign countries.

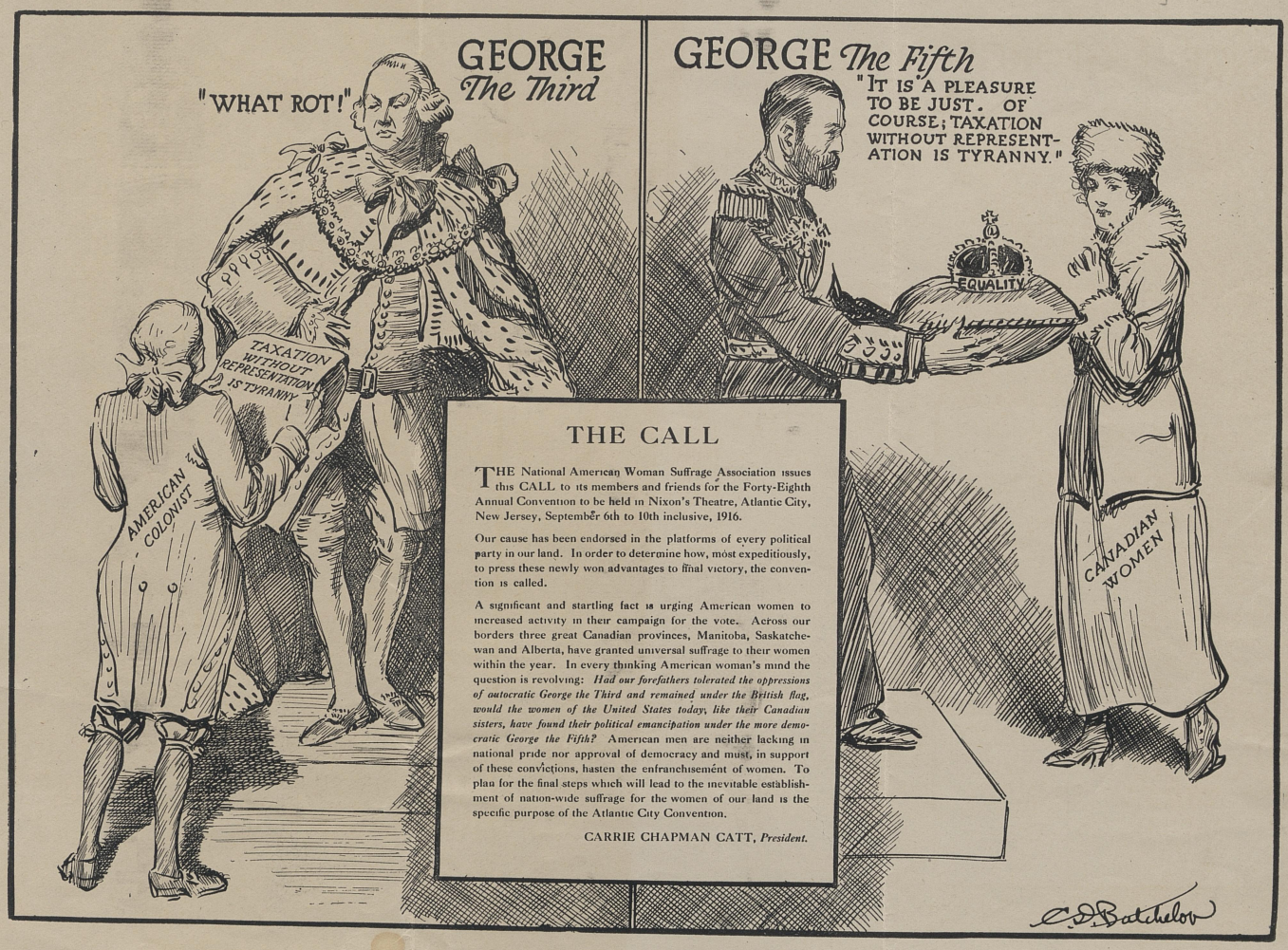
(b) Madame Rosika Schwimmer, acting as International Secretary of the Woman's Peace Party is in direct communication with the women of seventeen European nations.

3. PROPAGANDA

(a) **Holding nation-wide mass meetings.** Chairman, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, 39 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass.

The first of such meetings has been arranged for February 22, 1915, to protest against the immediate increase of armament in the United States, and to endorse the Crosser Bill and the Hobson Bill, both of which are at present before Congress. Petitions and suggestions for meetings may be secured from Mrs. Mead or the Chicago office.

[1916]



THE CALL

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association issues this CALL to its members and friends for the Forty-Eighth Annual Convention to be held in Nixon's Theatre, Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 6th to 10th inclusive, 1916.

Our cause has been endorsed in the platforms of every political party in our land. In order to determine how, most expeditiously, to press these newly won advantages to final victory, the convention is called.

A significant and startling fact is urging American women to increased activity in their campaign for the vote. Across our borders three great Canadian provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, have granted universal suffrage to their women within the year. In every thinking American woman's mind the question is revolving: *Had our forefathers tolerated the oppressions of autocratic George the Third and remained under the British flag, would the women of the United States today, like their Canadian sisters, have found their political emancipation under the more democratic George the Fifth?* American men are neither lacking in national pride nor approval of democracy and must, in support of these convictions, hasten the enfranchisement of women. To plan for the final steps which will lead to the inevitable establishment of nation-wide suffrage for the women of our land is the specific purpose of the Atlantic City Convention.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, *President.*

American Delegation to the Congress-After-the-War
of the
International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace

At the International Congress of Women held at the Hague, in April, 1915, it was voted that a Woman's Congress should be held at the time and place of the official Conference which is to frame the terms of peace after the war. Women in the following countries have organized and selected their delegations: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, Hungary, India (British), Italy, Netherlands, Norway, France, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America, and Uruguay.

The American delegates, realizing that it would be most valuable to them to confer with their fellow citizens of the various oppressed or dependent nationalities whose future will doubtless be discussed at the Official Conference After the War, have arranged these meetings and wish to express their appreciation of the kind response.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN DELEGATION

JANE ADDAMS, Chairman
FANNIE FERN ANDREWS
EMILY GREENE BALCH
FLORENCE KELLEY
LUCIA AMES MEAD

[Nov. 29, 1916]

Conference of Oppressed or Dependent Nationalities

at

Washington, December 10th and 11th

Under the auspices of

American Delegation to the Congress-After-the-War

of the

International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace

COMMITTEE ON CONFERENCE

GRACE ABBOTT, Chairman
Immigrants' Protective League,
1140 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago
S. P. BRECKINRIDGE
MRS. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
MARY McDOWELL
MRS. LOUIS F. POST
MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS
LILLIAN D. WALD

THIS conference is called in recognition of the need of developing an American public opinion on the question of the Rights of the Oppressed or Dependent Nationalities. Such public opinion, it is believed, should grow out of the experience of the American representatives of the Albanians, Armenians, Belgians, Bohemians, Croatians, Finns, Irish, Letts, Lithuanians, Montenegrins, Poles, Russian and Roumanian Jews, Ruthenians, Serbians, Slovaks and Syrians. They, as Americans, can interpret the problem of their peoples as it relates to our international policies.

The United States is the logical nation to open the discussion of the rights of oppressed or dependent nationalities because we have a citizenship which includes representatives of these peoples as well as of those powerful nations that have controlled the destiny of Europe. How the claims of the various national groups are to be settled is, therefore, a matter of immediate family concern to millions of our fellow citizens. The questions involved are in no sense abstract or remote to us in sympathy or relation to our future. Their settlement will determine in the future, as in the past, the character and volume of immigration to the United States. If the experience of our foreign born citizens is properly utilized, the United States should be able to bring to these world problems both understanding and sympathy.

Public Opinion Needs Immediate Formulation on these Questions Because:

At the close of the war, the United States, as the most powerful neutral, may be able to exert an important influence on the terms of peace. American interest lies solely in the direction of a durable peace based on international justice. The discontent and suspicion which grew out of the fact that conquered races believed themselves to be oppressed was doubtless an important element in the international misunderstanding which led to the war.

Americans believe that the people should rule themselves; that no people should have the right to oppress another; that good government is no substitute for self government; and that a federal form of government offers the most satisfactory method of giving local self government in a country great in territory or complex in population. But how to apply these principles to the questions involved in the case of the Poles and others, Americans have no definite opinion because they do not know the history of these peoples, their hopes and their ambitions. And yet, here among us are the humble people who have themselves suffered from a denial of the freedom they are asking the world to give to their people; here are also the intellectuals who have had their part in leading the movements at home.

The United States has played an important part in the movement for world organization in the past. President Wilson has expressed his eagerness to assist in forming a League of Nations which would make possible the peaceful settlement of future international questions, and leading publicists, without regard to party, have endorsed the plan of a League to Enforce Peace or a World Court.

If the United States enters a League of Nations, what is to be our position in regard to the discontented national groups? Are we to consider these merely national questions to be settled by the nations affected and toward which we must as a nation remain indifferent? Or if we are entitled to an opinion, what is it to be? Those citizens of the United States who by their birth belong to these dependent or oppressed nationalities, who through their American experience are familiar with the workings of our federal form of government, and who have had social, business and political relations with American representatives of all nationalities should be able to formulate for the United States an international policy which recognizes a sound and just nationalism.

[June 1916]

A WIRELESS MESSAGE TO SUFFRAGE "LIVE WIRES"

On June 7th, the Republicans will hold their National Convention in Chicago. It is probable that the Progressives will hold their convention there on the same date.

We want **you** and 39,999 other live wires of suffrage to be on hand and take part in the great national suffrage parade that will be held in Chicago on that day.

The purpose of the parade is to visualize the nation-wide demand for woman suffrage. Consequently, every State in the Union should be represented.

The bigger showing we make, the bigger chance we have to get a suffrage plank in the Republican platform.

Help us secure a good-sized delegation of women marchers from your State and, if possible, from your Congressional District.

The Chairman of the Chicago Parade Committee is Mrs. Harrison Munro Brown, 604 Tower Building, Chicago, Ill. Write her that you are coming. **Do it now !**

But that isn't all.

On June 14th, the Democrats will hold their National Convention in St. Louis. It is equally important that we make as big a showing there as in Chicago.

The demonstration chosen to convince the Democratic delegates that a suffrage plank is an essential part of the Democratic platform is a "Walkless Parade."

We want **you** and hosts of other women to take part in that, too.

Don't delay. Drop a line to Mrs. Morrison Fuller, at The Buckingham, St. Louis, Mo., and tell her that you will be there.

A word more.

Stir up that friend of yours who has always wanted to see St. Louis but never gotten there. Now's her chance.

Get Busy !

The National American Woman Suffrage Association
171 Madison Avenue, New York City

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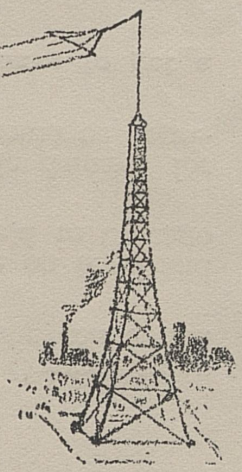
GET BUSY

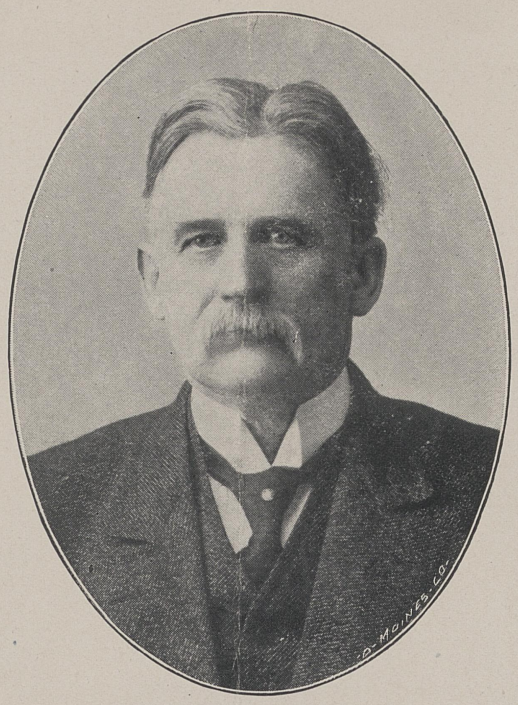
A WIRELESS MESSAGE TO SUFFRAGE "LIVE WIRES"



CHICAGO
JUNE 7th

ST. LOUIS
JUNE 14th

June 17, 1916



ALEXANDER H. GRISELL

Editor of The Guthrian Died at the family home, Friday, December 3, 1915

By Jno. W. Foster

For many months Alex H. Grisell, editor and proprietor of the Guthrian had been in failing health, but not until his departure for Rochester, a few weeks since, did even his closest friends realize that he was seriously ill. After his return from Rochester he came down to the office several times, putting on a brave front and giving hope of ultimate recovery.

On Monday, November 22nd he visited his office for the last time walking all the way from his home and back again chatting briefly and exchanging greetings as he passed friends and neighbors on the street, but he leaned heavier than usual on his walking stick, the lines had deepened on his face and the observing noted a far away look in his eyes. The next day he was confined to his bed, but was up and about the house again on Thanksgiving receiving several calls from solicitous friends, rallying as best he could an appearance of cheerfulness, but his increasing weakness and the stern set linaments of his face on that day, plainly told all who saw him, that he was nearing the deep waters and the dark shadows where those, whom he had so often helped and cheered, would be powerless to aid him

That night he was gotten to his bed with difficulty, this time to fight the last battle and he did not afterwards receive his friends. He suffered much during the few remaining days and nights, but his last hours were free from pain, and easily, almost as a child going to sleep, surrounded by the members of his family in the home he loved he passed to the great beyond.

Alexander H. Grisell, son of Thomas L. Grisell and Mary Wierman Grisell, was born at Hanover, Columbiana County, Ohio, June 18th 1848. At the age of four years he was taken by his parents to Upper Sandusky, Ohio, where he grew to manhood, and following his graduation from the public schools of that city. he continued his studies with Rev. Holliday, an educator of note in that state as his preceptor. In 1867 he came to Iowa, but later removed to Nebraska where he was employed on the Union Pacific Railway. Returning to Ohio in 1869 he accepted the position of Deputy collector of Internal Revenue of the fifth Ohio Dist. In 1871 he was united in marriage to Clara A. Frees of Upper Sandusky, Ohio, who with two sons and two daughters. still survive him. The living children are, Blanche A., a teacher in the public schools, Thomas E, who is in the Real Estate and Insurance business in this city and George N., and Helen H., who have been associated with their father in the conduct of the Guthrian. He is also survived by his mother, Mrs. T. E. Grisell and a brother, J. W. Grisell of Columbus Ohio. One daughter, Grace, aged twenty-two, proceeded him in death in 1898.

In the spring of 1880, Mr Grisell, with his family returned to Iowa and settled on a farm north of Menlo and after a residence there of four years, he removed to Menlo to engage in the real estate and farm loan business. He served several terms as Mayor of Menlo and in 1889 was appointed postmaster and served in that capacity until 1893 when a change of administration forced him to retire. He then established the Menlo Gazette and in 1897 he was again appointed postmaster, but resigned his position in 1899, when he purchased the Guthrian and removed to Guthrie Center. He served many times as secretary of the Guthrie County Agricultural Association, and it was during his incumbency in that office and largely owing to his activity, that the little old fair ground, with a race course three times around for a mile, was enlarged to its present proportions. He served one term as director of the Iowa State Fair from the Ninth Congressional District.

It is now nearly seventeen years since he become editor and proprietor of the Guthrian and moved his family to this place. He took up his work not as a stranger, for he was well known here and throughout the county generally because of his activities in connection with the county fair and county politics. From the very start he made himself and the Guthrian felt upon all public questions. His natural courage and forcefulness, his wide knowledge, his poise and sanity of view and power of expression, all combined to make him a strong editorial writer and few county seat papers have been more widely read or more generally clipped by the state press than has the Guthrian under his editorial management. He was dignified, upright, gentlemanly warmhearted and loyal to his friends and fair to his opponents. His circle of acquaintance was large and his character was such that he left many warm friends over the entire state. He was intensely loyal to Guthrie Center, aiding in every possible way in the upbuilding of the community and the white ribbon that fluttered an his grave last Sunday, bearing the inscription "All Guthrie Center Mourns" was but the expression of an obvious fact.

His funeral was held on Sunday afternoon from his late home in Guthrie Center, conducted by Rev. J. C. Orth of the Presbyterian church, of which church Mr. Grisell was a member.

The interment was in the beautiful Guthrie Center cemetery in charge of the Masonic Lodge, C. E. Ettinger, of Casey, Iowa delivered the ritualistic service in a beautiful and impressive way.

The high esteem in which he was held was evidenced by the profuse floral tributes and the large concourse of friends that followed the remains to its last resting place. He was an honest man, a devoted husband, a true father and faithful friend His work is done.—The Guthrian, December 9, 1915.



PLACE
STAMP
HERE

HOTEL DESHLER

COLUMBUS, OHIO

[Apr 6, 1917]

MANAGER HOTEL DESHLER, Columbus, O.

Please reserve.....room.....at the Hotel Deshler

for.....persons arriving.....191.....at $.....per day

Name .....

Address .....

RATES

Rooms with toilet and basin, $2.00, $2.50, $3.00

Rooms with toilet and basin, two persons, $3.00, $3.50, $4.00

Rooms with bath, $2.00, $2.50, $3.00, $3.50, $4.00, $4.50, $5.00, $6.00

Rooms with bath, two persons, $3.50, $4.00, $4.50, $5.00, $5.50, $7.00

Suites of two rooms, two persons, $4.50, $6.00, $7.00, $8.00, $10.00

Suites of two rooms, four persons, $8.50, $10.00, $11.00, $13.00

Parlor, two bedrooms, two baths, $12.50, $15.00, $25.00

[July 24, 1914]

A Mother's "Sphere"

MADELINE McD. BRECKENRIDGE.

Written for Political Science Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

There was a time when the children of the land were mainly taught at their mothers' knees: those mothers who could afford it supplied private governesses for their children, or sent them to private schools; the others giving their children such education as they themselves had.

This time has past. The business of teaching the children of this country has been taken over by the public schools, and though the mother herself no longer does the actual teaching of her children, it is now as much the privilege and the duty of the mother to oversee the education of her children in the public schools as ever it was to guide it in our pioneer homes.

Now the management of public schools, as of all other public business on which private life depends in civilized society, is comprehensively included in the word "politics." To realize this we must get rid of the ordinary conception of that misused word as something associated with corrupt elections, violence, graft—"dirty politics." When it has been asserted in the states not even allowing their women school suffrage that the effort to get this right for them was an effort "to get women into politics" meaning politics in its dirty sense—it was truly asserted on the other hand that on the contrary, it was an effort to get the schools out of politics. In the proper sense of the term not only is the management of the schools necessarily in politics, but it is high time that the mothers of school children were also in politics. Bernard Shaw has succinctly stated the case. "Politics," he says, "is not something apart from home and the babies. It is home and the babies."

THE STRENGTH OF NATURAL LAW

It was not originally intended that women should teach in our public schools. It was not originally intended that women should vote in our school elections, but some way and some how the women have gotten in; they are upholding the school system from within and from without. A large majority of the public school teachers in the land are women. Mothers of school children are more and more "meddling" in school affairs. They are finding out whether school houses are proper, whether school teachers are capable, whether school trustees are fit persons. They are exercising the divine prerogative of mothers to meddle in the education of their own children. Even in the dozen and a half states where man-made laws still attempt to write women out of any share in the management of the public schools, the women have gotten in. In many of these states through the School Improvement League, women have done a tremendous work for the material improvement of the school plant. In some of them, where over seventy-five per cent. of the teachers are also women the anecdote of the small boy who was asked by the teacher who supported the world, seems applicable. "Atlas, m'a'm," he answered. "But who," asked the teacher, "supports Atlas?" The boy thought a moment. "I don't know, m'a'm," he said, "but I suppose it was his wife." The schools are nominally being managed and taught by men; but actually they are being supported both from the inside and the outside by the mother sex. Whom God hath joined together for the nurture and rearing of children it has proven impossible for men to put asunder.

A MOTHER'S RIGHT TO HER CHILD

Children are not the exclusive creations of men. They are not the exclusive possessions of men—at least they are not in fifteen of our states. In six states—under the laws of a supposedly civilized people—it is still true that a mother of legitimate children has no right to them; they belong exclusively to the father whether he be living or dead, and in fact he may will away his unborn child. In twenty-seven other states, so long as the father lives, the mother has no legal rights to her children. But even in these benighted states which have not as yet passed a co-guardianship law, no woman will acknowledge that she has not a moral right to her children, and a moral responsibility for their education and training.

WHERE IT LEADS THEM

Now it is impossible for women to fulfill this responsibility without a participation in the carrying on of public business—without in short, being in politics. How naturally the women of the land have come to a realization of their responsibility for their children's education, and therefore, in the present day and generation for the condition of the public schools, is well shown by the recent activities of the General Federation. The education committee of the Federation a few years back adopted a program of work which it recommended to all the clubs scattered throughout the country. The things recommended were as follows:

First, more school houses—Cleaner, better ventilated and better equipped school houses.

Second, more and better equipped play grounds, with supervised play.

Third, medical inspection and school nurses.

Fourth, physical training and the teaching of personal hygiene.

Fifth, the preparation of teachers in normal schools and state universities for the teaching of personal and sex hygiene.

You will note that these mothers of the Federated Clubs did not attempt to meddle with the professional side of the teaching job. They merely decided to do for their children in the public schools that which they were doing for the children in their own homes: to provide them a clean and healthful place in which to grow up. They had come to see that it was of no avail that their own homes should be spotless, their own gardens and play grounds beautiful; that these should be fit places in which a child or a flower might grow. But that it was further necessary that the school buildings and the school yards in which these same children were to spend very many years of their growing lives should also be clean and healthful, free from contagion physical or moral.

A MOTHER'S SPHERE

What does it profit a mother to have performed her duty within the limited sphere that used to be considered hers, within the four walls of her own home, if the child has gone out from that home into conditions to which he has succumbed? What does it profit her, when the child is brought home to her ill with diptheria or scarlet fever, or some of the many diseases to which childhood is subject—what does it profit her when he lies dead before her, or when he is brought back to her contaminated in body and soul, that she has done her duty as men saw it, or as a former generation conceived it? Does she not know then that her sphere did not end at her own front door, or her own front gate? Does she not know that it followed her child wherever her child went—into the school, into the town, into the state? And that so long as there remained in the community where his lot was cast one foul spot, one evil condition which she had done nothing to remedy, and because of this he had returned to her broken and degenerate, does she not know that she had failed to fulfill her mother's task?

No mother can fulfill her task, no father can fulfill his, who watches and guides and tries to influence the child within the home alone. In order really to protect him, in order really to influence him it is necessary that father and mother both should bear their proper part in the management of the schools, in the city housekeeping moral and physical, and in all that great public business on which, as I have said, private life in the present day absolutely depends.

THE BEST TOOL NEEDED

No mother can do this thing unless she is armed with the instrument men have found necessary in their attempts to do it, namely with the ballot. Nor will any woman lose her direct influence by gaining this direct power, any more than a man when he casts a ballot loses such influence as he has in addition as brother, father, friend, neighbor or public spirited citizen.

