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THE HISTORY  
OF  
WOMAN SUFFRAGE

EDITED BY

IDA HUSTED HARPER

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPERPLATE AND PHOTOGRAVURE  
ENGRAVINGS

*IN SIX VOLUMES*

VOLUME V

1900—1920

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AFTER SEVENTY YEARS CAME THE VICTORY

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## PREFACE

The History of Woman Suffrage is comprised in six volumes averaging about one thousand pages each, of which the two just finished are the last. While it is primarily a history of this great movement in the United States it covers to some degree that of the whole world. The chapter on Great Britain was prepared for Volume VI by Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, leader of the movement there for half a century. The accounts of the gaining of woman suffrage in other countries come from the highest authorities. Their contest was short compared to that in the two oldest countries on the globe with a constitutional form of government—the United States and Great Britain—and in the former it began nearly twenty years earlier than in the latter. The effort of women in the “greatest republic on earth” to obtain a voice in its government began in 1848 and ended in complete victory in 1920. In Great Britain it is not yet entirely accomplished, although in all her colonies except South Africa women vote on the same terms as men.

Doubtless other histories of this world wide movement will be written but at present the student will find himself largely confined to these six volumes. This is especially true of the United States and many of the documents of the earliest period would have been lost for all time if they had not been preserved in the first three volumes. These also contain much information which does not exist elsewhere regarding the struggle of women for other rights besides that of the franchise. That the materials were collected and cared for until they could be utilized was due to Miss Susan B. Anthony's appreciation of their value. The story of the trials and tribulations of preparing those volumes during ten years is told in Volume II, page 612, and in the Preface of Volume IV. They were written and edited principally by Miss Anthony and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and covered the history from the beginning of the century to 1884. The writers expected when they began in 1877 to bring out one small

volume, perhaps only a large pamphlet. When these three huge volumes were finished they still had enough material for a fourth, which never was used.

Miss Anthony continued her habit of preserving the records and in 1900, when at the age of 80 she resigned the presidency of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, she immediately commenced preparations for another volume of the History. She called to her assistance Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, who had recently finished her Biography, and in her home in Rochester, N. Y., they spent the next two years on the book, Mrs. Stanton, who was 85 years old, taking the keenest interest in the work.<sup>1</sup> When the manuscript was completed hundreds of pages had to be eliminated in order to bring it within the compass of one volume of 1,144 pages.

Miss Anthony then said: "Twenty years from now another volume will be written and it will record universal suffrage for women by a Federal Amendment." Her prophecy was fulfilled to the letter. She put upon younger women the duty of collecting and preserving the records and this was done in some degree by officers of the association. In 1917, after the legacy of Mrs. Frank Leslie had been received by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the association, she formed the Leslie Suffrage Commission and established a Bureau of Suffrage Education, one feature of which was a research department. Here under the direction of an expert an immense amount of material was collected from many sources and arranged for use. After the strenuous work for a Federal Suffrage Amendment had brought it very near, Mrs. Catt turned her attention to the publishing of the last volume of the History of Woman Suffrage while the resources of the large national headquarters in New York and the archives of the research bureau were available, and she requested Mrs. Harper to prepare it. The work was begun Jan 2, 1919, and it was to be entirely completed in eighteen months. No account had been taken of the enormous growth of the suffrage movement. It had entered every State in the Union and it extended around the world. It was occupying the

<sup>1</sup> See *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, pages 1210, 1256, 1269. Placing in libraries, 1279 to 1282. Bequeathed to National Suffrage Association, *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume V, page 205.

attention of Parliaments and Legislatures. In the United States conventions had multiplied and campaigns had increased in number; it had become a national issue with a center in every State and defeats and victories were of constant record.

To select from the mass of material, to preserve the most important, to condense, to verify, was an almost impossible task. A comparison will illustrate the difference between the work required on Volume IV and that on the present volumes. The Minutes of the national convention in 1901 filled 130 pages of large type; those of the convention of 1919 filled 320 pages, many of small type; reports of congressional hearings increased in proportion. Of the State chapters, describing all the work that had been done before 1901, 29 contained less than 8 pages, 18 of these less than 5 and 7 less than 3; only 6 had over 14 pages. For Volume VI not more than half a dozen State writers sent manuscript for less than 14 and the rest ranged from 20 to 95 pages. The report on Canada in Volume IV occupied  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pages; in this volume it fills 18. The chapter on Woman Suffrage in Europe outside of Great Britain found plenty of room in 4 pages; in this one it requires 32.

The very full reports of the national suffrage conventions, the congressional documents, the files of the *Woman's Journal* and the *Woman Citizen* and the newspapers furnished a wealth of material on the general status of the question in the United States. It was, however, the evolution of the movement in the States that gave it national strength and compelled the action by Congress which always was the ultimate goal. The attempt to give the story of every State, in many of which no records had been kept or those which had were lost or destroyed; the difficulty in getting correct dates and proper names upset all calculations on the amount of material and length of time. As a result the time lengthened to three and a half years and the one volume expanded into two, with enough excellent matter eliminated to have made a third. In each of these chapters will be found a complete history of the effort to secure the franchise by means of the State constitution, also the part taken to obtain the Federal Amendment and the action of the Legislature in ratifying this amendment.