As the mothers of our land come to realize in the carrying out of their natural and womanly tasks, as for instance in the education and training of children, how necessary this direct influence is to enable them to carry them out properly; above all, how necessary it is when they, with the divine courage that perhaps is vouchsafed to mothers alone, are heroically facing the sex problem, the social evil as it is called, that last great dragon that stands in the way of civilization—When they fully realize these things, they will undoubtedly realize also that they must have every aid and advantage that men have had, that they must be armed with every weapon that men have found necessary with which to fight the battles of civilization.

Christiania, a plot hatched before I set foot on German soil and, moreover, planned in a country in which I had every right to stay; a plot the execution of which was attempted by the basest treachery and corruption. You will not find that justification in the numerous conversations which Mr. Findlay at his own request had with my faithful servant in November and December last year. The correspondence between them, written in a cipher arranged by the Minister, speaks for itself.

These conversations have revealed matters which I am going to publish later on. But you are well informed of all that happened on these occasions between your representative and mine, as you always kept the wires in your hands during the negotiations. Your aim was, as Mr. Findlay admitted openly to the man whom he imagined he had bought, to send me out of this world by the vilest means. My aim is to reveal your schemes to all the world and that with the assistance of the agent, whom you chose for your purposes yourself and whom you have attempted to bribe to commit a crime of rare baseness.

The stories which were told to Mr. Findlay during those interviews would hardly have deceived a schoolboy. All the supposed proofs of my plans and intentions which Adler Christensen presented, the pretended letters, the fictitious land and naval maps and all other baits which were to make Mr. Findlay believe in the yarns which in themselves were unbelievable I had to fabricate for my self-defense in order to reveal your criminal plot and lay hands on the irrefutable proof which I now possess.

Not before January 3 Mr. Findlay compromised himself so far that he gave my protector, in the name of the British Government and duly signed by himself, a formal assurance promising Christensen reward and immunity from the law for committing the planned crime. That document is in my hands. I have the honor to inclose a photograph of it.

I have now the honor, through you, sir, to place at the disposal of that government the insignia of the Noble Order of St. Michael and St. George, the coronation medal of H. M. King George V., as well as all other medals, honors and distinctions which H. M.'s Government has bestowed on me and which I feel justified in casting aside.

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

ROGER CASEMENT.

Additional copies of this reprint from the NEW YORK AMERICAN will be sent on receipt of 2c. per copy in stamps.

GERMAN INFORMATION SERVICE,
30 East Forty-second Street,
New York, N. Y.

(From the NEW YORK AMERICAN, March 14, 1915)

GERMAN PAPER TELLS OF BRITISH PLOT TO KIDNAP SIR R. CASEMENT SURPASSING DIME NOVEL FICTION

VALET ASKED TO BETRAY HIM SAYS LETTER

Remarkable Document Alleged to Have Been Sent to Sir Edward Grey Accusing Minister to Norway of Trying to Bribe Servant.

THE following extraordinary—if not incredible—story told in which purports to be a signed letter by Sir Roger Casement, a former British subject now in hiding in Germany, to Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, is published in the Berliner Tageblatt.

The New York American cabled M. de C. Findlay, British Minister to Norway, on Thursday midnight, asking that any denial or explanation he desired to make should be cabled to the New York American at its expense. It also sent the substance of the German publication to the London office of the New York American to submit it to Sir Edward Grey.

No reply from Norway or London has been received up to the hour of going to press.

Berlin, Feb. 1, 1915.

To the Right Hon. Sir Edward Grey, Baronet, K. G., M. P., London:

Sir—I learn that in the House of Lords a question was asked as to my pension, which I had already renounced of my own will when I went to Germany in order to inform myself about the intentions of the German Government as regards Ireland. As far as I know the Earl of Crewe remarked in the course of the debate that "Sir Roger Casement's course of action ought to be punished severely." It seems appropriate, once for all, to clear up the question thus raised, how my action and the publicly advocated punishment is to be judged. A discussion is all the more appropriate because at last I have unmistakable proof in my hands of the nature of the punishment which you, sir, secretly intended to mete out to me.

I admit that I was informed about your intentions from the very day when I first set foot on Norwegian soil three months ago. But it was some time before I could induce your diplomatic agent in Norway to furnish documentary proof of the intrigue which the Government of His Britannic Majesty schemed against me.

EXPLAINS HIS COURSE OF ACTION.

First of all, you will allow me briefly to explain my personal course of action before I pass on to contrasting it to your own. As you well know, the question of pension, remuneration or decoration was never involved in my dealings with the British Government. I have served the British Government loyally and faithfully as long as I could; when I could do so no longer I sent in my resignation. And when I found it impossible honorably to use the pension which I could legally claim, I renounced it just as voluntarily as I renounced the post by reason of which I drew it, and as I now divest myself of all honors and distinctions which H. M.'s Government has bestowed on me at various times.

Last year, in the month of October, I returned from America to Europe, being anxious that my homeland — Ireland — should suffer as little as possible from the unhappy effects of this war, whatever its final issue might be. I have made my standpoint sufficiently clear in an open letter, dated New York, Sept. 17, which I sent over to Ireland that it might be distributed among my countrymen. I beg to inclose a printed copy of that letter, which represents my point of view exactly and which puts forth my opinions, which I hold now as I did then, about the duties which an Irishman owes to his mother country in this world crisis. Shortly after drawing up that letter I left for Europe.

The chance of protecting Ireland against some of the evils of the present war was worth to me not only the loss of all external honors and of my pension, but was even worth the trouble of committing "high treason" in the technical sense of that term. But while I had anticipated the personal risk I should have to bear, and any punishment with which the law might threaten my course of action, I had not anticipated that a trap would be set for me by means transgressing what is legally permitted as far as immoral and reprehensible motives are absent from my course of action. In other words, when I reckoned with English justice and the punishment which law

imposes, and willingly sacrificed name and fame, position and income as the price to be paid, I had not reckoned with the present British Government.

I was prepared to face charges before a competent court of law, but I did not expect that I was to be entrapped and abducted by force, that my companions were to be bribed and that I was to be knocked down; in short, I was not prepared for the measures to which your representative in a neutral country resorted when he heard of my presence in that country.

For all these things, and even more, are comprised in the criminal plot which Mr. M. de C. Findlay, Minister of His Britannic Majesty at the Norwegian Court, planned with Adler Christensen, a Norwegian subject, at the British Legation on October 30 last year. The plot not only involved an illegal assault on my person, for the execution of which the British Minister in Norway promised my valet Christensen £5,000, but it also comprised a violation of international and common law, for which the British Minister in Norway guaranteed the Norwegian subject full immunity.

Coming from America I arrived at Christiania on October 29 last year. A few hours after my landing a secret agent of the British Minister came up to the man whom I had taken into my employ, and in whom I placed absolute trust, and conveyed him in a private motor car to the British Legation, where the first attempt was made to seduce him to foully betray me. On that same afternoon your agent at the legation pretended not to know me and acted as if he merely wished to inform himself about my identity and plans. When that first attempt did not bring about the desired result Adler Christensen was again solicited by another agent on the following day, October 30, and was invited to come to the British Legation "where he might hear something to his advantage."

This second interview, in the morning of October 30, was one with the Minister himself. Mr. Findlay came straight to the point. The pretended, or possibly real, ignorance of my identity shown on the previous day was dropped. Findlay admitted that he knew me, but he said to Christensen that he did not know where I was about to go, what I intended to do, and what my real aims might be. It was enough for him that I was an Irish Nationalist. He admitted that the British Government had no proof in hand that I had done any wrong or that I was planning some wrong which might give them a moral or legal right to interfere with my freedom of movement. Yet he was determined to do this.

Bold-faced and without any hesitation, he therefore resorted to illegal means and gave my valet to understand that I had to "disappear," adding that he who would attend to that could do a fine business! He laid stress on the fact that no harm could possibly come to him who did the business since nobody in Christiania knew of my presence except the British Government, and that Government would protect and look after those who had accomplished my disappearance. He openly stated the means which he thought suitable by assuring Adler Christensen that the man who "knocked him on the head" need worry about work any longer in all his life.

By way of practical application of that moral precept Findlay then asked Christensen, "I suppose you would have no objection if you need slave no longer for the rest of your life?"

My faithful servant concealed the anger which he felt at that vile insinuation and continued the conversation in order to find out further details about the plot which was to be hatched against my life. He barely remarked to Findlay that I had not only always been very good to him but "trusted in him blindly."

ERECTED SCHEME IN BLIND CONFIDENCE.

It was that blind confidence on which Mr. Findlay erected his scheme which was directed against my life and liberty—a scheme which was to violate the public law of Norway and to destroy the happiness of the young man whom Findlay, by immense bribes, tried to induce to commit a cowardly crime against his avowed benefactor.

"If I were captured or disappeared not a soul would know it and ask about it, since no Government except the British had knowledge of my presence in Norway, and since I had no means of appealing to any authority for help. But the British Government would protect the persons implicated in that affair and would liberally provide for their future."

This, in Findlay's own words, taken down in very careful notes, was the proposal which H. B. M.'s Minister made to the young man enticed to the legation for this particular purpose. The fact that that man remained faithful to me and did not offend against the laws of his country remains a triumph of Norwegian honesty against all mean bribery of the wealthiest and mightiest government of the world, which was to tempt him to betray his master and trespass against the law.

After thus displaying his plan in general Findlay advised Christensen: "Think it over and come back at 3 o'clock if you have a mind to tackle the thing." He gave him twenty-five crowns in Norwegian money, "only for your taxi fare," and then dismissed him.

As I, of course, had a great interest in these offers and wanted to know what was to be done with me I directed the man whom the British Government wished to bribe in this manner to return to the British Legation and seemingly comply with the wishes of your "extraordinary" Minister. But in order to give the whole affair a greater semblance of probability I advised him to "sell me dearly," and to secure an unusually large sum for such an unusually foul deed. Formerly Christensen had been a sailor and had come across many a tough customer. He assured me he had had no difficulty in finding the right tone before the representative of His Britannic Majesty.

ENTERED INTO PLANS OF BRITISH MINISTER.

He returned at 3 o'clock to the legation and had about a two hours' conversation with Mr. Findlay until about 5 o'clock. The precise record of the conversation will be submitted for your inspection and that of other competent authorities at a fitting moment. My servant acted as if he entered into the plans of the British Minister, and only demanded a considerable sum of money as recompense for his treason. Mr. Findlay promised Christensen, upon his "word of honor" (he used that singular phrase in order to insure confidence in a matter of such kind), £5,000 if he should succeed in playing me into the hands of the English authorities. Should something happen to me in this violent abduction or should I otherwise come to grief he would see to it that any future investigation would be hushed up and that the abductor would go free without fear of punishment.

My companion pointed out that he would at present have no opportunity to carry out this commission, as I intended to leave for Copenhagen that very evening and my place in the train had already been reserved. Mr. Findlay then agreed that the scheme would have to be postponed until a favorable opportunity would present itself to lure me somewhere at the Skagerack or the North Sea coast, where British men-of-war would be lying in wait to take hold of me.

He gave my servant the further commission to steal my correspondence with my accomplices in America and Ireland, particularly in Ireland, so that the same "severe punishment" that was to be meted out to me could be imposed on them. He agreed with Christensen about a secret code and noted down for him a "covered address" in Christiania to which he was to communicate the results of his observations, send the stolen papers and reports of my plans. This address in Christiania results of his observations, send of the legation's correspondence paper in typed letters.

EARNEST MONEY, WITH MORE TO FOLLOW.

This precaution was necessary, so he said, "in order to prevent the identification of the handwriting." This document, as well as 100 Norwegian crowns in paper money, which Mr. Findlay handed over to Christensen as earnest money, and to which more was to follow, was handed to me by Christensen, who described in detail to me what had happened. As, to go by that, I was without doubt in danger, I changed my plans and decided, instead of journeying to Copenhagen, as I intended, to take another route. I then left Christiania on the 30th of October, as I should like to point out, in full knowledge of the criminal plot which by your representative in Norway was planned against me, while he had no idea that I had any knowledge thereof.

The rest of the story is soon told.

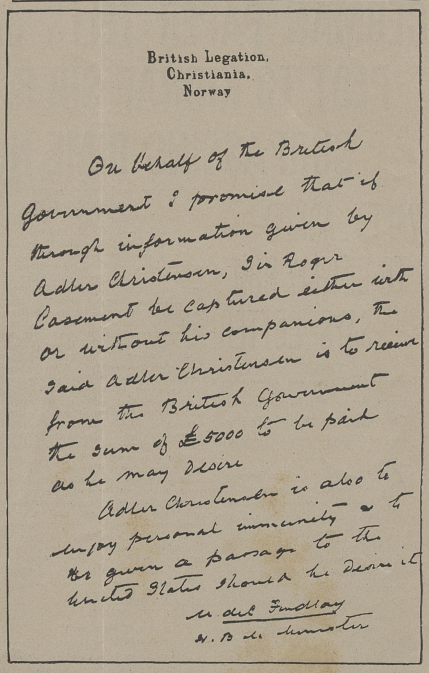
I know that you are familiar with all details because you were constantly communicating about the matter by mail as well as telegraph with your agent. You are also acquainted with the declaration which the Imperial German Government has published on November 20, 1914, in reply to an inquiry made by me.

The British Government, by press news, as well as by special agents, had spread all over Ireland that the Germans were committing the most atrocious crimes in Belgium, and had told the Irish populace that they would encounter a similar fate if Germany came out victorious from the war. It was the intention of your government, to scare the Irish into a practical assault on a people who had never harmed them, and by false accusations to make them believe that it was their duty.

ASKS FOR JUSTIFICATION FOR CRIMINAL PLOT.

This declaration of the German Government, which, as I know, was made in all good faith, is the justification of my "high treason." I leave it to you, sir, to find the justification for the criminal plot of the British Government and its Minister at

Fac-simile of what purports to be agreement signed by the British Minister to Norway.



British Legation.
Christiania.
Norway

On behalf of the British Government I promised that if through information given by Adler Christensen, I in Roger Casement be captured either with or without his companions, the said Adler Christensen is to receive from the British Government the sum of £5000 to be paid as he may desire

Adler Christensen is also to enjoy personal immunity — & to be given a passage to the United States should he desire it

M de C Findlay
H. B. M. Minister

United States Elections Bill

A measure to secure to women the right to vote for United States Senators and Representatives by Congressional legislation endorsed by the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference and the National American Woman Suffrage Association in their conventions of 1915. In advocacy of it Miss Laura Clay, of Kentucky, said in substance:

A United States Elections Bill would be essentially like this in form:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled: That women who are citizens of the United States and possess the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislatures of the states wherein they reside, shall be eligible to register and vote in all states of the Union in all elections for members of the House of Representatives and for Senators of the United States.

The argument is that in the Preamble and Article I, Section 2, of the Federal Constitution there is sufficient evidence that the Constitution includes women as an organic component part of "the People" upon whom it confers the power to choose Representatives and Senators; and that Congress can protect women in this right by appropriate legislation as it can protect all other rights created by and dependent upon the Constitution.

The Preamble declares: We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

In the sentence: We, the People of the United States, in order * * * to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and OUR POSTERITY, we find there is implied in "the People" a descriptive attribute which is explanatory of the intended application of the word. There is an unavoidable implication that it means a community possessing within itself the potentiality of producing posterity and continuing the existence of the nation, and therefore consisting of two sexes. This organic duality of sex is not similar to the fact that nations may and do consist of citizens of different races and colors. Whilst this is a fact, it is clearly not indispensable to the existence of a nation that its citizens should be thus diversified. Therefore, an argument that it required an amendment to the Constitution to insure the exercise of suffrage to the resident races in the United States does not controvert the contention that women's right to vote for Representatives in Congress (and since Amendment XVII, for Senators) may be enforced by simple Congressional legislation. The dependence for National existence upon

two sexes in "the People" has no parallel in races or colors. It cannot be supposed that this fundamental truth was not in the mind of the framers of the Constitution when they chose a phrase necessarily requiring two sexes.

This duality of sex, then, is a descriptive characteristic of "the People" designated and must be considered an essential element in its definition wherever the term is employed in the instrument.

This interpretation is so entirely according to reason and the nature of things that it would seem it is not needed to be proved. Yet controversy centers exactly around the question whether duality of sex shall be considered an organic and required diversity in "the People" when used in the Constitution or whether sex may be designated as a qualification on one side and a disability on the other for receiving powers conferred by the Constitution upon "the People."

The next time the term "the People" is used is in the first clause of Sec. 2, Art. I, providing for the election of the House of Representatives. Originally, the Constitution gave to the Legislatures of the States the power to provide for the election of Senators; but Amendment XVII gives the election of Senators to "the People," with provisions the same as those for electing Representatives, so that since its adoption this clause is equally applicable to both elections for the purposes of this contention.

The first clause of Sec. 2, Art. I, is: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the People of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures."

Because this clause adopts for United States electors for members of Congress the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures, and because many of the states limit the right to suffrage to *male* citizens, it is argued by opponents that sex can be made a qualification for electors for members of Congress. But the right of voting for United States Representatives and Senators is derived from the Federal Constitution and not from the states. The states in prescribing the qualifications of voters for their own most numerous branch of the legislature do not do this with reference to the electors for members of Congress. They define what persons are to vote for the popular branch of their own legislatures and the Constitution of the United States adopts merely the qualifications of those persons as the qualifications of its own electors for members of Congress. For it is evident that since duality of sex is an essential and descriptive characteristic of "the People" upon whom the Constitution confers the power of choosing members of Congress, the adoption by the Constitution of qualifications prescribed by the several states for their own state electors does not include an extension to the states of the power to alter the intent of the word "People" as the term is used in the Constitution and to limit to citizens of one sex a right which the Constitution gave to a "People" of two sexes which possesses the potentiality for continuing the existence of the nation.

As a matter of fact, most of the states, if not all of them, do not attempt to deny that duality of sex is necessary in the meaning of the word "People" when used in constitutions; nor do they expressly deny

the right of suffrage to women; but as it is obvious that women equally with men should possess certain qualifications, such as age, residence, etc., for voting, they avoid the issue of the right of women to vote by prescribing qualifications for male citizens only; and the female citizens are disfranchised by the negative process of not providing qualifications for them.

But in our contention it matters not even if state constitutions may by their phraseology make sex a qualification; their phraseology does not affect that of the Federal Constitution nor alter the meaning of the word "People" as used in it. Their definitions apply to state suffrage only, and not to Federal Suffrage as granted by the Federal Constitution. State constitutions may have to be amended to qualify women for state suffrage; the Federal Constitution does not require to be amended to qualify them to vote for United States Representatives and Senators. It only requires Congress to exercise its powers to provide by law for the protection of women citizens of the United States in a Federal right conferred upon them by the Federal Constitution. We ask that Congress shall afford women this protection by itself providing qualifications for women to vote for members of Congress by adopting for women as well as men the qualifications prescribed by the several states for the electors of their most numerous branch of the legislature, though some of the states apply those qualifications only to men.

The first clause of Amendment XIV. gives definitions of citizenship of the United States and citizenship of a state which are very helpful to keep in mind, in discussing this bill. The clause says: "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."

The Supreme Court in its Cruikshank decision has said: "We have in our political system a government of the United States and a government of the several states. Each one of these is distinct from the others, and has citizens of its own who owe it allegiance, and whose rights within its jurisdiction it must protect. The same person may be at the same time a citizen of the United States and a citizen of a state; but his rights of citizenship under one of these governments will be different from those he has under the other."

And further: "In the formation of a government the people may confer upon it such powers as they choose. The government when so formed may, and when called upon, should, exercise all the powers it has for the protection of the rights of its citizens and the people within its jurisdiction, but it can exercise no other."

It is evident from these definitions and comments that it is as citizens of the United States that we appeal to Congress and that we call upon it to exercise its powers for the protection of our rights as citizens of the United States and not as citizens of the several states. At one and the same time we make it clear that we are in no way interfering with any right of the states, and we refute the objection which has been so much urged that we should look for relief from our disabilities to vote only to the states, and not at all to the United States.

The fact that Congress has not exercised this power is neither an argument against its having the power nor a forfeiture of it. There

are many instances in Congressional history where Congress has not for many years exercised power belonging to it either through deference to state action or because there seemed to be no need of overruling state laws. Two instances may suffice as examples. One is, that up to 1842 some states elected Representatives in Congress by what was called a general ticket, that is each voter cast as many votes as his state was entitled to representatives. But chiefly because it was seen that this method gave undue representation to the party which had a majority in the state, however small, Congress passed a law requiring the division of the states into Congressional districts of contiguous territory, and that each voter could cast a vote for but one member; thus in a measure actually taking away a part of the suffrage the state had given a voter. We see remnants of this general ticket in elections directly after the taking of a new census, when the state has its representation increased, and before the state is re-districted. Again, up to 1872 each state appointed its own date for the election of Representatives and Presidential electors; but in 1872 Congress exercised its power for what it conceived to be a better plan and passed the law that these officers should be uniformly elected in all the states on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November, the law going into effect in 1876. Most, if not all the states for their own convenience have adopted this day for their state elections; but the fact remains that on that day there is held a Federal election under Federal authority whenever one of these officers is elected. It would be in this Federal election that women would vote, if this Bill is passed. They could do so without disturbance of the present order, as is seen where women have partial suffrage, as in Kentucky, where the tickets for school elections, in which women vote, are printed on separate ballots, the women casting one ballot and the men two; or the school ballots may be printed for women only, while the men have other ballots with all the tickets on them.

This Bill does not interfere in the slightest degree with state or local government, and it does not give to the Federal Government any more power than it now possesses, which are the two things adverse to the doctrines of states rights.

[1915]


Each State 1000
August 13
WOMAN'S JOURNAL
AND
SUFFRAGE NEWS
BOSTON
IF YOU BELIEVE IN SUFFRAGE
USE YOUR SUFFRAGE PAPER

Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

A weekly paper devoted to the interests of Woman, to her educational, industrial, legal and political equality, and especially to her right of Suffrage.

Founded in 1870 by
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Editor-in-Chief
Alice Stone Blackwell

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The Big Four

By Agnes E. Ryan

From the up-to-date story of suffrage progress it is apparent that the woman's movement in America is approaching the high water mark. This is conclusively shown by the campaigns under way in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey this year, and in those already launched for 1916 in Iowa, West Virginia and South Dakota. From one glance backward and another forward it is demonstrated that equal suffrage is coming fast.

To those who see the movement whole it is clear that the time to strike a decisive blow and really put equal suffrage over the line is at hand. Can it be done? How can it be done? Shall we all pull together to do it?

The great combination necessary for success in each state is what we shall call The Big Four—Efficient Suffragists, Money, Working Equipment, and Enthusiasm.

Is there a way by which each state can command The Big Four? We think so. In other words, we offer The Big Four to the states.

I. Equipment

We will present to each State Association which joins in our plan a Traveling Kampaign Kit consisting of:

1. Outlines on

Press Work and Publicity.

Speeches and Speakers Bureau.

Programs, Meetings, and Debates.

2. Collected Answers to Antis.

3. Telling Facts and Figures Convincingly Arranged.

4. Leaflets on

How to Organize.

How to Raise Money.

5. A book of value to Suffrage Workers.

6. A Set of Attractive Posters.

7. A Set of the Best Suffrage Literature.

8. A Bound Volume of The Woman's Journal and Suffrage News.

9. A large, New-Style Suffrage Map.

10. Twenty-five Six Month Subscriptions to The Woman's Journal and Suffrage News to be distributed among Newspapers, Libraries, Colleges, Ministers, Legislators or others selected by each State Association.

As a token of our faith that each association will give us its full co-operation. the Kampaign Kit will be presented to your State Association in order that the suffragists may

have the use of it even before they have won it.

It is designed that the Kampaign Kit shall benefit the whole state, and to this end we plan that each State Association shall have the use of it for a few weeks and then circulate it among its local leagues.

II. Money

Suffragists need money. Money is wanted at every turn. "Money" describes the big chasm that yawns continually between opportunity to win and accomplishment. How many opportunities are lost because the treasury is empty! The Woman's Journal offers $300 to every State Association which joins The Big Four Campaign.

The plan is to ask each State Association to get one thousand (1000) new subscriptions to the Woman's Journal and Suffrage News by August 13. The subscriptions are to be $1 each. Thirty cents out of every dollar for a subscription is to be retained by the Association obtaining the subscription. The remaining seventy cents should be forwarded to the Woman's Journal office with name and address of the new subscriber. Each State Association will have definite, efficient, prompt help in getting its 1000 subscriptions and winning its $300.

To win the $300 and the Traveling Kampaign Kit it will be the part of each State

Association to give the plan definite, hearty co-operation.

1. By spreading the news of the plan broadcast.

2. By showing their faith in The Woman's Journal and Suffrage News as a means of propaganda.

3. By setting in motion all of your State Association machinery in behalf of the plan at once.

Remember that we are printing the news from all the states now and that The Journal is more valuable than ever in its history. It is out to win full suffrage soon.

III. Efficient Suffragists

Discriminating suffragists from practically every state in the Union are united on one thing at least besides wanting full enfranchisement: They wish The Woman's Journal and Suffrage News could be put into the hands of every woman and man in their state. (We receive hosts of letters in which this is the burden.) It takes only a moment's reflection to realize the educational returns obtainable from having one thousand additional Journals read each week in your state.

Besides the benefit each state will receive from the publicity of this campaign, one thousand people in the state will become efficient suffragists by reading The Woman's Journal

and Suffrage News and having at hand the necessary information for efficient converting —whether by conversation with neighbors, by letters to the papers, or to friends, by speeches or by campaigning.

Will you join our plan to make 1000 additional efficient suffragists in your state? As a worker, you can see it will pay!

IV. Enthusiasm

Enthusiasm for a great ideal is the characteristic of suffrage workers the world over. The movement is built on it. Enthusiasm is the last but by no means the least of The Big Four. Victory, in the last analysis, is dependent on it. How much enthusiasm have we?

"Each State 1000 subscriptions by August 13." That is our slogan. Why? August 13 is the ninety-seventh anniversary of the birth of Lucy Stone.

We want to celebrate this anniversary this year in a way that will do the best possible honor through service to the woman who means so much to the suffrage cause through The Woman's Journal.

Busy suffragists, however, cannot spend time and energy merely to celebrate. Everything they do must count large toward winning suffrage. Any widespread celebration by suffragists must be such as will help win!

No one who has the welfare of her state at heart can fail to realize the advantage of this plan. It presents to suffrage organizations a means of making money. It furnishes equipment. It makes efficient workers. It stirs enthusiasm. And equipment, money, efficient workers, enthusiasm are essential to victory.

Shall we celebrate on the Big Four Plan?

Are We Asking Too Much?

Do you think that in asking each state to co-operate with us and obtain 1000 new subscriptions for The Journal we are expecting altogether too much?

When suffrage was in its cradle days, Lucy Stone (later to be the founder of The Woman's Journal) travelled alone through a large part of the country speaking for Equal Rights. The obstacles and indignities she encountered are almost beyond belief. Notices, tacked up by her own hands, were immediately torn down. Mobs, disgusted that a woman should presume to raise her voice in public, hooted derisively and frequently pelted her, once even with hymn books. One night she was deluged with ice-cold water; undaunted, she put on her shawl and continued speaking.

Today our workers have motors for use in their campaign tours. They speak to good-natured, respectful audiences. They enjoy

the comradeship of many co-workers, and the diversions of suffrage bazars, lectures, teas, and banquets. Most important of all they work with the stimulus of success in the air!

Compared with Lucy Stone's task how easy and agreeable our work is. It would have been a joy for her to be one of several hundred suffragists in each state to work among friends, neighbors, and fellow-suffragists for four or five subscriptions.

No, we do not think The Journal is asking too much. If our women of to-day have the belief and loyalty of the pioneers—and they have proved many times they have—we are asking too little.

The First Response

Galveston Equal Suffrage Association

Galveston, Texas,

March 30, 1915

Miss Agnes E. Ryan,
The Woman's Journal.

My dear Miss Ryan:

I have just read "A Woman's Journal Story" in the Journal of the 27th. Won't you please send me details of the plan? It is possible that Galveston [alone] can undertake to get a thousand new subscribers to the Journal.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Minnie Fisher Cunningham,
(Pres.)

Directions

For Getting Subscriptions For The Woman's Journal

1. Consider every suffragist a possible subscriber. Call attention to the fact that the Journal is a weekly and costs less than two cents per week. If any one says she cannot afford a year's subscription, tell her she can get a six months' or a four months' subscription. If any one says that she has not the money with her, say that you will take the order for the paper and have it sent with the bill as a reminder, and that she can thus send the money from home. Give a blank and a sample copy to any one who is not willing to subscribe on the spot.

2. Take advantage of every suffrage meeting to get subscriptions as follows:

(a). Explain from the platform about The Big Four and The Kampaign Kit.

(b). Make it clear that every suffragist needs The Woman's Journal, and that you will take an order from any one who wishes to subscribe.

(c). Ask all who do not subscribe to raise their hands. Ask them to see you at the door after the meeting.

(d). Do not let any one leave the meet-

ing without having had an invitation to subscribe.

(e). If the meeting promises to be a large one, so that you can not take all of the subscriptions alone, arrange to have as many helpers as you need.

3. The price of The Journal is $1.00 per year, 50c. for six months, 25c. for four months on trial. Two 50c. subscriptions or four 25c. trial subscriptions count as one yearly subscription. Renewals do not count in this plan.

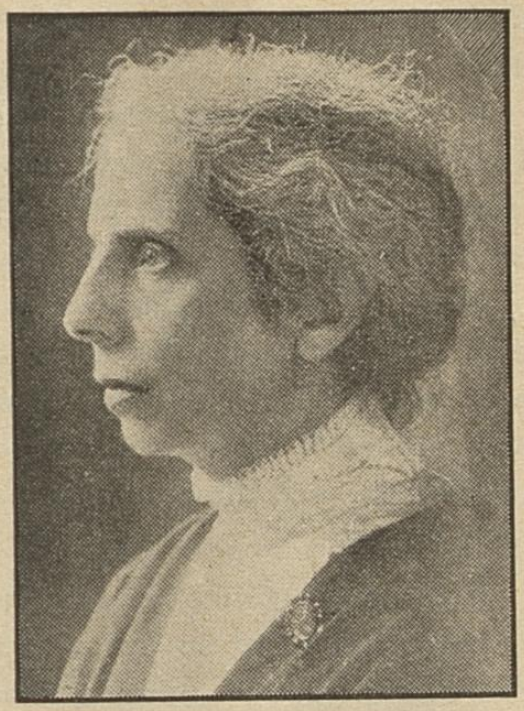
4. Each subscription blank must bear the name of the State Association for which you are working, in order that each subscription may go to your State Association's credit.

5. Keep 30c. out of every dollar for your local treasury. Send 70c. with each subscription order. Money should be sent by check, money order, or express order.

6. Subscriptions should be sent in every week, so that the subscriber may not be kept waiting for her paper.

7. We shall be glad to have you write at once about any thing that is not clear.

8. Order blanks, receipt blanks and sample copies will be furnished to all workers. Remember you do not have to get one hundred subscriptions or twenty-five or six in order to be counted a worker. If you send one or two, you will be on our Roll of Honor.



Alice Stone Blackwell

Ten Questions

A characteristic editorial by
Miss Blackwell

1. If equal suffrage is a bad thing why has it spread from the State that first adopted it to ten neighboring States, all adjoining one another?

2. If the majority of the people anywhere are dissatisfied with it, why is there no move to repeal it?

3. If it leads mothers to neglect their children, why is the lowest infant death rate in the world found in New Zealand?

4. If it increases divorce, why did Colorado grant 935 divorces the year before

women were given the ballot and only 597 the year after?

5. If it is demoralizing, why did only 62 out of 624 ministers and editors in the suffrage States replying to Julia Ward Howe's letter of inquiry give an unfavorable opinion?

6. If the majority of women are opposed, why have only about one per cent. of the women in the United States joined the widely-advertised National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, according to that association's own figures?

7. If the majority of women are opposed in Massachusetts, where an active Anti-Suffrage Association has been gethering signatures of women against suffrage ever since 1895, why has it succeeded in twenty years in accumulating the names of only about three per cent. of the women of the State?

8. Among the millions of citizens in the enfranchised States, why have the opponents of equal suffrage thus far failed to find a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results?

9. From the largest Chamber of Commerce to the smallest sewing circle, why has no organization of any kind in a Suffrage State ever passed a resolution condemning it?

10. Unless most people like it after they have experience of it, why do opponents warn us that, once granted, it can never be recalled?


Woman's Journal
And Suffrage News
NATION-WIDE AMENDMENT PUTS HOUSE ON RECORD
THE COMET
NATION-WIDE SUFFRAGE
Woman's Journal
And Suffrage News
WAR
Woman's Journal
And Suffrage News
OREGON'S WOMAN SENATOR
CHICAGO AND A PRIMARY

A Suffrage Allegory

Mr. Voter. Huh! I see Nevada, one of your suffrage States, just passed that "easy divorce" bill.

Just a Suffragist. Oh dear! Why DID they do it?

Efficient Suffragist. Because the Nevada Legislature was elected entirely by men.

Mr. Voter. (complacently). Oh, well, it would have passed all the same if the women HAD voted.

Efficient Suffragist. Indeed it wouldn't. In Wyoming where women helped elect the legislators and had a woman representative, a similar bill was defeated!

Mr. Voter. (startled). You don't say?

Efficient Suffragist. After that can you very well claim women won't use the ballot effectively?

Mr. Voter. Looks as though they might.

Efficient Suffragist. Then will you vote for Equal Suffrage in this State?

Mr. Voter. Sure, I will. I always thought women ought to vote anyway. (Exit Mr. Voter.)

Just a Suffragist. Splendid! You've made a convert. But how did you know about those divorce bills?

Efficient Suffragist. I read the Woman's Journal every week.

Moral—It Pays to Be an Efficient Suffragist.

c1115]

GETTING SUFFRAGE BY A FEDERAL AMENDMENT

A Discussion of the Various Federal Amendments*

A: The Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

B: The Shafroth Amendment.

C: Amendment Enfranchising the Women of the District of Columbia.

In the early days of the suffrage movement, none of the leaders dreamed that it was possible to enfranchise women by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. They all believed, with the men, that the right to prescribe who should vote and who should not rested entirely with the individual States. And so their efforts were directed wholly toward eliminating the word "male" from the Constitution of the various States.

Then came the Civil War and the women devoted themselves to the immediate problems raised by that conflict. Immediately after the war, when the friends of the negro were moving heaven and earth to secure him his political rights, the women were somewhat staggered to discover that one of the proposed amendments to the Federal Constitution—the Fourteenth—was intended to have the word "male" inserted in it. Up to this time the word "male" had never appeared in the Federal Constitution. The women instantly realized that a door was closing in their faces, and from 1865 to 1868 they fought to keep it open but without avail. When the Amendment was adopted in 1868, with the word "male" still in it, most of them realized for the first time that the humanitarian enthusiasm, the talk about "equality" and "rights," which had carried the country along for decades, did not include women.

In 1869, Francis Minor, a leading attorney of St. Louis and an ardent suffragist, advanced the argument that the very Amendment which had so disheartened the women really contained their Magna Charta. He insisted that it enfranchised women as well as colored men. His argument is too involved to be re-stated here, but it is sufficient to say that it interested many lawyers and that from 1869 to 1875—when the Supreme Court, in Minor *v.* Happersett, turned down Mr. Minor's construction of the law—the women devoted themselves to securing from Congress what they called a Declaratory Act, which would permit women to vote under the Fourteenth Amendment. When this course failed them, Miss Susan B. Anthony drafted in 1875 an amendment—which has always borne her name—designed to enfranchise the women of the country.

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT.

A: This resolution was introduced into Congress in 1878. In construction it follows closely the Fifteenth Amendment, and when it shall be adopted it will fully enfranchise all adult American women. It reads as follows:

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.

There are two ways in which the Constitution of the United States may be amended:

FIRST: Congress may, by a two-thirds vote of both branches (Senate and House) submit a resolution to the Legislatures of the several States, which, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States (by a majority vote of both branches) becomes a part of the Constitution.

SECOND: Congress shall, upon application of two-thirds of the Legislatures of the various States, call a Convention for proposing Amendments, and when three-fourths of the States shall ratify such amendments, the same becomes a portion of the Constitution.

Two phrases in this outline need defining:

1. Two-thirds of the vote of Congress means two-thirds of those present and voting, providing such number is not less than a quorum.

2. A majority vote in the State Legislatures means a majority of those present and voting, providing such number is not less than a quorum.

Returning to the first-named method we are confronted with a serious constitutional question:

Suppose Congress passed the Susan B. Anthony resolution, how long would the amendment stay submitted? Does it remain submitted forever? If voted on adversely at any session of a State Legislature, is it barred from further consideration in that State unless re-submitted by Congress?

The Constitution itself is silent on this point, and there is no precedent. For although seventeen amendments have been adopted, in no instance has over three years elapsed between the submission by Congress and ratification by the necessary number of Legislatures.

The argument looks two ways: It is argued by many that the Constitution itself places no limit on the time for ratification, and that it must remain submitted until three-fourths of the States take favorable action upon it, whether it be two years or two hundred.

Others contend that such construction would be clearly outside the spirit of the law created by the Constitution itself; that the right given to a State, to ratify through their Legislature a Federal Amendment gives them equally the right to reject the same either by legislative vote or failure or refusal to act at all, otherwise this right in the people to act in the matter of amending the United States Constitution might for practical purposes be abridged; that Congress could dictate to the States by submitting amendments which the States could not reject, and which after long years of submission might be forced upon them, largely by the action of generations dead and gone.

In its last analysis, the Supreme Court of the United States would make the decision.

*The convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at Nashville directly instructed the National Board, through its Congressional Committee, to forward the bill known as the Federal Elections Bill. This is an important piece of proposed legislation, but is not included in this article because it does not come under the classification of Federal Amendments. It is a straight bill, which may be enacted by Congress upon a majority vote, and it does not need to be submitted to the State Legislatures. A separate analysis will be made of the Federal Elections Bill and published at a slightly later date.

Presidential Suffrage—meaning the right to vote for presidential electors—makes women a factor in national politics and tends indirectly to increase their power to push the Federal Amendments. But presidential suffrage is granted by the State Legislatures and so falls outside the limits of this article. It, too, will be discussed in a later issue of the News Letter.

On March 19, 1914, the Anthony resolution came to a vote in the Senate. Of the 69 votes cast, 35 were for and 34 against, 11 short of the necessary number with that attendance. Nine Senators were paired in favor of the amendment, bringing the indicated strength in the entire Senate to 44, or 20 votes short of the necessary number on the full Senate attendance of 96.

On January 12, 1915, the House of Representatives voted upon the resolution. Of 378 votes cast, 174 were favorable, 204 unfavorable. The amendment lost by 78 votes. Twelve favorable pairs were announced, bringing the indicated strength to 186. With all members voting (435), 290 votes were necessary to carry. The indicated strength showed us 104 votes short of the necessary number.

The results in both the Senate and the House show first of all that our strength lies in the suffrage States. This bears out the prediction made by Miss Anthony herself when she introduced her resolution into Congress and started vigorous State campaigns as a means toward its passage and adoption. It confirms the opinion of Anna Howard Shaw, of Carrie Chapman Catt and of many other suffrage leaders. *The States hold the key to the Federal gateway for suffrage. This gateway can be unlocked chiefly by women's votes.*

In the House, the vote from the non-suffrage States was 63% against, 37% for. The vote from the suffrage States was 13% against, 87% for. In the Senate, 18 out of the full vote of 44 (counting pairs and all) came from the ten suffrage States, which at that time had only twenty votes in the Senate. In other words 40% of our strength came from the handful of suffrage States. It was their vote, indeed, which gave the contest in the Senate political significance and removed it from the realm of the academic. *The women cast those eighteen votes*, and the Senate knew it.

—:o:—

The second thing to be noticed is the part played by the doctrine of States' Rights. In the 63d Congress the vote of the solid South was registered against the suffrage amendment, not on the ground that the South opposes suffrage as such, but because it believes in, stands by, and endorses the doctrine of States' Rights, particularly as it bears upon the electorate. States' Rights today, in its relation to suffrage, is in fact the race problem.

That the South is receding somewhat from its extreme stand on this doctrine is evidenced by the 72 affirmative votes for the Prohibition amendment, but our amendment to enfranchise all American women touches upon the make-up of the electorate, and upon that point the South seems determined to permit no dictation or direction from the central government. Opposition to enfranchising the black woman today appears to be no whit different from the opposition to enfranchising the negro man half a century ago, only now the opposition is coupled with power to control the situation.

When two or three Southern States have adopted suffrage and have found a way to solve the race problem to their own satisfaction, this particular opposition may melt away.

—o:—

But assuming that the Anthony amendment passes Congress, what will the State Legislatures do with it? The following is from the pen of one of the greatest authorities on suffrage:

"A Federal Amendment must be ratified by three-fourths of the States. . . .36 States must vote for and 12 may vote against. Ever since the civil war the South has clung tenaciously to the doctrines of State rights and has never endorsed anything in Congress which conflicts with that idea. The South may get away from that notion some time, but the agitation in that part of the country is many years behind that of the North, and there is not the ghost of a chance that the real Southern Legislatures will ratify an amendment even if submitted.

"Formerly the Southern group numbered fifteen. Take away Texas and Missouri as westernized, and Kentucky and Tennessee as northernized,* and consider these four as possible in the list of States to ratify our amendment, and there remain 11 iron-bound Southern States, which for a long time to come will not ratify. It follows then that the suffrage amendment when submitted, must be ratified by all the New England States, all the middle States, and by New York and Pennsylvania, one or both. Only *one State* outside the Southern group can go against the amendment and leave us a chance to win.

"No Legislature in New York nor in any other Eastern State has ever had more than one-third its members who genuinely believed in suffrage. In New York it has usually been about one-fourth. Submission of our question is merely throwing the responsibility on the voters, and most of our legislative members will use their influence to defeat it at the polls, whereas the ratification of a Federal Amendment means that the members must vote for suffrage *per se*. (Signed) CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT."

*In the 63d Congress one Senator from Texas and a solid delegation of 15 in the House voted against suffrage. From Kentucky both Senators and 8 of the 9 Congressmen voted against it.

THE SHAFROTH AMENDMENT.

B: Facing the States' Rights obstacle and accepting the judgment of nearly all candid observers that we need more suffrage States, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in February, 1915—after the Anthony amendment had failed of passage and was dead for the session—introduced into Congress the Shafroth resolution, announcing at the time that it was in no sense a substitute for the Anthony, but was a pathfinder, calculated to make possible the passage of the older and broader amendment.

The Shafroth amendment was designed for two purposes. It was designed to test the sincerity of those Congressmen who professed to be in favor of

suffrage but who hid behind the "States' Rights" doctrine. Here was a suffrage measure which left the question to the States.

The second and greater object was to hasten the securing of suffrage States until we get enough of them to cut the whole long process short by the passage and ratification of a Federal Amendment.

The text of the Shafroth resolution is as follows:

Whenever any number of legal voters of any State to a number exceeding 8 per centum of the number of legal voters voting at the last preceding general election held in such State shall petition for the submission to the legal voters of said State of the question whether women shall have equal rights with men in respect to voting at all elections to be held in such States, such question shall be so submitted, and if, upon such submission a majority of the legal voters of the State voting on the question shall vote in favor of granting to women such equal rights, the same shall thereupon be deemed established, anything in the Constitution or laws of such State to the contrary notwithstanding.

This means, briefly, that the women in a given State would be able to force the question of suffrage to a referendum of the voters whenever they wished and as often as they wished, regardless of the provisions of the State Constitution or the opposition of the Legislature or the politicians. Moreover, their amendment would need to poll only a majority of those voting on the question instead of, as at present in many States, a majority of all those voting at that election.

Let us analyze the situation.

To get suffrage a State must:

1. Procure the submission to the State electorate of a Constitutional Amendment.
2. Win the essential number of votes to insure its passage at the polls.

At this writing (June, 1915) 17 States have the initiative and referendum. Of these 9 already have adopted suffrage. Of the 8 remaining States, such law is declared inoperative in one (South Dakota) because of technical defects. In the 7 States that remain—Ohio, Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma, Maine, Arkansas and Michigan—the amendment may be referred to the voters, first, by the Legislature, second, by the signatures to an initiative petition.*

What Advantage Would the Shafroth be to the Women in a State?

With such a law, the women are no longer at the mercy of the Legislature. They can force a referendum when they please.

OHIO is a case in point, belonging to the most important group of States, with her politics largely affected by interests organized for a last-ditch fight against women. Her situation would be desperate indeed if the Legislature instead of the voters had to be relied upon to submit suffrage for popular decision, but with the initiative at her command the question may be kept continually at issue. She may go into a campaign whenever the time is auspicious. Her organization need never break down. She can finish one campaign, lose, and start another the next day. *The women in Ohio do not have to wait for a Legislature to tell them when.*

In 1912 Ohio men cast 249,420 votes for suffrage. In 1914 Ohio men cast 335,390 votes for suffrage, a gain of 85,970. Another campaign, two at the outside, and the work is done. Ohio women secured 131,271 names on their petition, the largest initiative petition ever circulated. Circulating a petition is the most effective campaigning a State can do. When a man signs a petition to submit a suffrage amendment he has declared for the cause. Ohio demonstrates the advantage of having suffragists and not politicians in control of the referendum situation.

—:o:—

Furthermore, politicians and corrupt influences are not the only difficulties to be overcome. Most State Constitutions have erected heart-breaking barriers and undemocratic restrictions and these the Shafroth circumvents.

By its provisions, the women need to poll only a majority of those voting on the question. That is a vast gain itself.

A number of States require that an amendment must be submitted by two successive Legislatures, as in NEW YORK, where the women struggled nearly 40 years to accomplish the task of passing the political ring that has controlled New York.

If the women win at the polls—and at this writing every day is strengthening the cause, every hour bringing fresh support—suffrage will be in the home stretch. If they lose to corruption and ignorance, it will be years before they can give the voters another chance, and the enormous impetus the cause has gained will be largely dissipated. Four years must elapse before, under the law, another amendment can be submitted, and six years if the women take time to draw breath. One unfavorable assembly may postpone its resubmission for years.

NEW JERSEY cannot under her Constitution resubmit an amendment to the voters for FIVE YEARS.

VERMONT can submit an amendment once in TEN YEARS. A small State, with less than a million people, she sends to her Legislature 276 members, and a very small group of women must at one short session, generally about eight weeks, reach a majority in the House and two-thirds in the Senate. Then they must come back the next session and convert a majority in both Houses. Vermont returns very few assemblymen. In the session just closed (1915) about 15 men from the former assembly were re-elected, and this is about the average of holdovers. So when the women have performed the almost incredible task of winning the necessary number in one Legislature, they find a new field of activity ready made for them the second time.

The NEW HAMPSHIRE Legislature cannot submit an amendment to the people at all, BUT ONCE IN SEVEN YEARS they may call a Constitutional Convention which may if it sees fit submit the question of suffrage to the voters. Then if two-thirds of the highest number of votes cast are favorable the matter is settled; if not, the people settle back for at least seven years longer.

ILLINOIS women have failed in 35 years of persistent, intelligent, well-organized endeavor to get

*It has been fully demonstrated that in those States where the people may initiate legislation the Legislatures are more responsive to the popular will than where such Legislatures have arbitrary and final power.

an amendment submitted because of constitutional barriers. Only ONE amendment may be submitted at each session of the Legislature, and that by two-thirds vote. There are always other amendments pressing. Further, if an amendment for full suffrage should pass the Illinois Legislature it must be *adopted* by a majority of the largest number of votes cast at the election.

NORTH DAKOTA has this burden to carry in the matter of adoption, otherwise her women would have been enfranchised in years gone by.

In NEW MEXICO the Legislature can submit by a THREE-FOURTHS vote only, and three-fourths of the voters in the State must adopt, and in addition to this two-thirds of all the voters in every county must be favorable. If all the counties in the State except one voted one hundred per cent. strong, and one county cast less than two-thirds for it, the amendment would be defeated.*

In every State a Governor may veto a resolution to submit an amendment. Governors have not failed to use this power against suffrage amendments. The last instance occurred two years ago in Wisconsin.

Has the Shafroth Amendment a chance for early passage in Congress?

We believe it has, because it avoids the objection raised upon States' Rights plus the race question. It does not take away from any State any right reposing in the State. It gives the people an added right—it enlarges their privileges. The Legislature is an agent of the people of the State, and no right is taken from it to act. If the voters do not care to circulate a petition, the Legislature may submit the question on its own motion.

The Shafroth resolution makes it possible for the States to govern in the matter of their electorate. It does not compel the people in any State to vote upon suffrage, but it gives them the right to do so when they are ready. Many Congressmen who are opposed to a National Amendment and who are not suffragists, are willing to vote for the people in their State to decide for themselves when they are ready, and very few have been found who would go on record against a measure enlarging the rights and privileges of the *electorate*. A Congressman voting for the Shafroth resolution is not giving his sanction to suffrage, but is sanctioning a means whereby the voters of his State may express their views.

Why Should the Shafroth Amendment be Ratified by State Legislatures?

Mrs. Catt has said: "No Eastern Legislature has ever had a majority of the membership that favored suffrage, nor would they vote for it *per se*," but they would be slow to deny to the male electorate an extension of their political privileges. There is a difference between that and conferring full political power upon women.

It has been questioned whether if this amendment should be adopted we would ever get the broader amendment—the Anthony. The answer is certain. When there is a sufficient number of States under the suffrage banner, nothing can stop the passage of the Anthony Amendment. Members of Congress and Senators from suffrage States will support it at all times, regardless of legislation that has gone before. State Legislatures where women vote will ratify suffrage legislation upon demand. WE MUST WIN MORE STATES!

*Delaware stands alone in that the voters have no voice in amending the State Constitution. The Legislature may amend at two successive sessions by a two-thirds vote.

FRANCHISE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The District of Columbia has never been a political division, like a State. As the recognized seat of government, its local affairs have been under the control of Congress, and today the District of Columbia is the only spot in the United States where political equality, enjoyed by men and women, has not come about through amendment of a State Constitution. The men and women in the District of Columbia are equal *because each has nothing by way of political power*.

A constitutional amendment to create of the District of Columbia a political division analagous to a State will be introduced into the next Congress by one of the leading organizations of the District of Columbia—an organization numbering something like 1,000 leading men citizens.

When a State is admitted to the Union it comes under the provisions of the Constitution that control and govern all States, but as the District of Columbia, at the time the Constitution was adopted, was excepted from these provisions, it is not now bound by them and the amendment that would create such a political division of the District of Columbia may include in its terms a provision for the electorate which could include women as well as men.

Upon the eve of the introduction of such a measure into Congress last winter, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, acting through the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the National Congressional Committee, waited upon the Society proposing such amendment with the request that the proposed amendment should be so drafted as to enfranchise the women as well as the men. Notice was served by the officers of the National Congressional Committee that if such resolution containing in its terms no recognition of women should be introduced, it would be opposed by this organization both within and without Congress.

While such enactment would affect a comparatively small number of people, there being a little less than half a million souls within the District, it would stand as a declaration on the part of our government for full equality between men and women, and although belated, it would be an announcement upon the part of such government that would disarm the opponents to suffrage, and would make the passage of a suffrage amendment in Congress easier.

There is no reason to doubt that the District of Columbia amendment will come prominently to the fore during the 64th Congress.*

*It is impossible to submit a draft of this proposal, the text of the same not being available.

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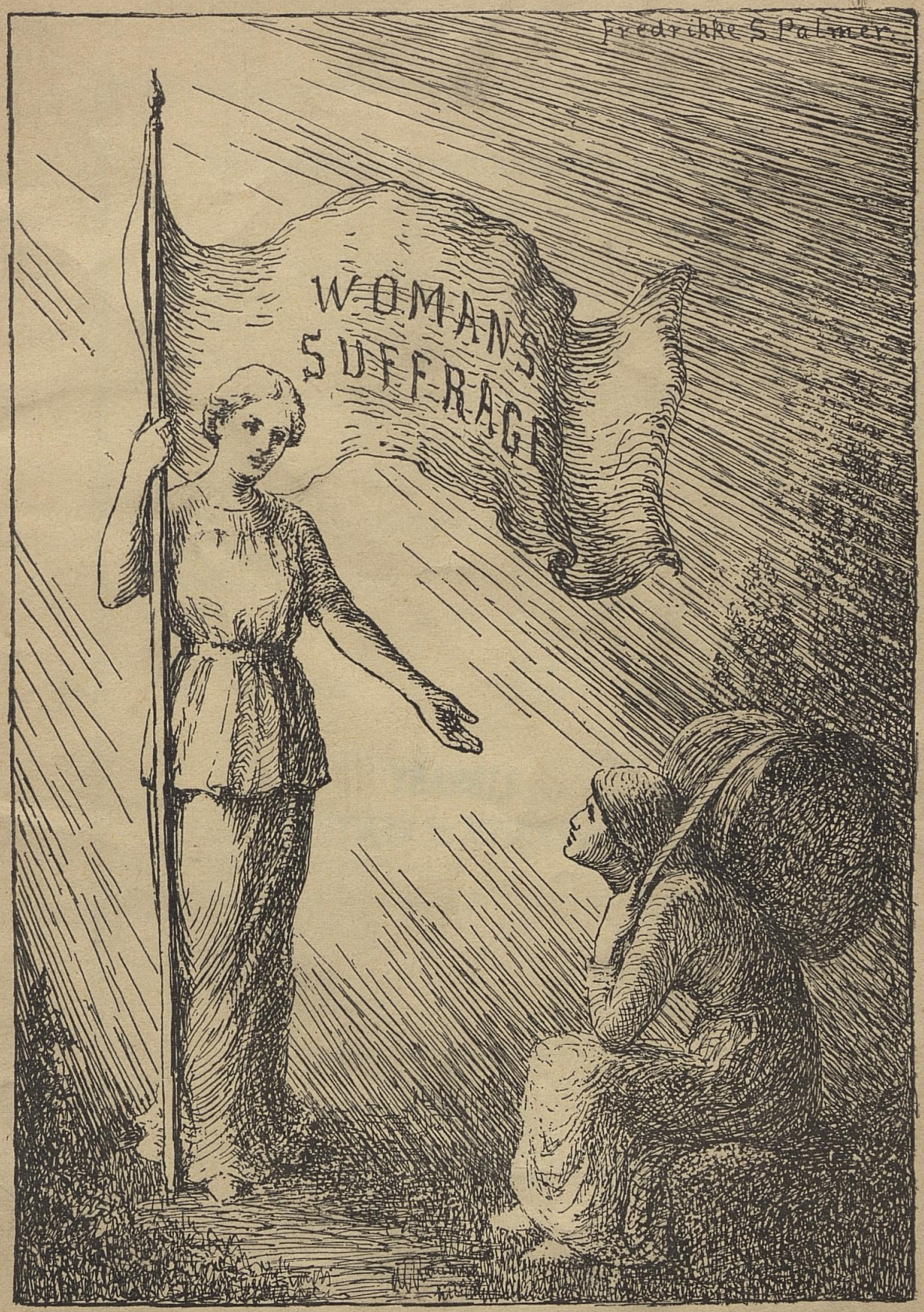
Fredrikke S Palmer.
WOMAN'S
SUFFRAGE

Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

A weekly paper devoted to the interests of woman, to her educational, industrial, legal and political equality, and especially to her right of suffrage.

Founded in 1870 by
Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell

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Alice Stone Blackwell

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A Look Forward and Back at the Woman's Journal, the Organ of the Woman's Movement

By Agnes E. Ryan



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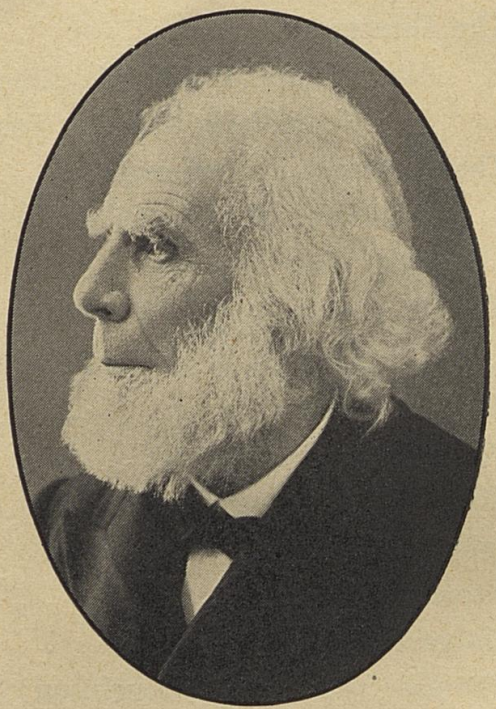
Lucy Stone

Justice, simple justice is what the world needs.
—Lucy Stone



Henry B. Blackwell

Founders of the Woman's Journal

The Torch Bearer

SO wonderful are the days in which we are living and so rapidly is the canvas being crowded with the record of achievement in the woman's movement that it is time for readers of the Woman's Journal and for all suffragists to know somewhat intimately and as never before what goes on in the four little rooms in Boston where the organ of the suffrage movement is prepared for its readers each week.

Before telling what has been done and what is planned and hoped, it will perhaps be well to give a little picture of the paper which to many has been the "Suffrage Bible" since it was started over forty-six years ago by Lucy Stone, Henry B. Blackwell and the little band of woman's rights pioneers who saw, almost at the dawn of the movement, the need of an organ.

Before the charter for the Woman's Journal was granted in 1870, $10,000 had to be paid into its treasury. This was at a time when there were few millionaires in the world, and $10,000 then must have looked like as many millions today.

How ardent, then, must have been the few, how eloquent the presentation, to have raised $10,000 with which to start a paper for the sole purpose of advocating equal rights for women! But they were ardent and eloquent, and from the road to martyrdom they have come to us through history as great men and women of their time. The pages of the Woman's Journal are brilliant with their sayings, and the reports of the early stockholders' meetings echo the voices of that pioneer band led by Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe.

Never for a single week since 1870 have the women of the country been without a mouthpiece to voice their needs and wrongs. This has been due chiefly to the fact that the Stone-Blackwell family has continuously given not only of its services in editing and managing the paper, but also has made generous contributions for years to enable the paper to continue.

So much in brief for the forty years from 1870 to 1910. From July 1, 1910, to September 30, 1912, the financial support of the paper was assumed by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. After that it fell to the manager of the paper either to get contributions to meet the deficit each year or to borrow. On October 1, 1912, Miss Blackwell contributed $2,000; on January 31, 1914, she again gave the paper $2,000.

With the exception of these $4,000, I have raised or borrowed each year the necessary money, over and above receipts, to keep the paper going. With the beginning of 1915 Miss Blackwell began to feel that she could not continue indefinitely to make up a deficit, and she began seriously to consider cutting the size of the paper to four pages or making it a monthly.

The 1915 campaigns particularly needed all the aid that the Journal could give, and feeling keenly that the proposed changes would greatly reduce its power of usefulness, the following points were made by Mr. Stevens and myself in further consideration of the matter with Miss Blackwell and a few warm friends of the Journal:

With the single exception of the *Irish Citizen,* the Woman's Journal is the only suffrage paper in existence which has no organization back of it. *Jus Suffragii* has the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. *The Woman Voter* has the New York Woman Suffrage Party. *Votes for Women* in England has the United Suffragists. *The Suffragette* had the Woman's Social and Political Union of England. *The Suffragist* has the Congressional Union. *The Headquarters News Letter* has the National Suffrage Association.

Now, while the Journal has had no organization with large membership and resources to make it a power, it has shown great vitality as witnessed by the fact that it is the oldest surviving suffrage periodical in the world. Furthermore, it has shown such remarkable growth during the past few years, with no capital put up to promote it and build it up as other businesses are built up, that it seemed apparent that all it needed to make it strong and self-supporting was a reasonable amount of capital, a reasonable amount of time and the wholehearted co-operation

of suffragists in general which has been growing in an encouraging degree. It seemed a time for faith and not for fear.

It was accordingly decided to retain the eight-page size, to continue the paper as a weekly and to borrow the money necessary to meet the deficit, believing that the great body of readers of the Journal would approve and sustain this decision when it was brought to their knowledge. They would feel that a backward step should be impossible.

At the present time and covering the indebtedness of the Journal from October, 1912, to January, 1916, the figures are as follows:

Borrowed in 1915	$10,500
Owed E. L. Grimes Company for printing, paper stock, mailing, approximately	9,000
	$19,500

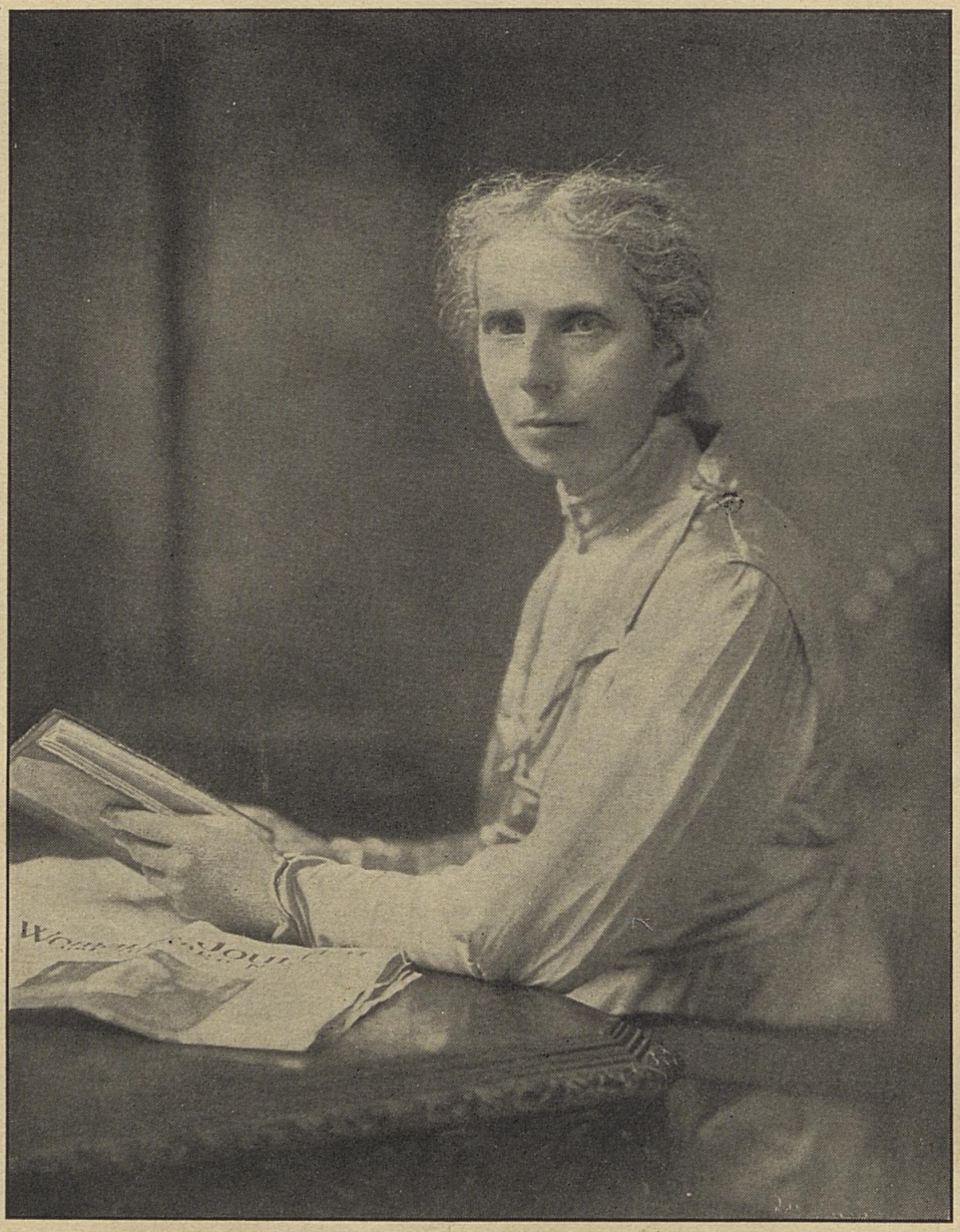
The assets of the Journal at the time of the last stockholders' meeting (January 28) included the following:

Subscriptions in arrears	$4,968
Sales accounts	45
Advertising accounts	460
Legacy of Miss Caroline F. Hollis	3,000
Legacy of Mrs. Mary E. C. Orne	4,000
Legacy of Mrs. Hollingsworth	1,000
	$13,473

The amount to be raised, therefore, to meet the indebtedness of the three years and three months from October 1, 1912, to January 1, 1916, is $6,027.

From these figures it will be seen that we have to count upon collecting nearly $5,000 in subscriptions in arrears, upon legacies to be paid within the year, to meet the expenses of furnishing a paper to the cause, and that even then we must have over $5,000 additional to be out of debt for 1915.

While the Journal has always had a few gifts each year and an occasional legacy, both gifts and legacies have, in their very



Alice Stone Blackwell
Editor of the Woman's Journal

nature, been uncertain quantities and not to be relied upon. It has, therefore, followed that from 1870 to 1910, as well as in the period above referred to (1912 to 1915), for forty-three years, the Stone-Blackwell family has borne the brunt of the burden of the support of the paper on which the whole suffrage movement has depended so completely for nearly half a century. As Mrs. Chapman Catt says, "The Woman's Journal has always been the organ of the suffrage movement, and no suffragist, private or official, can be well informed unless she is a constant reader of it. It is impossible to imagine the suffrage movement without the Woman's Journal." That is the way suffragists feel about the paper from the Atlantic to the Pacific and abroad, — and yet there is no organized, systematic effort made for its support and maintenance.

There is, moreover, no suffragist but will say at once that this paper, which is for the advancement of all women, should be supported by all suffragists in an organized way rather than by a few—out of their own pockets. I am working to bring this to pass. I believe one of the results that will follow the heavy expenditures made by the Journal in 1915 will be organized support of the paper.

Since the Woman's Journal is the organ of the movement, since it gives the news of the movement, voices the wrongs of women, and furnishes data as well as inspiration with which to work, it is important that it reach the largest number of women possible each week with its message, and so far as is possible for a paper, convert them into efficient, consecrated workers, possessed with the ideal of equality and justice for women. It is, therefore, obvious that, however good the editorial output, it counts for comparatively little if it goes to only a small number of people.

From 1870 to 1907, there is no record of the number of subscribers to the paper, for the price of the paper was changed from $3 to $2.50 to $1.50. The price is now $1 per year. The last change was made in 1910 because it was becoming clear that a lower price would mean a larger circulation, while a higher price made it prohibitive to many. Furthermore, the lower price was in harmony with the growing tendency to remove the membership

fee in suffrage organizations because it had proved a handicap in having a large backing of women for the cause. So many women of humble means, or no independent means, wanted to take the paper and could not!

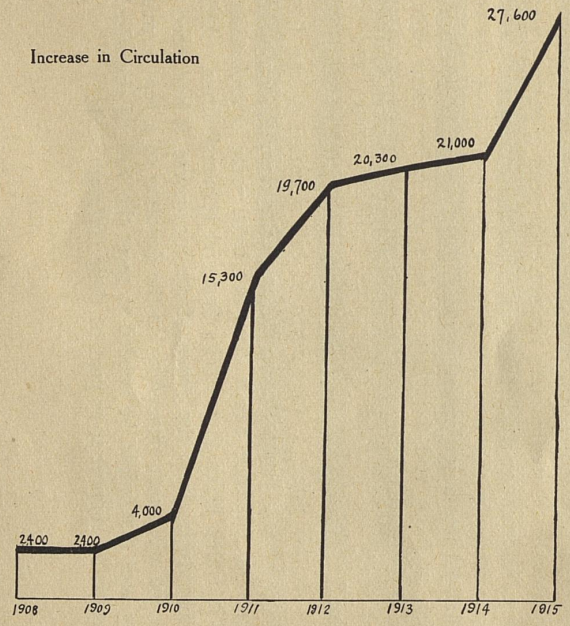
Bearing in mind, then, that the aim of the Journal, both from a propaganda and business viewpoint, is to reach large numbers, that is, to have a large circulation, I have had two charts drawn which will show that, although the cost of publishing is heavy, the cost of production is not advancing as rapidly as is the increase in circulation. In other words, the circulation of the paper has multiplied over eleven times in the last eight years, while the cost of publishing for the same period has multiplied less than eight times. The following charts show this graphically.

Compare the two long vertical lines. The longer one shows the increase in the number of readers. The shorter one shows the increase in the cost of publishing the paper.

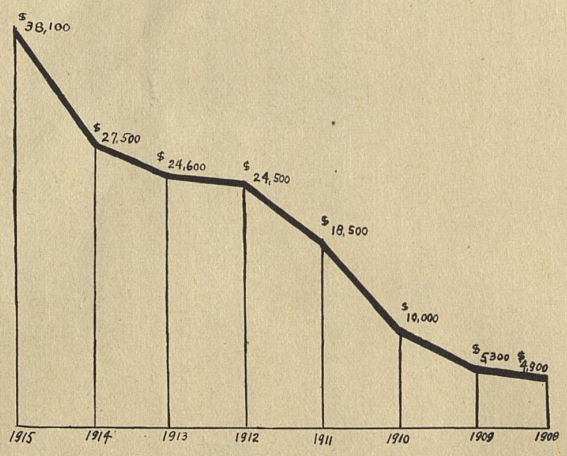
AS a propaganda paper, the Woman's Journal has, of course, always sent out many papers per year purely for educational purposes. Hundreds of papers have gone each year since 1870 through 1915 to campaign states, to legislators, to libraries, to newspapers, to ministers and teachers, in the attempt to make converts, and every suffragist having any perspective of the movement knows that such propaganda work by the Woman's Journal is to a great extent what has advanced the movement to its present status. In other words, the Journal has from year to year carried the torch on, — but it has always been at the sacrifice of a large sum to be raised, over and above the receipts, either from the Stone-Blackwell family or from a few friends of the movement.

The year 1915, with the advance of the movement in general, and in the four big campaign states in particular, has been exceptional as a propaganda year for the Journal. When a call came for Journals or for information which the Journal workers could give, whether from New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey or Pennsylvania, the call has been answered promptly; we have not said, — when the amendments were to be voted on at a definite

Increase in Circulation



Increase in Cost of Publishing



time, — "You must wait until we have raised the money to pay for what you ask." We are proceeding in the same way with the campaign states of 1916. What else can we do when the need is so great?

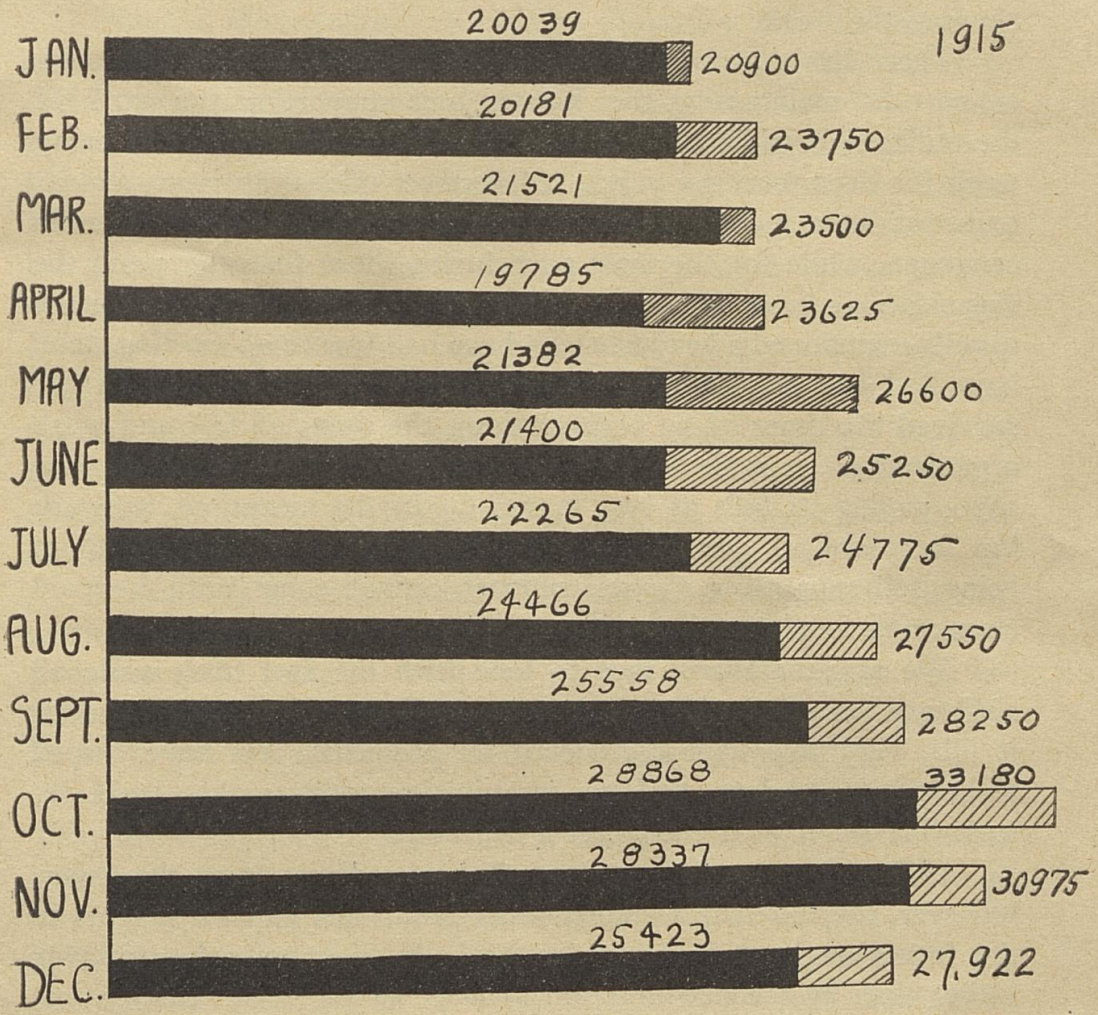
The following illustration shows the extent of our propaganda work, measured in papers, for 1915. It does not show what has been done in the way of furnishing information and argument, refutation and data, material and articles for the press or for special articles, debates, and speeches.

THIS chart shows the free propaganda use of the Journal as compared with the paid circulation. The black lines show the paid circulation of the Journal per month, that is, the number of papers paid for by the subscriber or by the single copy. The gray extension of the lines shows the number of papers furnished by the Journal, for which the recipient did not pay. The reader can here see at a glance what a large part of our work does not bring any financial returns.

If a diagram could be shown of the number of letters we have answered during the year, the amount of time it has taken, and the number of writers who do not even send a postage stamp to carry information back to them, and the consequent deficit the paper incurs in this way alone, the result would shock the average suffragist into a new attitude toward the paper, which she has called upon as freely and thoughtlessly as a girl in her teens calls upon the time and resources of the mother who has always stood near and ready to meet her every need "without money and without price."

At this point, I want again to call attention to the fact that the Woman's Journal is, with one exception, the only suffrage paper in existence which does not have some organization back of it which helps to meet its financial responsibilities. Although it has always been the organ of the movement, it has stood alone for the most part, depending on the devotion of a few to make up any sum that might be needed to meet the lack of organized suffragists to support it as part of their suffrage work.

The Journal as Propaganda



It is, of course, easy to see how this has come about. In the beginning the number of suffragists was so small that there was little organization. The movement was carried on by a few and a few supported the paper. Times have changed, however, and all of the other branches of suffrage work are being carried on by organizations with the body of believers meeting the expense of running the work.

There has, however, always been this difference between the expense of maintaining the Journal and supporting the work of the suffrage organization: The Journal has been published every week for over forty-six years; it has never missed an issue, and its expenses have gone on. In other words, it has always been in campaign, while for the most part during those forty-six years the organizations have had comparatively little expense, they have not usually maintained a headquarters, have had few or no meetings, and have had few and short campaigns. Now, because the Journal has survived the times of no organizations, the times of few and weak organizations, it is thoughtlessly expected to go on as it has since 1870, paying its bills as best it might. In the meantime, its work has increased so that it is large enough to be unwieldy without being self-supporting. (Self-support cannot come until its paid circulation is about 50,000.)

We are, therefore, face to face with the fact that, while all suffragists are agreed as to the merits of the paper and the need it fills, very few have considered its problems, few have helped to carry its burdens, and no organization today makes itself responsible for any of the paper's expenses.

With the advancing movement's heavy demands on the paper, however, the time for a change has come. The paper's support in the future ought to be borne by the body of organized suffragists rather than by the devotion and sacrifice of the few. Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell died in harness. Alice Stone Blackwell, their daughter, is no longer young, and ought not to suffer from overwork and worry in connection with the struggle to keep the paper going.

So much for the past. What shall be the story of the future? The paper has been almost inevitably in debt. Its present bills and

loans must be met. It will doubtless be possible to raise money to meet them from individuals as in the past, although that is an uphill and rather thankless task. But it does seem as if those who labor early and late in the office, often single-handed, ought not to have to go out to raise money to meet a deficit they were obliged to incur purely in order to serve the woman's movement.

What is the solution? I want to propose a definite, practical, constructive solution, — one that will not only lift the paper to self-support almost at once, but will strengthen the whole movement in the very things that Mrs. Chapman Catt and all others know is most needed, — education and organization of women. What I want to propose is that as suffragists we show what our present power is; that we show the strength of our present organization; that as leaders and workers, organizers and speakers, we get behind our paper and push it with all our might; that, so far as is humanly possible, we enroll as regular readers every member of our respective organizations; that we give our paper a backing as much to be reckoned with as the so-called women's publications that are so conspicuous on the news-stands. It can be done. We have the power.

Doing it is bound to mean more education and more organization. For the Journal fills its readers with zeal for the cause; it makes them want to work for it; and it makes them well informed, efficient workers. By taking this one step we have the power to put the entire movement on a new footing!

But how is the paper to be put into the hands of all suffragists? They are many and to send them a well-edited, well-printed paper will be expensive. How are bills and loans already incurred to be met? By gifts and legacies from individuals as in the past — in the uphill, undignified way? Or by getting all readers of the Journal, all believers in it as an educator, to join themselves into a mighty army to enroll as subscribers for the Journal every possible member of a suffrage organization?

Until the second way shall be in operation long enough — say, two years — to have a chance to work out successfully, there is absolutely no question but that the needs of the situation must be met in the first way. But must it be done by begging — in humil-

iation undeserved—or will those who are able consider it a privilege, an opportunity, to take the burden from the backs that are bent and sore from carrying it?

In the Balance

IF this were the crucial moment in a campaign and you saw that votes for a suffrage amendment were in the balance, you would give of the best that you have, with all the fervency of your heart. But campaigns are not won in a day. They are won only by constant and untiring advance work. The Woman's Journal does a big share of this advance work. The Journal is always in campaign. The Journal needs your help now and it needs it given as freely as if a critical Election Day were only six weeks off. The campaigns of this year and the next few years are in the balance now. A privilege, an opportunity for furthering a great world movement, waits on those who are able.

Taken Into Our Confidence

IN the following pages our readers and the great body of suffragists are taken quite generally into our confidence. If they see any skeletons in the closets, we shall ask them to remember that we did not want the skeletons there.

All persons who have ever tried to raise money for a worthy cause, all suffragists who have given balls and bazaars, all who have labored to make an audience pledge its last dollar for suffrage, all who have ever tried to run an impecunious newspaper, all who have ever tried to finance any kind of a movement for the betterment of mankind, will know that the figures given here are written in blood and should be read only by those of an understanding and sympathetic heart.

1908—1915

	Cost	Circulation
1909	$5,303	2,328
1910	10,020	3,989
1911	18,510	15,275
1912	24,499	19,309
1913	24,588	20,309
1914	27,509	21,303
1915	38,137	27,634

THE CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT



Left to Right—First row Hazel McCormick, Franklin Grammar School Marie Spink, Western Reserve University; Ethel Costello, Cambridge Commercial College. Second row: Helen Hegarty, Charlestown High; Eleanor Falvey, South Boston High; Edith Mosher, Comer's Commercial College; Agnes McCarthy, South Boston High; Mary Collins, St. Joseph's Academy. Third row; Isabel McCormick, Boston University; Donna Cox, Belmont High; Ethel Johnson, Fisher Business College; Lucia Gilbert, Berlin High.

THE GENERAL STAFF



Left to Right—First row: Vina Smith, Wellesley College; Agnes E. Ryan, Boston University; Elizabeth Costello, Comer's Commercial College; Howard L Blackwell. Harvard University. Second row: Carlisle Morris, Harvard University; Mildred Hadden, Western Reserve University; Henry Bailey Stevens, Dartmouth College; Ethel Power. Third row: Joe B. Hosmer, University of Missouri; Mary Gallagher, Bryant and Stratton Commercial School; Thomas Kennedy; Mary Healey, Fisher Business College; Thomas McGrath, Lawrence Grammar School.

Some Changes

TO the friends of the Woman's Journal who used to visit its office on Beacon Street, and remember the tiny room with its staff of two or three workers, the pictures of the office staff on the accompanying pages will come as a surprise. This is the 1916 staff, however, and the movement has grown most encouragingly in every branch since the quiet days on Beacon Street.

Every phase of the Journal work, from handling a subscription list of about 30,000 to answering a thousand and one questions of debaters, press chairmen and speakers, has grown to such proportions that it has been necessary to divide the work into ten variously developed departments, which will be described in the following pages.

It Speaks for Itself

THE Editorial Department in the main speaks for itself and does not need a special report. It has its seamy side, however, and little as people want to believe it, it is not merely the literary branch of the work. On the contrary, the editorial work of the Woman's Journal is, figuratively speaking, divided into sevenths. It is one part literary or journalistic, two parts business, and four parts propaganda.

There is, of course, a great deal of pleasure in editorial work for the mere fun of it, for the variety and fascination it affords, for the mere delight in expressing thought in writing and in choosing pictures to carry the weekly message. But when a publication has to be put to press on the same day every week, when one feels almost instinctively that each issue must be better than the one before, and when each week of the world every worker in the department carries a double or triple load, some of the pleasure of writing and editing and planning is worn away.

The material for the contents of the paper is gathered each week from a variety of sources: From letters, personal interviews, press chairmen of leagues and associations in the different states, from bulletins, newspapers, periodicals, reports of meetings and conventions, and from clipping bureaus. All material has, of course, to be sorted and worked over for the various departments. It divides chiefly into matter for editorials, for propaganda articles, for the news columns, and for the activities reported under the headings of the various states.

The editorial page of the Journal carries about 2,200 words each week. This page goes to about 30,000 homes, libraries and clubs, and is read by approximately 100,000 persons. Issued fifty-two times a year, it means that Miss Blackwell makes about five million two hundred thousand "drives" per year with her editorials alone to educate the public on equal suffrage.

The news of the whole movement gleaned from the various sources including some two hundred papers and periodicals each

week, must be so combined and boiled down as to occupy the smallest space; and it must be interpreted, investigated and its relation to the general current of events brought out so that the propaganda value of the week's news is unmistakable.

Besides the editorials and the regular news of the movement, we use occasional contributed articles, poems and stories. During 1915 for the first time investigations of various sorts and analyses of news, reports and various kinds of data were made to furnish a telling and convincing array of facts, figures, data and information particularly fitted for suffrage workers. Such material has been found especially valuable for use with those who were wavering as to the merits of the cause.

Many people would find it hard to believe, but it is true nevertheless that a paper needs to consider itself something of a business matter. This is particularly true of propaganda papers in spite of all that has been said to the contrary. In the case of the Journal, we need to plan to produce an article that cannot be excelled; we need to manufacture a product so useful, so valuable, so indispensable, that there must be a market for it.

It must be so run that the largest possible number of people will be satisfied with its policy, and this is no easy matter if one has convictions and wants to run the paper according to high ideals and with certain principles dominant. Many people want personal notices and trivial articles in the paper; some wish long manuscripts published; others think their league meetings should be more fully reported. The paper must, therefore, be so edited and the letters of the department must be so written as to make every one feel that the Journal is fair to all and that whatever it does is done with no personal animosities, with no biases, and purely for the welfare of the cause and in accordance with the best ideals we have been able to work out. One of our tasks is to make all realize that in editing the organ of the movement a great responsibility must be met and that mean or small things cannot influence us.

All daily papers, all periodicals and magazines that live and become powerful relate their editorial policy very closely to their business plans. And whether the end and aim of a publication is

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS



Left to Right—Lower row: Emma L. Blackwell, Alice Stone Blackwell, Grace A. Johnson.
Upper row: Maud Wood Park, Agnes E. Ryan.

to make money or to make converts to some cause or idea, the editorial policy cannot be planned independent of the circulation of the paper without running the risk of defeating its purpose.

In this connection a suffragist can scarcely help coveting for her paper the circulation which the various women's magazines of fashion have attained. The thought leads almost inevitably to the question, How did they get their large circulation?

Now whenever there is large use made of any article under the sun, the reasons for its extensive use simmer down to three; First, the article must be something that practically everybody needs; Second, the marketers of the article must spend a lot of money in advertising the article and making the public think it wants it; or, Third, the article must carry with it some great interest and attraction that makes people want it.

The first kind of article is usually one of the necessities of life. The second is in a greater or less degree usually one of the comforts of life. The third kind is neither a matter of physical necessity nor of physical comfort; it is usually something that feeds the mind, diverts the mind, or kindles the emotions. Obviously the manufacturer of the third kind of article must mind his P's and Q's or he will not sell his product at all.

Newspapers, periodicals, and magazines of course come under the third class. Now while a good daily paper and a good weekly review of events have become almost necessities for the mass of mankind, a propaganda paper is neither a necessity nor a physical comfort, and for its circulation it must depend to a great extent for financial support on making itself so interesting and attractive that a larger number of people than the already converted, the reformers, will want it.

How then shall a propaganda paper make itself so interesting and attractive that those outside its fold will want it and want it badly enough to pay for it and read it — when there are so many attractive and interesting publications to read in busy days?

The problem solves itself if the paper records news of vitality, of heroism, of martyrdom, of stinging injustice in connection with everyday life, — if the doings within the movement are vital and challenging and kindle the imagination.



Mrs. Fredrikke S. Palmer, Staff Artist

One of the biggest "strikes" in the recent history of the Woman's Journal has been the addition of Mrs. Palmer to the staff. Her drawings, contributed gratis, have attracted country-wide attention because of their artistic quality. Mrs. Palmer studied art in Christiania, Norway, and is the wife of Prof. A. H. Palmer, of Yale University.

One of Mrs. Ames's cartoons brought down the disapprobation of Ex-President Taft but the approbation of a great many suffragists. Mrs. Ames is treasurer of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association and wife of the director of the Botanic Garden of Harvard University.



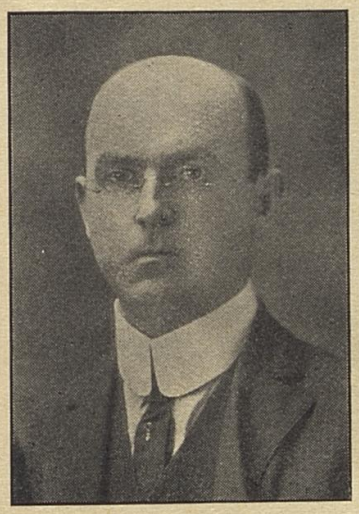
Mrs. Oakes Ames, Staff Artist

But women's lives are full of just such vitally interesting matters. There are such glaring cases of inequality before the law, such abuses and atrocities in women's working world today, such humiliation and insinuation in the personal life of womankind, simply because of sex, that, were the half of it told, the suffrage movement would take on such proportions as even the leaders do not dream of.

Because an experience is common in the life of womankind, because an abuse is as old as the hills, it is no less vital, no less thrilling, no less in need of righting. And because some men are opposed, secretly or openly, to its righting is no reason why we should be silent. Before the women of this country are fully enfranchised, a hard fight, an almost life and death struggle for liberty, must be fought, and it will be a shorter fight the hotter it is. And the heat of the battle and the shortness of the struggle will depend almost entirely on our courage in presenting vividly and with power woman's case to women themselves.

Members of the Firm of E. L. Grimes Co.

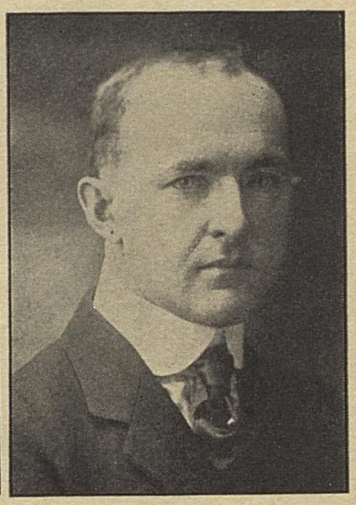
Printers of The Woman's Journal



M. J. Grimes



E. L. Grimes



W. P. Grimes

Our Volunteer Suffrage News Service

INSTEAD of a staff of paid correspondents and a special news service, the Woman's Journal has a large unnumbered staff of volunteers and its news service which extends all over the civilized world also is voluntary.

The editorial output is, therefore, greatly enhanced each week by the careful vigilance of its many volunteer workers. In this service all readers are invited to join by mailing to the Journal clippings, news, articles, items, poems, pictures, jokes, examples of discriminations against women, examples of women's achievements, and ideas of all kinds.

The Connecting Link

WHEN I think of the Circulation Department of the Woman's Journal, I feel as I think Angela Morgan must have felt when she wrote the following lines for the beginning of her great poem, "Today:"

"To be alive in such an age!
With every year a lightning page
Turned in the world's great wonderbook
Whereon the leaning nations look. . . .
When miracles are everywhere
And every inch of common air
Throbs a tremendous prophecy
Of greater marvels yet to be.
O thrilling age!"

The Woman's Journal is the connecting link between the individual suffragist and the movement itself, and a certain thrill and delight and marvel get hold of me when I realize how wonderful each year is and how full of prophecy and promise and marvel is the cause for which we all work.

Because the Circulation Department of the Woman's Journal is the tangible bond which holds us all together and makes one big family of all who work for the movement and all who are in any way connected with the paper, I am going to try to take the readers of these pages into the Journal offices and let them see the processes of the department.

While Miss Blackwell, Mr. Stevens, Miss Smith, Mr. Morris and myself are spending part of our time in preparing reading matter and pictures for the paper, and while we are working at the printing office of the Grimes Brothers on Wednesdays, Miss Spink, Miss Ethel Costello and their assistants, Miss Mosher, Miss Isabel McCormick, Miss Falvey, Miss Hegarty, Miss McCarthy, Miss Collins, Miss Cox, Miss Johnson, Miss Gilbert, and Miss Hazel McCormick are diligently at work in the Circulation Department.

What do they all do? the subscriber may ask. In the first place, the Journal goes to forty-eight states, besides Alaska and

the District of Columbia, and to thirty-nine foreign countries. On a page by itself, in the back of this little book, will be shown the list of foreign countries.

When a subscription is received at the office, the letter carrying it has to be opened and the money entered by Miss Elizabeth Costello in the ledger — and it takes just as long to enter 25 cents or a dollar as to enter $1,000, and it must be done just as accurately. If the subscription is sent in for one's self, no acknowledgment is necessary, for the next issue of the paper is sufficient to tell the subscriber that her money and order have been received. If, however, as so often happens, one person sends a subscription for another, two additional processes must be carried out: We must acknowledge the order and money to the person who sends it, and we must tell the other person (if the subscription is a gift) that the paper is being sent to her with the compliments of her friend, or by an anonymous person, as the case may be; but at any rate, that the subscription is for a certain time and that she will not be billed for it. This takes two letters and two stamps. When a subscription is sent in by some suffragist who is acting as agent in forwarding subscriptions for other people, we acknowledge the order only to the sender, thinking that receipt of the paper by the subscriber is sufficient acknowledgment. In this connection, one of our worst problems is to learn from those who mail us subscription orders whether they are simply forwarding for other people or are sending the paper at their expense in the hope of making a convert or of introducing it to someone, with the hope that she will want to continue the subscription. The trouble comes in the question of knowing whom to ask to renew. Sometimes the sender means to renew for the person, and sometimes she means to have us ask the person to renew for herself. We have no means of knowing unless the sender tells us. We have found that whichever way we do, some of our friends do not like it. We have, therefore, adopted the system of asking the person who has been receiving the paper to renew for herself unless we have been definitely instructed not to do this. Some people tell us to discontinue the subscription when the time has expired. We do

not think this a fair thing to ask, for the obvious reason that everyone ought to have a chance to renew for herself in case the giver does not want to renew for her.

The third step in receiving a subscription is to write the name in the proper place on the subscription lists that go to the mailing company every Tuesday night. The states in these lists are arranged alphabetically, the towns and cities are arranged alphabetically and the names of subscribers are arranged in the same way. In addition to this, the books have to be arranged in districts that correspond to the mail routing of the United States post office. This is an arbitrary dividing, and it increases the work of finding the proper place for entering a subscription. In this a post office chart has to be used constantly.

After an entry has been made in the mailing books, the subscription order, before it is filed, goes to the subscription cards. There the clerks must see whether the name is already on the books, or, if not, if it has ever been on our books. (In the latter case we revise the former card instead of making a new one.) The subscription cards look like the one reproduced below:

MAR

Name

Address

Began | Remarks

Ordered by

1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Rec'd	Rec'd	Rec'd	Rec'd	Rec'd
Amount, $	Amount, $	Amount, $	Amount, $	Amount, $
Ends	Ends	Ends	Ends	Ends
1917	**1918**	**1919**	**1920**	**1921**
Rec'd	Rec'd	Rec'd	Rec'd	Rec'd
Amount, $	Amount, $	Amount, $	Amount, $	Amount, $
Ends	Ends	Ends	Ends	Ends

Library Bureau U62231 -A

Some letters that bring subscription orders contain many other items that must be attended to before the order or letter is filed. For instance, a letter may contain a new subscription, a renewal, a remittance or a request to send a bill, an order for sample copies, for papers to sell at a meeting, for literature, a request for information and an item or poem or article for the columns of the paper. Each matter mentioned in the letter must, of course, be attended to before the letter can go to the files. To avoid having a letter filed before all of its orders or requests have been attended to, we stamp each piece of mail with a little rubber stamp that looks like the following:

A. S. B.	. . . .	Bill
A. E. R.	. . . .	Fin.
H. B. S.	. . . .	Advt.
	Date Received	
Ackg.	. . . .	Sub.
Papers	. . . .	Lit.
Circ.	. . . .	Amt. & page.

Every piece of first-class mail that reaches the office is stamped with these abbreviations and is at once checked for the different stages through which it must go before it is filed. The clerk filing must see that every check on the stamp has a sign after the check to show that the particular matter indicated has been attended to.

Of course, another part of the subscription work is in making changes of address, changing dates of expiration and removing names of those who do not want to continue to receive the paper, such as the anti-suffragists, who do not want to be converted, to whom some relative or friend or acquaintance has been sending the paper out of her own pocket.

Then there is the work involved in getting subscribers to renew. When the subscription list contained only twenty-four hundred names and when there were few letters to write, it was possible to know the names and perhaps something of the history of every subscriber, especially since only a few were put on the books in a week. But with a circulation of nearly thirty thousand it is obviously impossible for any one person to give the whole list personal attention.

The result is that the business policy of the paper has had to be changed a number of times to meet the changing needs. In the earlier days of the paper it was thought that subscribers would watch the expiration date on the wrapper of their paper and would send in the renewal price without any kind of reminder. In those days Miss Wilde and her assistant would go over the books twice a year and send a reminder to all who had not renewed. As the list grew larger, this plan seemed unsatisfactory to both the subscriber and the paper. Since people were at liberty to start a subscription at any time in the year, it was plain that a year's subscription would run out at the same time the following year, and since this was going on twelve months in the year, we began sending out bills each month to those subscribers whose subscriptions were about to expire. That system was in operation from 1910 through 1915.

During 1915, it was made possible for us to have enough helpers in the office to make a study of the Circulation Department with a view to seeing where improvements could be made, what leakages could be stopped, and what kind of circulation work was paying. The result was that we decided that along with our efforts to get new subscriptions we must carry on a new kind of work to keep those already obtained on our books. We found that it was not sufficient simply to send the paper to a person for a certain time and then ask her to renew. We found that we needed to study the source of the subscription, the motive for subscribing, and how best to appeal to the subscriber to renew. We found that since we had been keeping the record (1910 through 1915), about 26,000 persons have been on our books and for some reason or other are no longer there. A careful study and a long one showed that those whose papers had been discontinued in that period fell into the following classifications:

1. Those who had died.
2. Unconverted antis.
3. Those who had not paid after we had sent three bills.
4. Those who had moved without giving us their change of address.
5. Those whom the post office reported as "not found."

6. Those who asked to be discontinued without giving a reason.
7. Those who said they could not afford it.
8. Those who said they were too busy to read it.
9. Those who said they were converted and did not need it.
10. Those who disapproved of our policy in some way.

The number of new subscriptions and the number of papers discontinued for 1915, by the month, is shown below so that readers may understand how serious is this problem and so that they may understand why every subscriber and every suffragist ought to help keep the numbers in these ten classes as small as is possible, if they care to have a part in making the paper self-supporting.

1915

	New Subscriptions	Dis-continuances
January	1,297	407
February	2,088	346
March	1,048	714
April	532	225
May	1,259	301
June	972	492
July	1,513	253
August	2,265	188
September	1,135	168
October	657	312
November	326	140
December	563	263

In this connection it ought to be said here that all subscriptions divide into two classes: Those that are expected to make converts and may or may not be expected to renew, and second, those who are suffragists and may logically be expected to renew. When an order for a subscription is given, it, therefore, ought to make clear whether it is for a suffragist or for some one who it is hoped will be converted by reading the paper. If the name is that of a suffragist, it is legitimate and entirely fair that we should offer the paper for her at $1.00 a year and should expect her to renew, and it may be considered our fault if she does not. If, on the other hand, the paper is being sent merely

as a piece of propaganda literature to a person who knows nothing of the cause, to one who is undecided, or to an avowed anti-suffragist, it ought to be paid for as literature and that name ought not to be counted as legitimate circulation.

How many of the total number of discontinuances come from the use of the paper as propaganda literature, and how many come from the rank and file of suffragists whom we ought to be expected to hold as regular readers, cannot be known. Detailed records showing this are being kept for 1916, and we expect to be in a better position to solve some of the circulation difficulties in the future than ever in the past,—chiefly because we never dared to spend the money to have the records and study and analyses made.

It ought to be said in this connection that we have, since the first of the year, revised our whole system of billing and are sending a different kind of reminder to renew to those who have been receiving a trial subscription, a complimentary subscription from a friend, a first year subscription for which they have themselves paid, from the one we send to those who have been taking the paper for a year or more. With the latter, for the most part, we simply have to remind them that their subscription has run out. In the billing department, therefore, we have six different kinds of reminders or requests to renew.

So much for that part of the work of the Circulation Department that has to do with entering, recording, billing, analyzing and studying. We turn now to what may be called plans and advance work for making more subscriptions come in, that is, for increasing the circulation of the paper.

We have on cards the names of nearly 35,000 members of suffrage leagues who are not subscribers for the Woman's Journal. This large list is, roughly, only about 30 per cent. of the dues-paying membership of the suffrage leagues of the country. An effort is being made to get the total dues-paying and non-dues-paying membership of the leagues and organizations in order that we may send each member who is not a subscriber a sample copy of the organ of the movement and ask her to subscribe.

Besides the league lists, we have the names of over 1300 prominent men and women who believe in equal suffrage but

are not subscribers. In addition we have other lists totalling about 32,000 suffragists whose names are not on our books.

This makes over 68,000 suffragists who, so far as we know, have never seen a copy of the organ of the movement, and have never been asked to subscribe. Each week scores and sometimes hundreds of such suffragists, who are not subscribers, write letters to our office, to the offices of the National Suffrage Association and to other headquarters and offices, asking for information which the Woman's Journal publishes from week to week. Think of the waste! They have the faith but not the knowledge to make converts, to answer objections, to write "copy" for the newspapers, to make addresses, to take part in debates, to write articles for the magazines, and to do the thousand and one things that suffragists must do if the present generation of women is not to go down to the grave unenfranchised as their mothers and grandmothers did.

Think of it! Nearly 70,000 known suffragists who do not subscribe. In the interest of efficiency they ought all to be constant readers of the paper. But how are they to be reached? There are two ways: First, by the officers of the organization to which they belong; and second, by means of letters, sample copies, and follow up letters until the last one of them has enrolled as a regular reader.

But advance work requires funds. No matter how necessary to the cause of equal suffrage it may be to enroll those 68,000 suffragists as readers, the United States Post Office will not sell us stamps for writing to them unless we can make cash payments. Funds for other parts of the work of increasing the circulation are equally necessary, and the work halts for lack of that which reformers always lack.

The Woman's Journal can make suffrage speeches every week in the remote parts as well as in the crowded cities, and it can do this more cheaply than can any other agent of equal quality. But if the paper is to do its part in the general suffrage work, it must be through the body of organized suffragists, and not single-handed. The movement is growing too fast for the management, unaided by organization, to make the obvious and necessary expansion.

What Papers Live By

The First Editor of the Woman's Journal



Mary A. Livermore

ONE of the well-known facts in the world of publishing newspapers and periodicals is that neither magazines, newspapers nor periodicals of any kind live by the subscription price. Most of them live chiefly by advertisements.

Why, then, does the Journal not carry more advertising? The answer is that it will not take most of the advertisements it can get, and it cannot get most of the advertisements it wants. In the first place, The Woman's Journal will not accept liquor or tobacco advertisements, or any advertisements of patent medicines, swindling schemes, or matters of a questionable character. Every year it declines a considerable amount of business on this score.

"But," the reader is sure to say, "what about the thousand and one advertisements which are legitimate? There are hundreds and thousands of advertisements of women's products for which the Journal ought to be an excellent medium." In answer to this one might almost say that the better the grade of advertising the harder it is to get. The better grades of advertising require a much larger circulation than we have and a better grade of paper on which to print their advertisements; they naturally want their advertisements to be shown in the most attractive manner. And there are hundreds of publications just as good as ours which can give them the proper display.

Another difficulty we have to combat is the fact that our paper is not well known to men; it is not advertised anywhere, it is not displayed anywhere; they rarely see any one reading it; they cannot get it on the newsstands, and, in short, they cannot imagine who reads it. This is hard to combat.

Another reason given by those who refuse to advertise in the Woman's Journal is that the advertiser or the advertising

agent does not believe in equal suffrage, or to use his own expression, he is "not a suffragette." He is sure that no one would ever advertise in the paper unless he believed in votes for women, and frankly, he does not want his friends to be given a chance to tease him about "this suffragette business."

Since the Journal is a national paper, it ought, of course, to have national advertising, but national advertisers require at least 50,000 circulation, we are told. If the Journal's circulation were local, it could get plenty, but local advertising, of course, does not properly belong in a national paper, for all except the local circulation is a waste for it.

If the present circulation of the Journal were in one State or in one section of the country, say in the West, the Middle West, or in New York and New England, the paper could get more advertising than it could carry. But its circulation is scattered over the whole country, and while this spoils it for local advertising, its circulation is not yet large enough to enable it to get much national advertising.

To an advertising agent who has seen in a suffrage parade in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, or Washington from 10,000 to 50,000 suffragists, it is hard to explain why the national paper going to forty-eight States, has less than 30,000 subscribers. He expects that the organ of the movement has at least 75,000 subscribers. When he learns the truth, it is impossible to talk with him further.

In a nutshell, then, what the advertising department needs is that great body of non-subscribing suffragists to enroll as readers. Think of that 68,000 whose names and addresses we have! If we only had them on our lists, if they stood back of us, advertisers would be glad to consider us.

What, then, can suffragists do for the advertising department? They can do three things.

(1) Increase the number of readers of the paper.

(2) Read the advertisements we print and patronize every advertiser possible, letting him know why they do so; and

(3) Unite to bring pressure to bear on advertisers so they will advertise with us.

Imagine what would happen if twenty suffragists in each city in the country were to call on the advertisers doing business there and urge them to advertise in the Journal! They would simply put the Journal on the advertiser's map!

Prints and Reprints



William Lloyd Garrison
A Life-long Friend of the Journal

"YOUR editorial in this week's issue deserves a wider circulation. It ought to go to thousands who are not yet with us. Can you reprint it for more general distribution?" Such requests have led us from time to time to reprint something which has appeared in the paper. If it is reprinted soon after it is current in the paper, it can be furnished at a cheaper rate than if the type had to be set for pamphlet or leaflet use alone. There is usually a good demand for what we have reprinted, particularly since we can advertise it in the Journal.

The Journal has, accordingly, printed the following which appeared first in its columns:

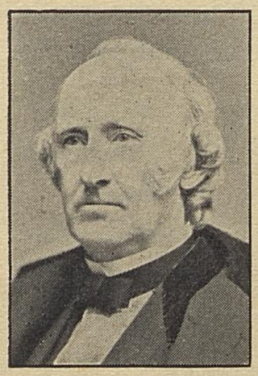
A Bubble Pricked.
The Threefold Menace.
Open Letter To Clergymen.
Liquor Against Suffrage.
Suffrage and Temperance
The Stage and Woman Suffrage.
Votes and Athletics.
Ballots and Brooms.
Suffrage in Utah.
Suffrage and Mormonism.
My Mother and the Little Girl Next Door.
Massachusetts Laws.
Suffrage and Morals.
Worth of a Vote.
Jane Addams Testifies.
A Campaign of Slander.

In addition to these, the Journal printed in 1915 200,000 postal cards on good stock with colored ink, especially calculated to win voters. In preparing them, every type of man from the point of view of his business or profession was considered. Their titles are as follows and indicate their character:

If You Are A Working Man.
Working Men — Help.
If You Are A Doctor.
If You Are A Farmer.
If You Are A Policeman.
If You Are An Educator.
If You Are A Postman.
If You Are A Business Man.
If You Are A Minister.
If You Are A Traveling Man.
If You Are A Fireman.
If You Are Interested In Political Questions.
A Statement By Judge Lindsey.
An Object Lesson.
Think On These Things.
The Meaning Of The Suffrage Map.
Arms Versus Armies.
Do Women Want To Vote?

Suffrage literature divides into two kinds: that which must be inexpensive and very easily read, for the voter; and that which is designed for women who, like conservative college graduates and many other women, will be surely impressed with a more weighty, more obviously expensive-looking argument. We find that many want good-looking, well-prepared, convincing literature to send to those whom they are trying to convert. Practically all of the literature which the Journal has printed belongs to the second class.

The Graveyard



Wendell Phillips
A Staunch Friend

EVERY live newspaper office has as part of its necessary equipment what is familiarly known as "The Graveyard." Ours is a combination of the Research and Information Departments. It contains pictures of distinguished and leading suffragists in this country and abroad, biographical sketches of them, quotations from them and other suffragists, notable articles, criticisms, reviews and news of the movement which may be useful at some later date, a large amount of information and data and compilation of facts and figures, such as one needs at his fingers' ends in an office which does the kind of work that is being done in few places if anywhere else in the country. The files in this department include also a large amount of statistics and information regarding anti-suffrage activities, workers for the opposition,

methods, amount of money spent, sources of income, and an index of the Journal from week to week.

Who was the first woman doctor, what college first opened its doors to women, what was the date of the first suffrage convention, how many times was equal suffrage submitted in Oregon before it was granted, what States in the Union have no form of suffrage for women whatever, who are the most distinguished men advocates of woman suffrage today, how many believers in equal suffrage are there in this country? These are some examples of the myriad questions that come constantly to the Journal for answer — usually at short notice and without a stamped envelope for reply.

Material for debates, speeches, articles for the press, chapters in books, copy to be read into the minutes of the Congress of the United States, refutation of anti-suffrage articles, answers to hundreds and thousands of objections to equal suffrage, questions of how it works, what women have achieved in science, art, literature, — to meet these with the least waste of time and energy is the end and aim of "The Graveyard." Practically all suffragists use it, but no one has ever contributed a penny toward its support, and no organization has ever made an appropriation to maintain it. It is simply another case of the willing mother and the thoughtless daughter!

Holding the Reins



Julia Ward Howe
President of the Woman's Journal Corporation for Many Years

IN 1910 there was one woman worker besides the editor-in-chief in the office of the Woman's Journal, and one woman who worked part time. Mr. Henry B. Blackwell, who always gave his services to the paper, had died in 1909. There were only four pages to the paper then, and the total subscription list was 3,989. Bills were sent out only twice a year, and hardly any work was being done to increase the subscription list or any department of the paper. Office administration was then a very simple matter—

whereas now the Subscription Department alone requires the full time of more than ten workers.

The result is that office administration now is a very different matter. It has become a question of holding the reins of twenty-four young people, all of whom have special work to do, but all of whom need almost constant direction. And while there are heads of departments who oversee the work of clerks and stenographers up to a point, almost daily conferences and supervisions are necessary in order to have the work go on satisfactorily. This takes an immense amount of time and energy and initiative and planning. It is a case of driving twenty-four in hand. Some days it sends the driver home thoroughly wearied.

Besides the absorbing task of keeping the whole staff busy, there is always the exhausting and important matter of mapping out the work, laying plans for advance work, originating and initiating, and making decisions that involve more or less risk.

Then there is the actual personal labor of helping to get the paper to press each week, choosing from a limited supply suitable illustrations, writing some "copy," writing heads, making up, dictating and signing hundreds of letters each week, seeing all callers who need to be seen, and constantly directing and overseeing to keep matters of a thousand and one details shipshape and accurate.

There is the question of office space, rent, subletting office room, buying typewriters, stationery and other supplies to advantage. The question of ventilation, health and sick leave of staff, obtaining efficient and conscientious work and maintaining a wholesome esprit de corps.

Capturing the Imagination



Armenia White
One of the First Stockholders

CAPTURING the imagination for equal suffrage or for the Woman's Journal is another way of saying "getting so many inches or columns of free advertising in the papers." Each week for some time we have been watching the Journal's columns to see whether, by sending an advance clipping from the week's paper, we could not get a certain amount of free publicity in the daily paper. We have also experimented to some extent to see if we could get publicity for the Journal aside from what appears in its columns. The result has been that such stories as the analysis of the source of income of the auti-suffragists has had very wide publicity. It has even been published in country weeklies and monthly magazines. In the majority of cases, the Journal has been credited, and in this way much free advertising has been secured.

At the time of the elections, we sent a copy of Mrs. Fredrikke Palmer's drawing called "Waiting for the Returns" with a little sketch of the artist to a number of first class dailies. A number of these papers used it, giving full credit to the Woman's Journal.

The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association has a showcase on the sidewalk in front of its headquarters where it displays pictures, clippings, novelties and anything that may capture the interest of the passing pedestrian. We asked to have the Journal displayed there each week and to have special articles clipped and attractively mounted. This has been done with benefit to both the Association and the Journal. The suggestion might well be adopted for every suffrage headquarters. The cost is very slight and the people whose attention one gets in this way are not those, as a rule, who attend suffrage meetings or are easily reached. They are the great host of "passers-by."

A method of publicity for the Journal and the cause which

has been adopted successfully by many individuals is that of displaying a copy of the Journal on the library table in one's home. In some cases the front page drawings have been considered so good that requests have been received to have extra copies struck off for use in showcases, bulletin boards and booths.

Other suffragists adopt other methods of making the paper known to the public. Some make a point of carrying a copy to read in the street car or train whenever possible. Anyone who tries this will find many and many a pair of eyes diverted to the picture or the appearance of a publication with which the onlooker is not familiar. Ardent partisans of the Journal always mention it in reports and speeches at meetings and even in debates. They are usually persons who have been converted to the principle of equal suffrage by a stray copy of the Journal sent to them by some ardent friend!

A Word In Time



Margaret Foley

MISS Margaret Foley has been doing Field Work for the Woman's Journal since the elections in November. She has been working as an experiment to see if Journals cannot be sold successfully at all suffrage meetings when from three to ten minutes are devoted to calling attention to the paper from the platform.

From the last thirteen meetings at which she sold papers and took subscription orders she got $74.42. Many of the meetings were small and at the larger number of them the attendance was made up mostly of those who already subscribe for the paper. Miss Foley's work is proof positive, if such were needed, that it pays to mention the Journal at suffrage meetings and to have it on sale and to take subscriptions. The results she has had can be duplicated at every suffrage meeting in the United

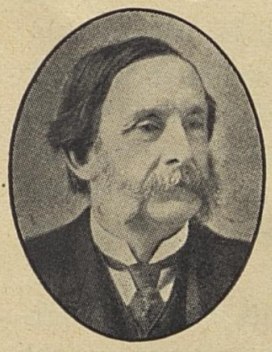
States where 100 or more are gathered together, and a word spoken in time at suffrage meetings saves much of the more expensive converting and canvassing to bring out the vote when election time comes. One of the greatest wastes of the movement today is the failure of those in charge of meetings to make provision for this part of propaganda work.

Miss Foley usually speaks toward the close of a meeting. The gist of her remarks is something like this:

"You have just heard about our cause and how wonderful it is to be connected with it. I am sure you will want to know more about it. The best way to get authentic information and news about Votes for Women is to read the organ of the suffrage movement, The Woman's Journal and Suffrage News, on sale in the corridor. The paper is only five cents a copy and you can get a full year's subscription for $1.00. Do not fail to get a copy from me before you go."

The Woman's Journal has many field workers who do in connection with the regular suffrage work what Miss Foley has been doing for the Journal as an experiment. For the vitality of the movement every locality which holds suffrage meetings should have a Journal field worker for every occasion. A word in time saves an endless amount of converting.

Our Hope Chest



Thomas Wentworth Higginson
For Many Years Contributing Editor

OTHER causes, other propaganda papers, have their budgets, their war chests, their exchequers, their ways and means committees, their financial backers of wealth and prestige, but the Woman's Journal has had only what we may perhaps call our "Hope Chest." It was constructed purely out of the hope that, if the paper filled a need, if it was found worthy of the movement it represents, its finances would in some way take care of themselves. And it is a wonderful tribute to the believers in the cause for equal suffrage that this plan has worked for better or worse for more than forty years.

As the financial responsibilities of the paper have grown during the past six years, however, it has become apparent that we must not merely publish the paper each year and hope to pay our bills but that we must study the question of financing a growing paper with ever growing needs of expansion and consequent growing financial risks.

Accordingly, we decided that if we must "raise money" each year in some way or other, we must go about it in a well thought out way and not leave such an important matter to haphazard uncertainties. We have, therefore, formed a small Finance Department and have studied all of the ways of raising money that are known to us, trying of course to make out which ones are particularly adapted to our needs.

The result is that we have decided on the following course:

(1) To issue this survey of the Journal's work, and ask suffragists to consider the value of the paper purely on its merits and contribute to it and support it if they believe in what it is doing.

195299

(2) To form a Central Finance Committee with a branch in each state in the Union.

(3) To ask able women and friendly organizations in various towns and cities throughout the country to give a ball, banquet, bazaar, festival or other benefit or entertainment with the express purpose of sharing the proceeds with the Woman's Journal.



Mrs. David Hunt
A Generous Supporter of the Woman's Journal

Because of the vitality of the paper through the barren pioneer days, through the days of ridicule and up into these times of great numbers, splendid prestige and backing for the whole movement, we have faith that our hopes are not in vain.

One proof of our faith is that we find working in the Woman's Journal office year after year is in some ways like living in a fairy story. We never know what is going to happen next. The day after election — and defeat in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Jersey — a woman came to the Journal office bearing a check for $1,000 in her hand and saying in substance, "Here is a small check to cheer Miss Blackwell and the Journal in the face of yesterday's defeats at the polls." She asked not to have her name used. Hers is an example of the way suffragists feel toward the Woman's Journal. To them it symbolizes the cause.

FORM OF BEQUEST

*I hereby give and bequeath to the Proprietors of The Woman's Journal, published in Boston, a corporation established under the laws of Massachusetts, the sum of*_____*dollars.*

Early Stockholders of the Woman's Journal

Nathaniel White	*Concord, N. H.*
Mrs. Armenia White	*Concord, N. H.*
Mrs. Harriet M. Pitman	*Somerville, Mass.*
Julia Ward Howe	*Boston, Mass.*
Samuel E. Sewall	*Melrose, Mass.*
E. D. Draper	*Boston, Mass.*
Mrs. Anna C. Lodge	*Boston, Mass.*
Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chace	*Valley Falls, R. I.*
Mrs. Lillie B. Chace	*Valley Falls, R. I.*
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England
Finland
France
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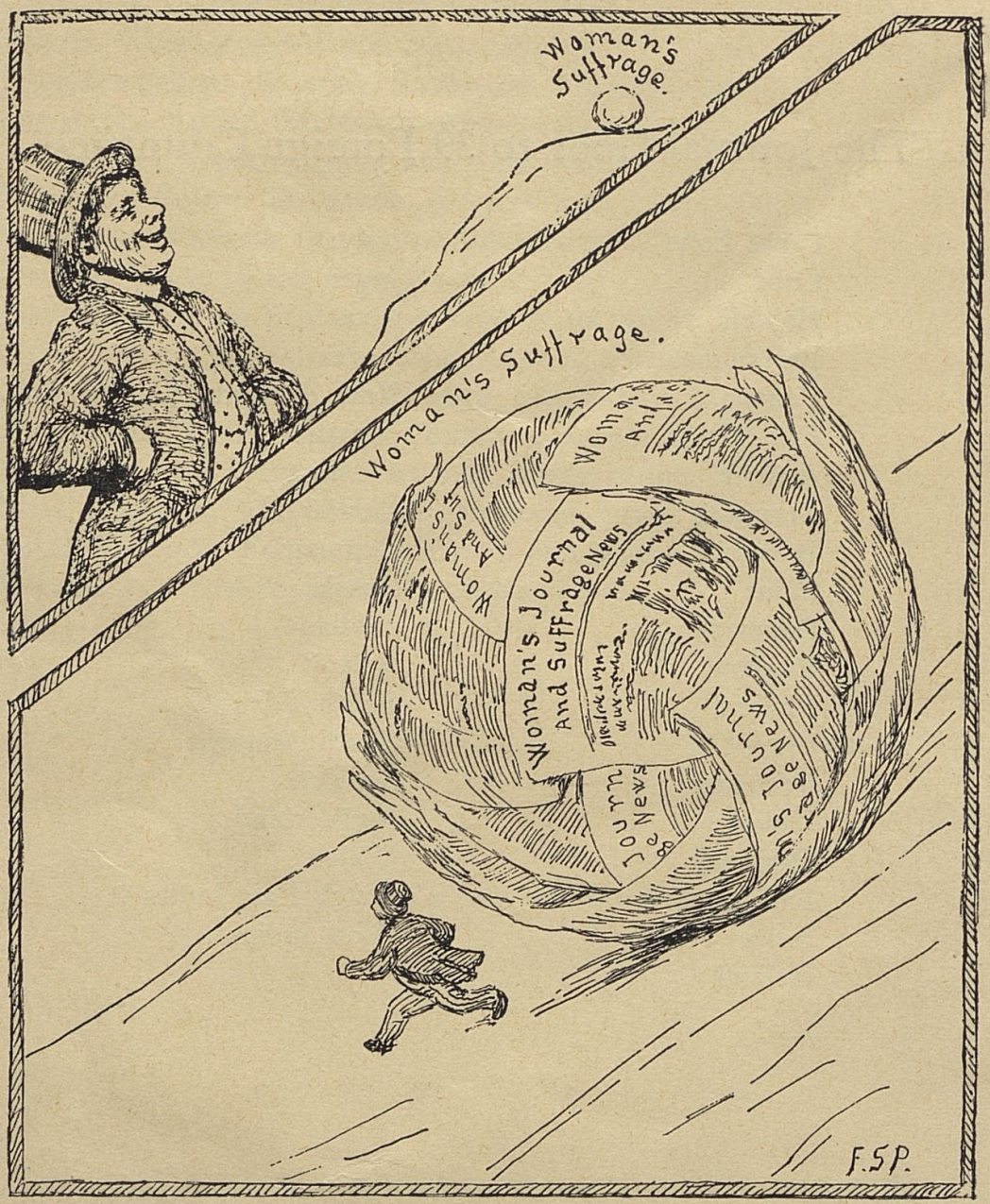
The Anti and the Snowball—Then and Now



The Corporation

THE CORPORATION

The Woman's Journal is a corporation formed under the laws of Massachusetts. Its stockholders are interested in furthering the cause of equal suffrage through a paper owned and managed by suffragists. Its directors, its editor-in-chief, and its deputy treasurer receive no salary; its stockholders receive no dividends. Those who purchase stock do so for the sake of building up the paper to meet the needs of the movement.

ITS PURPOSE

Its purpose is contained in the following description which appeared on the original title page: "A weekly newspaper devoted to the interests of woman—to her educational, industrial, legal, and political equality, and especially to her right of suffrage."

ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the corporation is held on the second Monday in January to elect officers and transact such other business as may come before the meeting. The officers are a board of five directors, a president, a treasurer, and a clerk. The officers for 1916, elected at the last annual meeting are as follows:

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Radical's Progress

A Record of Courage

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THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY
116 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

EDITORS' NOTE

[The narrative which follows is made up of letters written by an officer of the British merchant marine to an American friend in close sympathy with the creed they formulate. These letters cover a correspondence of many years, the earlier dating from the South African War, where the writer distinguished himself by his courage in action, and some of the later from the Dardanelles campaign, which found him serving as chief officer of one of his Britannic Majesty's transports. The order in which the letters are printed has been designed by the person who received and arranged them to throw into relief the writer's Progressive views toward Socialism; but no liberties have been taken with the text. To an individualist, it is interesting to note that the degree of tense social control now exerted by the state in Great Britain may drive a Socialist into the kind of revolt usually associated with individualistic doctrine. We may add that the writer has been known to the editor of the *Atlantic* for many years through much correspondence and many talks. We can vouch for the genuineness of the letters.—THE EDITORS.]

RADICAL'S PROGRESS

I

BATTLE

LIVERPOOL, *July* 12, 1915.

You will be wondering where I am and what I have been doing all this time. Your letter was here when I arrived home from the Dardanelles. I have been out there since the beginning, in February, as chief officer of a troop transport. We were under all kinds of shell-fire and rifle-fire, as well as being attacked by several aeroplanes daily, but we didn't get a scratch.

I am sick to death. I saw more men blown up in one hour out there than I saw killed all through the Boer War. I am cured of ever wishing to be a soldier again. You will appreciate why when I have finished my story.

After we landed our troops on April 25, we were turned into a distributing hospital ship. Over twenty thousand wounded passed through our vessel. It fell to my lot to sew up and bury the dead. To see the flower of the youth of Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, — and Turkey, too, for that matter, — mangled and maimed beyond recognition: not a man over thirty-five years and not one under nineteen years. . . . To see lines of men charging, with shrapnel blowing big gaps in their lines, makes one wonder if there is a living God who looks down and allows such things to go on.

I have a great liking for the individual Turk, and when I saw our Lancashire Fusiliers take a redoubt and pitch the Turks into the sea with the bayonet, I felt a great pity for the poor, honest Turkish peasant. Notwithstanding all that appears in the press about the cruelty of the Turks and their inhuman treatment of wounded, in all the twenty-thousand-odd wounded who passed through our ship I met no single instance of cruelty or of wounds not honestly got.

April 25 will stand out as the day of horrors in my life. I suppose the landing against such odds was one of the finest things in history. Some poor chaps never got ashore. Boatload after boatload of troops grounded on the barbed-wire entanglements which stretched from the shore under water for thirty feet and not a man in them was left alive. They floated away later, filled to the gunwales with their dead.

On shore the sight was worse. So congested were the Turks in their trenches on such small land space that every 12-inch or 6-inch shell simply sent heads, legs, arms, and trunks of bodies flying in all directions. I think there must have been at least fifty heavy men-of-war, — British and French, — as well as torpedo-boat destroyers as thick as gnats, banging away all day and all night without a stop. From the giant Queen Elizabeth down, every ship was searching the Turkish trenches with guns of all calibres. Above, aeroplanes were spotting and bomb-dropping. Every living person in a circle of twenty miles was bent on taking life or mangling some other person. This carnage was between men who had never exchanged a cross word; who had never even seen one another.

I don't know whether we as a nation can hate. I must say that, after taking aboard a couple of thousand wounded of our own men, I felt hot all over and cursed the Turks all I knew how; but when it came to taking wounded Turks aboard — well, I couldn't but help them all I could, especially when I saw some of our own slightly wounded men carrying badly wounded Turks up the gangway. What treatment they had been led to expect I don't know. The poor wretches had fear and agony of wounds written all over their faces. . . . What I saw in the Boer War led me to believe that the British Tommy is a gentleman at heart. What I saw on this ship only strengthened that belief and assured me that the heart of the British workingman is sound and clean. Our fellows had nothing more bitter to say against the Turks than that they were doing their jobs.

There was little rest for anybody either by day or night. If one wasn't actually at work tending the wounded or receiving them, the booming of the guns and the vibration of the ship made sleep, or even rest, impossible.

What I saw and went through has knocked the bottom out of me. I believe that I just escaped the madhouse by a hair's breadth. And when I was told to go back again I refused pointblank. There is no danger to the ships now except from submarines. I refused solely because I could not stand the sight of so much battered humanity. I would shoulder a rifle if they would take me: you know that I have offered myself four times and have been turned down each time. I simply cannot stand any more seeing men between twenty and thirty years old with legs blown off, arms blown off, and great gaping wounds from shrapnel all over the body — youngsters struck deaf and dumb from shell-shock though not actually hit; and men stone-blind from the same cause.

A big Australian, six feet three, about twenty-seven, had a shell explode almost in his face. It threw him on his back and injured his back muscles. Just as he struggled to his feet, another shell, bursting behind him, threw him on his face and strained his stomach muscles. He was struck blind, deaf, and dumb. His mouth opened and shut continually, as fast as though he were eating. Two men had to be told off to keep his forearms quiet — they kept coming up to his shoulders as though he were at physical drill. His body shook all over.

We had him aboard one week. By that time his mouth had resumed its normal movement and he had got back the sight of one eye. Then he passed through us to another ship.

How would any one of your American jingoes like to be twenty-seven years old with both eyes shot out and both wrists shattered by shrapnel? The man I mean was a young Scot. I helped him up the gangway. He stood six feet three — a beautiful specimen of physical manhood. After a day aboard he suffered terrible torture from the heat of the weather and of the ship, and also from the swarms of flies attracted by the smell of blood. He could not lie on a cot, so we had to fence off a corner in the 'tween decks, carpet it with pillows and mattresses, and let him grope round in his agony. On the spots where the blood had soaked through his eye- and wrist-bandages the flies clustered in black clots. He moaned night and day and was scarcely conscious. He was to-

tally blind, and even the sense of touch was denied him, because his wrists were so shattered that they would have to be amputated.

Another man — a Lancashire Fusilier — was shot in the intestines. His torture was frightful. He raved like an animal and died in agony.

The majority of the wounded men were unconscious, and died so.

One evening I buried twenty-seven of the best my country ever produced, all Scots Fusiliers. The words, "We therefore commit his body to the deep" are graven on my very soul. It is at this part of the service that the body is slid overboard. For full an hour after this first burial, the thought of these countrymen of mine being sewn up in blankets and dumped overboard like so many bundles of rubbish — I had a terrible craving to get at the throats of the capitalists and jingoes who are responsible for it all. Submarine commanders cannot be blamed for sinking Lusitanias. They are simply doing their jobs and obeying orders. Those who issue such orders cannot be got at; at least, not yet.

Day after day these burials went on. Later I refused to attend them. The finish came when one body stuck to the stretcher by reason of the blood having oozed through the wrappings and congealed. The body had to be pried adrift before it would slide of its own weight into the sea.

I cannot tell you any more just yet. I sicken as I write.

The stupidity of it all!—the wrong men doing the fighting and bearing all the suffering. Kindly-hearted fathers killing other kindly-hearted fathers at the behest of — whom? One ceases to wonder if mothers in the future will ask why they should go through nine months of labor and then rear children, — for this. I should like to have had a few thousands of American mothers on the quay at Alexandria every time we discharged our freight of mangled humanity. Or, better still, those in your country who are clamoring for war: let them volunteer to come over as stretcher-bearers only.

It is horrible, horrible, too horrible. I have refused to go back. Come what may, I will have no more of it. My nerves are all in. Physically, I am not a coward. If my refusal to go back is moral cowardice I am content to let it go at that. There are no penalties attached to my not going back except the loss of my position with the company. My affair comes up in a day or two, and a few capitalists will sit in judgment on me, and perhaps without the least compunction they will damn my sea career of twenty-two years in twenty-two seconds. Well, let them do as they will. *I care nothing for the judgment of men who have never seen suffering or sorrow.*

I will take their dismissal if it comes to that. It will mean starting at the bottom again if I go to sea, but I will never do that. If I am dismissed from the company, then the sea and I have shaken hands for the last time. . . . I have turned the situation over in every possible way to see if I am lacking in patriotism. I find that up to the present I have done my job and served my country as few have done since the war started. Therefore I have made my stand, let fall what may.

And now let me speak of the United States. From what I have pieced together since arriving home, I gather that public feeling in your country runs high over the Lusitania affair. Many seem to be clamor-

ing for war. *Who are these people and what do they know of war?* Who eggs them on, and for what reasons? Again I say, let them come over and serve as stretcher-bearers only. Or perhaps your jingoes are of the same breed as ours: do all their fighting in frock coats while the youth of the country do their dirty work for them.

I think the Lusitania dead would be the last, if they could, to cry out for venegeance, and to sacrifice scores of thousands of America's best youth for their sakes. There must be another way out. There must be thousands of other ways if only the nation would keep cool and think. An American who urges his country to enter the fight is a bad American. It is frightful to think of thousands of such fellows as I have met over on your side being torn to pieces with high explosives. Within twenty-four hours at the Dardanelles we had twelve thousand men killed and wounded. Our losses out there far exceed those published. From cottage and mansion they came, from university and poor school. They represented the best we had. Your ranks would have to be filled with the same material.

By the time this reaches you I may be sweeping the streets. I'm extremely nervous, not on account of what the company may do to me, but from what I have been through lately. I don't sleep too well. I see mangled bodies and faces all the time. I'm up against it every way I turn: I cannot get into the firing line; I can't stand the job I've been on lately; and I stand practically condemned by the company. In the firing line one wouldn't see a tithe of what I saw at the Dardanelles, because there we had aboard the mangled of all fronts, whereas, in the trenches, one would only see the wounded of his own immediate front. — What a maze of contradictions I am in! I seem to be fighting my way through to something — what, I don't know.

I am intensely interested in what the company may decide, because if the decision goes against me there will be a new life opening out. I don't dread menial labor if I can work out my salvation that way. Of all the questions I have fought out with the company — and they are many — this is the most interesting and perhaps the most vital. If I am dismissed, I suppose many will say that I funked it. Others, who know me, will not say so much: they'll probably say, "What a damned fool he was, and next in turn for command, too!"

Meanwhile, I am resting and playing with my kidlets, awaiting the judgment of the heaven-born.

The situation is ludicrous. Here I am, a man who fought through the Boer War; a man recommended for the Distinguished Service Medal; a man promoted from the ranks to troop-sergeant at one leap; a man who, plugging along with one kidney and minus two ribs, was mentioned in dispatches at the Dardanelles in April; a man who has been shot at with rifles, field-guns, howitzers, aeroplane bombs, and naval guns, and threatened by submarines; and yet I have to be judged by financiers who have never had a duck-rifle in their hands, to see if I funked going back to the Dardanelles.

If they want a plain answer to a plain question I'll tell them straight that I did funk going back to see so

many thousand of my best countrymen mangled by devilish instruments of war. I know I have a wife and two children depending on me, but I am not afraid for them. I have been up against it before, and have won through, and I'll win through here somehow if I get sacked. I will admit defeat when I am in the grave, not before.

Excuse this letter. It is a disjointed affair. I am scarcely myself. You will hear again as soon as I have been judged by the heaven-born. Till then, do all you can to keep your country out of this mess.

LIVERPOOL, *July* 13, 1915.

The inevitable has happened at last. What I told you of in yesterday's letter came off today.

The money-bags tried me and found me wanting, and I have been asked to resign.

I went up without the slightest intention of walking back a peg. They seemed astounded at my refusal even at the price of dismissal.

So now I am out of a job, with a wife and two youngsters depending on me for the means to live. It has been the greatest fight of my life, and according to my way of thinking I have won out at the cost of my job. The opportunity was mine to walk a liner's bridge with a captain's tin hat on; but only at the price of keeping my mouth shut and my pen quiet. Your friend may be a fool, but he is honest enough to stand aside and take the blows when it comes to that, rather than to sail the seas hounded by capitalists and forced to do things which daily menace the lives of thousands of innocent travelers. I knew that I had to make my choice before the company would give me command. That was told me many moons ago.

The question that I have been asking myself since my dismissal is: Is it worth it all?

The only answer I can get from my inner self is: Yes, yes, yes.

My dismissal took place at 3 p. m. prompt. It is scarcely 5 p. m. now, so I've lost no time in letting you know.

What an intense sensation of relief I have! The cloud of years has cleared at last and left me once more in the sunshine — and with more fight than ever. The sea and I have parted at a time when command was in my hand. What I am going to do I don't know yet. I don't ask much of life if I can help my fellow man. Certain it is I won't go under. I am content to sweep streets or anything. I have confidence in myself now that I have been put through what was, for me, the supreme test; and I have confidence in the future even if, at the moment, I don't see daylight.

Your land-lubbing friend.

II

BONDAGE

[The following passages from letters of a much earlier period will explain certain allusions in the foregoing.]

You ask what started me on my course of radical thinking. Two incidents, both from the Boer War.

The thin end of the wedge entered my mind from seeing an old Boer farmer bayoneted. I myself had killed a man before that. But this day, as I was riding along, I saw a sergeant order an infantryman — a West Kent man — to capture an old Boer who was making for a horse, — his own, I fancy.

The man dropped out of the ranks and took after the Boer, who was

an "Eighty-Oner," white-bearded, with black crape on his hat; they never surrendered.

"Halt!" yelled the Kent man.

The Boer kept on after the horse.

"Halt! you old beggar!" yelled the Tommy again.

The Boer paid no heed.

"I'll give you one more chance; up with your hands!"

The Boer kept on.

I saw the West Kent man take the step for the bayoneting—a purely mechanical motion. The old man reached around and gripped the blade with both hands. The Tommy gave it a twist. All the Boer's fingers dropped off. The Tommy drew his blade out of the two bleeding stumps and stabbed the old man to the heart. The Boer fell dead.

Then the Kent man unfixed his bayonet, wiped the blood off on his sleeve, fixed it again, and fell back into his place in the column.

"You beast!" thought I, and waited for him to pass me, expecting him to have the face of a fiend.

As he came near, he turned his head my way and I got a good look at him. It was a worse shock than the sight of him killing the Boer.

In his face was everything that manhood holds best. He was a fine-looking fellow — a man of character.

Two days before, I had killed a man myself. It was in a skirmish. My regimental chum sang out at me, "Step right!" I did so instinctively, and this fellow lunged past me, and fell with the force of his missed blow. I brought down the butt of my rifle on his skull and crushed it, as one breaks an egg.

All the rest of the day I vomited at intervals. Once I cried. I could not eat. Two days earlier had come a letter from my mother asking me not to take life if I could help it. . . . It wasn't the letter. It was the physical shock of seeing a man's brains beaten in like jelly. I made up my mind then and there that I had had enough of patriotism.

Toward the end of the war I was detailed with forty-nine other troopers to act as escort to the present King and Queen. They were then Duke and Duchess of York. The honor was supposed to be ours.

Riding along the streets under the hot sun, between crowds of cheering people, and eyeing this undersized man, I fell to comparing him with the men of his bodyguard, forty-nine fine, strapping fellows. I cannot begin to tell you the shock it gave me.

That, for me, was the beginning of the end. The contrast between this Duke and the men of his bodyguard did the business for me. Later it dawned on me that I had been fighting an honest, hard-working Boer peasantry for the sake of a gang of London financiers.

If ever I take up a gun again it will not be in cold blood. But I'll fight for the poor against this rotten commercialism, even if I and my wife and children have to go down into the gutter for it.

April, 1914.

I have five men to work the lifeboats. According to the company's books I have fifty — the captain and five officers, the four quartermasters (who steer the ship), the boatswain and boatswain's mate, and his servant (a boy of ten), the carpenter, the carpenter's assistant, the joiner — and so on. Actually, however, I have five. Five to keep the ship clean and work the boats. The rest have to be on station. The result is that we have to clean ship all night and work boats all day; we can't

turn the hose on the decks when the passengers are about. And the boats are in terrible shape, and getting worse all the time. I need fifty-five men instead of fifty men. Last trip I reported a raft with air-tank punctured, impairing its buoyancy. Nothing done about it. Capacity: thirty persons. She'd *drown* thirty persons. And yet I am expected to bring the ship in clean with her boats in working order. It simply cannot be done. And the money saved on extra men whom the company won't hire, the company is dragging out of our hides by overwork. I have a conscience. I won't let things go. So I work myself like a dog to keep things up. In Liverpool, after the last trip, I lay down on my couch for a nap, and slept twenty-five hours without waking. My wife and a neighbor put me to bed. Until I was told, I never knew how I got there.

We officers know what it is to be thirty hours on our feet. I have been forty hours without sleep or rest, living on my pipe. After a siege like that, we go to sleep while we are walking the bridge. Our bodies keep awake, but nothing under heavens can keep our minds awake. I have been waked by bumping against the binnacle as I walked, or by banging my head against a stanchion; or we even bump into each other. Heads soggy. Think quickly we couldn't, not if we *had* to.

November, 1913.

On that trip to New York our Hungarian crew deserted. The Balkan War had broken out and they were afraid that on the return they would be seized and sent to the front. We had to go to sea with a crew of Italian peanut-venders from West Street, who didn't know the meaning of a nautical term, and could not even understand my language.

The first morning at sea I had to go down into the forecastle with a cudgel and drive them out. It was foggy and blowing a bit, and under such conditions the wind usually howls. No sooner were they on deck than she took the spray of a wave over her bow and drenched them; drenched me, too. With that they all fell flat on the deck, raising their hands and screeching "Madonna Christi!"

To get one of them into the crow's nest on lookout, I had to rig a tackle, pass a loop line under his armpits, and hoist him up. They couldn't even swing out a boat on its davits. We had to wait until dark before swinging out the two emergency boats which we always keep ready, and then we had to get the officers out to do it. Dared not do it when the passengers were about. With such a crew we were navigating a ship with two thousand souls aboard of her.

When we got back to Liverpool I told the general manager about this.

"What would you advise?" he asked.

"I'd advise, if you couldn't get a crew in New York, to get one in Boston, and if not in Boston, then along the New England coast where they grow real sailors, even if it cost you £100 to the man. That would be better than carrying two thousand people at the risk of their lives, with a crew that can do nothing, not even understand what is said to them."

"You are not a business man," says he.

"No," I said, "I am a sailor."

"It came out all right; it was good business," was his remark.

But some of us have consciences, and such a reply as that doesn't satisfy the conscience of an officer who is entrusted with the responsibility for those two thousand lives.

September, 1912.

For the past month we have been idle in London, owing to the strike. I sent for my wife to come down and we took digs right in the slums of the dock. We wanted to see how the very poorest live.

The striking dock laborers in London have been quiet and orderly. It was in Liverpool that the rioting took place — the Irish element. My wife and I went among them where they were gathered by the thousands, and not an ugly word were we offered. I have gone down aboard ship at one and two o'clock when they would all be out in the streets, — they had nothing else to do, — and no one offered to molest me.

They told me it was hardest on the kiddies. Whole families were starving. I was amazed at the pluck of these men. It takes pluck to tighten your belt another hole each day and say nothing.

These fellows and their families were sober and clean: a very good type. They expected the strike to last much longer than it did, and were prepared to suffer accordingly. Even when they began to starve there was no sign of yielding. That's courage, when you have nothing to back you.

. . . Don't think our new Association [a seaman's union] is going to confine its operations to the betterment of sailor's conditions only. The traveling public is to be taken into consideration also. If ever I reach the giddy height of command of a company passenger steamer, I feel, now, that I shall get sacked inside of a year. I'll be up against my conscience and the old order of things. I have now been elected a member of the Executive Committee in London. This may, very soon, bring my name into print; and it remains to be seen whether the company will have the intelligence to see in my actions a desire to remedy crying evils, or if it will look on me as a damned agitator and get rid of me as such.

April, 1913.

My career as a committeeman of the union was brief and stormy.

During the strike a meeting was called in London to indict the shipowners for certain practices. The leading journals sent their best pressmen. The accusations were being read by a member of the committee.

I interrupted: "Those charges are not true."

"Are you with us or against us?" demanded the chairman.

"I am not with you," I told him, "when you make charges which are not true."

"How do you know they are not true?" said he.

"I can go aboard my ship and within an hour bring back copies of the company's regulations to prove it," I replied, "and I warn these gentlemen of the press that if they go to print with these charges, knowing that they have been challenged, I will go over their head to their editors."

The meeting adjourned in confusion.

"Couldn't you let this pass?" the committeeman said. "Isn't it better

for our cause to allow it to go unchallenged?"

"Nothing is good for your cause which is a knowing falsehood," I told them, "and I decline to have any share in a struggle conducted on such lines."

July, 1905.

On that voyage we touched at Odessa during one of the pogroms. The ship lay directly in the line of fire from a height where the Cossacks were stationed. Sometimes the bullets would ping! against the vessel's side. We had to keep under cover. Close to the docks where we lay was a heap of the dead, — Jews, of course. To go ashore in the daytime was almost certainly to be shot. But at night we would crawl out, sneak ashore, and pull the half-dead living out from this heap of corpses and carry them aboard. Among others, we got out a woman and two of her children. I gave up my room to her. Two more of her children and her husband lay dead in the heap. She wept most of the time. . . .

Two years afterward, whilst I was "second-extra" on the run between Liverpool and New York, on deck duty, I was walking through the steerage one day when some one without any warning whatever threw an arm around my neck and kissed me. I flung away and saw to my disgust that it was an untidy Jewish woman. She seized both my hands and kept repeating, —

"Odess'! Odess'!"

Then it all came over me. She was the same woman we had dragged out of that heap, and was coming out to New York with her brother.

III

LAND OF PROMISE

September 1, 1915.

You may be rather surprised to hear of my new venture.

The fact is, I had it out with myself after finishing with the company, and have taken to the land, farming. Your friend is now a farmer.

In my last letter I merely said that the money-bags had decided to dispense with my services. The chairman, in a very nice manner, told me that after long deliberation and thought the board of directors had decided that I was not a proper person to command one of their ships, as my line of thought and speech and my many unofficer-like acts had led them to suppose that company interests would suffer unless I altered my views to suit company traditions.

I merely told them that I did more than an honest day's work for a day's pay, and beyond that, I considered that my thoughts and actions belonged to myself and I would take care that they were not influenced in any way by company dictates.

That ended everything. Their decision was made final, and from that moment your friend ceased to be a sailor.

Certain of the officials were taken aback at my attitude and expressed surprise.

"Gentlemen," I said, "your decision leaves me undismayed, and the cloud that has been hanging over me for years has parted and left me once more in the light."

Several offered me their services outside the company, but I declined them.

They asked me to remember my wife and two children. I replied that they were my care, not theirs.

They seemed staggered, and concluded that I must be possessed of private means, and could therefore afford to stick to my principles.

All that now seems a long time ago. Since leaving I have had a happy time. I have walked a hundred miles on this island looking for a suitable place, and at last I have found one. Let me describe it to you.

Compared to my house in Liverpool, the farmhouse is a hovel. It is perched up on the mountain side with a glorious view and glorious air; also, one can catch a decent glimpse of the sea. There are eighty-seven acres of land to the place, a good lot of it heather-clad. It is situated close to the highest mountain. The post comes three times a week, and to post a letter means a four-mile walk. Grub is awfully difficult to get until I have a horse and cart. I've had to make a six-mile walk for it to town, and six miles back, using the baby-cart as motive power. Water for the house means a walk up the mountain side about a thousand yards.

But we are all happy. I have started with a hive of bees, a fifty-thousand colony. In time I'll get about thirty hives if the bees do well up here during the winter. What worries us most at present are the fleas. The place is swarming with them. The people who had the place before must have been dirty. Is it true that country people generally are so?

When I get the house in order, I am going to buy stock and implements and start ploughing up a few fields. I have built a small wall already. The place now looks like a jail. In fact, I've called it "B—— Jail." But there are great possibilities in it. When I get really settled and known, I am going in for politics. Of course you will probably know that the island has Home Rule. In time, I think, I shall be able to devote quite a lot of time to having a spar with the feudal system which is so strong here. As an instance, a wife is a chattel. She cannot possess personal property: it all goes to the husband when she passes into the married state. There are quite a lot of such things that require modernizing. I won't be idle in the Cause.

It is going to be hard work for a year or so, and I have no illusions on the matter. So long as I have won my battle over myself and have had my scrap with capitalism, I am happy. The loss of social position doesn't cost me a wink of sleep. . . . Expecting this to happen some day, I have saved all I knew how, and I feel sure that I shall win over the critical period long before my savings are exhausted. We are out of writing paper and it means a twelve-mile walk to the nearest store, so I am using up sonny's scribbling pad.

October 3, 1915.

The pigs are fed, the goat milked, and I have just robbed the hens of an egg or two. So now I can sit down and thank you for your letter and book. I was painting the gate when the postman brought your letter this morning, just smartening up the place a bit before ploughing starts. Really, I am taking to work very kindly, though my hands are in a shocking state and my back gives me gip nearly all the time.

But it is glorious to feel that every clod of earth I break is not done for a man who thunders along at forty knots an hour in a motor car bought by the sweat of me and my like. Since I have been out in the wilds I

have scarcely had the slightest headache. Before, I was all headaches, caused from threshing out the problems that meant either suicide or liberty. My position was untenable; more so than you can ever know. I had either to abandon my convictions and ideals, gathered in a life's journey, or get out. I was asked to accept company dictums, thereby strengthening my position and clearing all obstacles out of the way of future promotion. Fate — or something stronger — decided for me. I have lost friends and position, and according to many officers in the company, I have thrown away the substance to obtain the shadow. But you and I know which is the substance and which the shadow.

As I have told you, I knew long ago that I had to make my choice before the company would give me command. It may have been intention or it may have been accidental — the timing of it — after the Dardanelles, when I had reached the pinnacle of Chief Officership. Whether I would have been man enough to defy them if I had not been through the Dardanelles business I do not know; but I do know that no power on earth could have forced me to lend a helping hand at such wholesale slaughter again after what I saw and felt.

Whether my country is right or wrong in the cause of the war, I say that it is absolutely wrong to see countless thousands of its best youth slaughtered in such cruel ways. There must be other ways of settling such disputes, and to demolish monarchy and capitalism would go a long way.

Labor on our side is causing a lot of trouble. All unions are dead set against war profits, and friend Lloyd George more than anybody. It is practically impossible now for any concern to make more than an ordinary peace-day profit. And Labor is right. Why, in the first months of the war, when war spirit was at fever heat, the men lost sight of the fact that whilst they were sweating and cheering, some firms were making 60% profits; others, over 100%, and others again nearly 200%. The Welsh miners were, I think, the first to resume their senses and ask what the employers were doing. The country got quite a shock. Why, the company was making more than three times the profit of ordinary years; and this in a year of war, when food and necessities are nearly 30% higher than in normal times. Ships were run with four instead of seven officers. The extra work came out of our hides without extra pay. After the Dardanelles business I was nearer the lunatic asylum than, I hope, I shall ever be again. One cannot work seventy hours at a stretch in a broiling sun with guns roaring night and day, airships dropping bombs, and men being mangled into lumps of unrecognizable flesh and bone, without its wearing one out. It was not so much the overwork as the thought that stabbed me night and day, that no small part of the class that caused this slaughter are lounging in places where their skins are as safe as in peace times. I used to see red and want to get at their throats.

I feel now that I can never destroy life again. The beasts I have so far will never lose their blood by my hands. I have a she-goat that follows me around like a dog. I could never hurt her. Many a good dinner I could have killed here — partridge, hare, or grouse — but I find it impossible to do so.

Why, when I went to the well the other day for water, out of it jumped a frog. I simply took it twenty yards away and let it go, knowing full well that it would hop back in again as soon as I cleared out.

This may seem to you an extraordinary state of mind for a farmer to be in, but the fact is, I have promised myself not to take life in any shape or form again if I can possibly avoid it. The Dardanelles and my bees have cured me of all inclination to be cruel to man or beast. When the weather is dry and I have a minute to spare, I sit by my hive and watch the bees work. I have them all over my face and hands, and I seldom get a sting, and then only from a tired bee returning with its hind bags heavy with nectar from the heather.

The adverse judgment of your friends on my conduct is interesting. It would be impossible, I suppose, for them to see the case as I saw it. And again, the majority of men are against destroying a structure of which they are bricks, or even perhaps the props and builders. Give them a dose of bloodshed such as Europe is having and give them the same causes of it; then, perhaps, they would find it impossible, as I did, to carry on. Let some of them be tried, and see how they ring. It is so hard for men who have been nursed all their lives to comprehend what human suffering is and what causes it. One must get out and see it. To do this some men cannot pluck up enough courage; others do not dare for fear of social ostracism. Self, always. For a man to shoulder others' burdens and realize that he actually is his brother's keeper requires self-effacement, and I suppose no man can do good work until that self-effacement takes place.

At first it struck me as selfish and cowardly to bury myself out here. But what else could I have done? Even if I had the stomach for it now, the firing line would not take me. I have sworn never to serve capitalism again, and that means, of course, that I shall never again go to sea. As you see, I have simply been forced out of society.

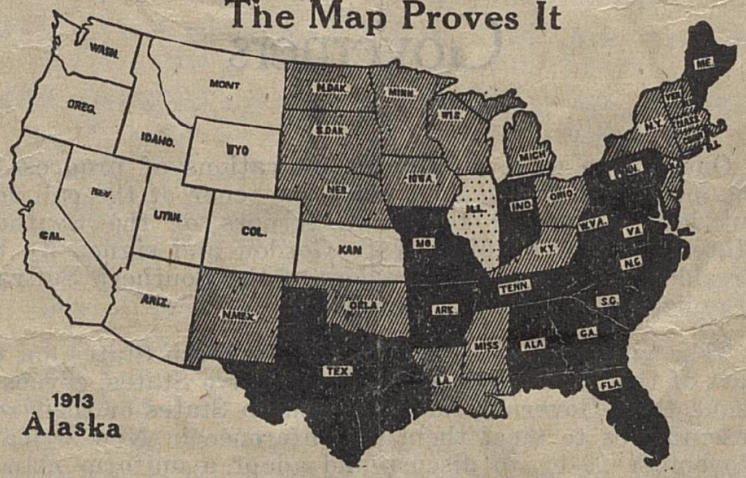
. . . I'm scarcely myself even yet. In fact, I shall never be my old self again. The Dardanelles knocked that old self out of me, and has made me a bitter enemy of the titled and capitalist classes. I have always been opposed to them, but without hatred. Today I hate them with a hate that will die only with me. Those thousands of maimed men and thousands of others being blown into the air by shrapnel have seared me to my very soul. I only ask now to be shown the way to fight the causes responsible for such wholesale butchery.

No, comrade, I can never again be as you have known me. I have suffered too much from what I have seen.

84
THE HILDMANN PRINTING COMPANY
722 - 732 Sherman St., Chicago

Votes for Women a Success

The Map Proves It



WHITE STATES: Full Suffrage SHADED STATES: Taxation, Bond or School Suffrage
DOTTED STATE: Presidential, Partial County and State, Municipal Suffrage
BLACK STATES: No Suffrage

Help Make The Southern States White

Don't you want to join the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference? Membership costs but $1 per year. Fill out the following blank and mail to headquarters.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION.

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference,

Headquarters: 301 Carondelet St.
New Orleans, La.

I WISH TO ENROLL AS A MEMBER OF THE SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE.

Name .....

Address .....

Annual Dues $1.

A Call to Southern Governers

One of the most significant indications of progress of the movement in the South was the tenor of the call sent out last November to the Governors of the Southern States, written by Miss Kate Gordon and signed by the Presidents and leading members of the Southern Suffrage organizations. It read as follows:

"The undersigned women of the Southern States, on the part of the Suffragists of their respective States, earnestly request the Governors of the Southern States or their representatives to meet them in conference in New Orleans, November 10-11, to discuss and adopt a uniform plan of action for the adoption of Woman suffrage in the South.

"We are united in the belief that Suffrage is a State right, and that the power to define a State's electorate should remain the exclusive right of the State. However, we recognize that Woman Suffrage is no longer a theory to be debated, but a condition to be met. The inevitable 'votes for women' is a world movement, and unless the South squarely faces the issue and takes steps to preserve the State right, the force of public opinion will make it mandatory through a National Constitutional Amendment.

"In fact, the National Council of Voters, consisting of enfranchised women, has for its object the influencing of national legislation to secure the ballot for the women who have not yet received it. While as Southerners we wish to see the power of the State retained, yet as women we are equally determined to secure, as of paramount importance, the right which is the birthright of an American citizen.

"We, therefore, appeal to you gentlemen vested with the power to so largely shape conditions, to confer with us and influence public opinion to adopt Woman Suffrage through State action. Failing to accomplish this, the onus of responsibility will rest upon the men of the South if Southern women are forced to support a national amendment, weighted with the same objections as the Fifteenth Amendment.

"Hoping for an early and favorable response,

"Signed:

"MRS. SOLON H. JACOBS, Birmingham, Ala., President of the Alabama Equal Suffrage Asoociation.

"MRS. ALICE ELLINGTON, Little Rock, Ark., President of the Little Rock Political Equality League.

"MRS. CHESTER JENNNGS, Little Rock, Ark., President of the Little Rock Political Equality League.

"MRS. HELEN RAND TINDALL, Washington, D. C.

"MRS. MARY F. McLENDON, Atlanta, Ga., President of the Georgia Equal Suffrage Association.

"MRS. DESHA BRECKENRIDGE, Lexington, Ky., President of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

"MISS LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky., Secretry of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

"MRS. SARAH CLAY BENNETT, Richmond, Ky.

"MRS. MARY B. CLAY, Richmond, Ky.

"MISS KATE M. GORDON, New Orleans, La., President of the Louisiana State Suffrage Association.

"MISS FLORENCE LOEBER, New Orleans, La., President of the Era Club of New Orleans.

"MRS. EMMA MADDOX FUNCK, Baltimore, Md., President of the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association.

"MRS. DONALD R. HOOKER, Baltimore, Md., President of the Just Government League.

"MRS. ANNIE KINKEAD DENT, Yazoo City, Miss., President of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association.

"MRS. ROBERT SOMERVILLE, Greenville, Miss.

"MRS. EUGENE REILLY, Charleston, S. C.

"MRS. ADELIA C. STEPHENS, Oklahoma City, Okla., President of the Oklahoma Woman Suffrage Association.

"MRS. MARY WINTHROP GIBBON, Charleston, S. C.

"MISS SARAH BARNWELL ELLIOTT, Sewanee, President of the Tennessee Suffrage Association.

"MISS M. ELEANOR BRACKENRIDGE, San Antonio, President of the Texas Equal Franchise Society.

"MRS. B. B. VALENTINE, Richmond, Va., President of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia.

"MRS. HELEN GARDINER, Washington, D. C."

It was hardly to be expected that the Governors would attend this conference, but it was thrilling warning to backward legislatures that the hour has come when the women must come into their own.

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE.

Declaration of Principles.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted on Suffrage Day by the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference:

"Whereas, woman suffrage is a world movement now conceded as inevitable; and,

"Whereas, 9,000,000 women in the industries of this so-called republic need the ballot for protection as much as the workingmen need it, demonstrating thereby that woman suffrage is no longer a theory to be debated, but a condition to be met; and,

"Whereas, there are but two ways of securing this extension of suffrage to women, through a national amendment to the Constitution or through the State submitting to the voters the question; and,

"Whereas, we believe suffrage is a State right, and not a Federal right, and that the best interests of the nation will be conserved by preserving to the State the right to define its electorate; be it

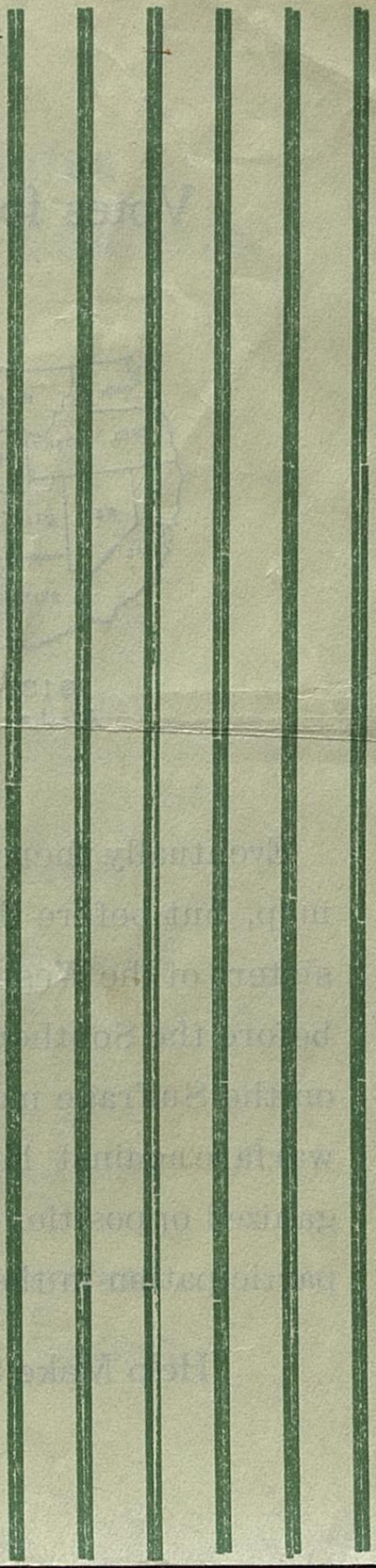
"Resolved, That we women of the South, guided by the lessons of the past, do affirm our faith in self-government, not alone for individuals, but in self-government for the State, as the greatest constitutional heritage which, in the wisdom of the framers of our government, was chosen to insure a free man and a free State as the central ideals of democracy; be it further

"Resolved, That the time has come for the Democratic Party, the State rights party, to record itself in favor of 'Votes for Women,' and to this end we, the men and women of the South, consecrate our best efforts to make the party so record itself."

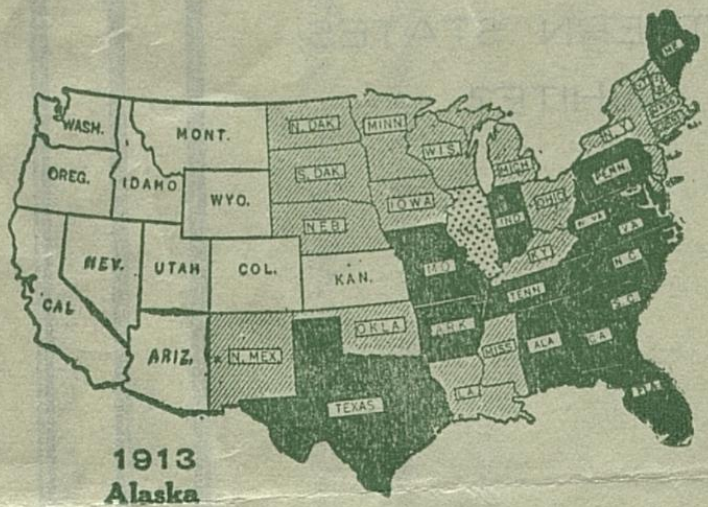
SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE
Headquarters:
301 CARONDELET ST. NEW ORLEANS, LA.

[1915?]

ARE YOU DOING
YOUR SHARE
TO MAKE THE
SOUTHERN STATES
WHITE?



Votes for Women a Success



Eventually there will not be a shaded spot on this map, but before the women of the South join their sisters of the West in the exercise of equal suffrage, before the Southern States become "white" states on the Suffrage map, they must wage unremitting warfare against hereditary sentiment and the organized opposition of interests who fear woman's participation in the affairs of State and Nation.

"Help Make the Southern States White"

Southern States Woman's Suffrage Conference

Headquarters:
319 Carondelet Street,
New Orleans, La.

Kate M. Gordon, President
1800 Prytania St., New Orleans, La.

Laura Clay, Vice President at Large
Lexington, Ky.

Mrs. O. F. Ellinton, Rec. Secretary
721 W. Morkham St., Little Rock, Ark.

Mrs. John B. Parker, Cor. Secretary
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

Mrs. H. B. Bartlett, Treasurer
155 Audubon Boulevard, New Orleans, La.

Ida Porter-Boyer, Executive Secretary
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans La.

HONORARY VICE PRESIDENTS

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Miss Mary Johnston
Warm Springs, Virginia

Mrs. Helen Gardiner
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS

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107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

Mrs. D. P. Montague
Chattanooga, Tenn.

KATE GORDON CHAPTER
WASHINGTON, D. C

Mrs. Wesly Martin Stoner, President
1527 Rhode Island Ave. N.W.
Washington, D. C.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

Southern States Woman's Suffrage Conference,
Headquarters, 319 Carondelet Street,
New Orleans, Louisianna.

I wish to enroll as a member of the Southern States Woman's Suffrage Conference. I will do everything in my power to promote the cause of Suffrage in the south.

Name_____

Address_____

Annual Dues $1.00

HELP MAKE SOUTHERN STATES WHITE