The accounts of the annual conventions of the National American Suffrage Association demonstrate as nothing else could do the commanding force of that organization, for fifty years the foundation and bulwark of the movement. The hearings before committees of every Congress indicate the never ceasing effort to obtain an amendment to the Federal Constitution and the extracts from the speeches show the logic, the justice and the patriotism of the arguments made in its behalf. The delay of that body in responding will be something for future generations to marvel at. In Chapter XX will be found the full history of this amendment by which all women were enfranchised.

In one chapter is a graphic account of the effort for half a century to get a woman suffrage "plank" into the national platforms of the political parties and its success in 1916, with one for the Federal Amendment in 1920. A chapter is devoted to the forming of the National League of Woman Voters after the women of the United States had become a part of the electorate. All questions as to the part taken in the war of 1914-1918 by the women who were working for their enfranchisement are conclusively answered in the chapter on War Service of Organized Suffragists. In one chapter will be found an account of other organizations besides the National American Association that worked to obtain the vote for women and of those that worked against it. A full description is given of the organizing of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and its congresses in the various cities of Europe.

Volumes V and VI take up the history of the contest in the United States from the beginning of the present century to Aug. 26, 1920, when Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby proclaimed that the 19th Amendment, submitted by Congress on June 4, 1919, had been ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States and was now a part of the National Constitution. This ended a movement for political liberty which had continued without cessation for over seventy years. The story closes with uncounted millions of women in all parts of the world possessing the same voice as men in their government and enjoying the same rights as citizens.

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## INTRODUCTION

A voice in the Government under which one lives is absolutely necessary to personal liberty and the right of a whole people to a voice in their Government is the first requisite for a free country. There must be government by a constitution made with the consent and help of the people which guarantees this right. It is *only within the last century and a half* that a constitutional form of government has been secured by any countries and in the most of those where it now exists, not excepting the United States, it was won through war and bloodshed. Largely for this reason its principal advantage was monopolized by men, who made and carried on war, and who held that such government must be maintained by physical force and only those should have a voice in it who could fight for it if necessary. There were many other reasons why those who had thus secured their right to a vote should use their new power to withhold it from women, which was done in every country. Women then had to begin their own contest for what by the law of justice was theirs as much as men's when government by constitution was established.

Their struggle lasted for nearly three-quarters of a century in the United States and half a century in Great Britain, the two largest constitutional governments, and a shorter time in other countries, but it was a peaceful revolution. Not a drop of blood was spilled and toward the end of it, when in Great Britain the only "militancy" occurred, its leaders gave the strictest orders that human life must be held sacred. Although at the last the women of Central Europe were enfranchised as the result of war it was not of their making and their part in it was *not on the battlefield*. This was the most unequal contest that ever was waged, for one side had to fight without weapons. It was held against women that they were not educated, but the doors of all institutions of learning were closed against them;



that they were not taxpayers, although money-earning occupations were barred to them and if married they were not allowed to own property. They were kept in subjection by authority of the Scriptures and were not permitted to expound them from the woman's point of view, and they were prevented from pleading their cause on the public platform. When they had largely overcome these handicaps they found themselves facing a political fight without political power.

The long story of the early period of this contest will be found in the preceding volumes of this History and it is one without parallel. No class of men ever strove seventy or even fifty years for the suffrage. In every other reform which had to be won through legislative bodies those who were working for it had the power of the vote over these bodies. In the Introduction to Volume IV is an extended review of the helpless position of woman when in 1848 the first demand for equality of rights was made and her gradual emergence from its bondage. No sudden revolution could have gained it but only the slow processes of evolution. The founding of the public school system with its high schools, from which girls could not be excluded, solved the question of their education and inevitably led to the opening of the colleges. In the causes of temperance and anti-slavery women made their way to the platform and remained to speak for their own. During the Civil War they entered by thousands the places vacated by men and retained them partly from necessity and partly from choice.

One step led to another; business opportunities increased; women accumulated property; Legislatures were compelled to revise the laws and the church was obliged to liberalize its interpretation of the Scriptures. Women began to organize; their missionary and charity societies prepared the way to clubs for self-improvement; these in turn broadened into civic organizations whose public work carried them to city councils and State Legislatures, where they found themselves in the midst of politics and wholly without influence. Thus they were led into the movement for the suffrage. It was only a few of the clear thinkers, the far seeing, who realized at the beginning that the principal cause of women's inferior position and helplessness

lay in their disfranchisement and until they could be made to see it they were a dead weight on the movement. Men fully understood the power that the vote would place in the hands of women, with a lessening of their own, and in the mass they did not intend to concede it.

The pioneers in the movement for the rights of women, of which the suffrage was only one, contested every inch of ground and little by little the old prejudice weakened, public sentiment was educated, barriers were broken down and women pressed forward. At the opening of the present century, while they had not obtained entire equality of rights, their status had been completely transformed in most respects and they were prepared to get what was lacking. None of these gains, however, had required the permission of the masses of men but only of selected groups, boards of trustees, committees, legislators. It was when women found that with all their rights they were at tremendous disadvantage without political influence and asked for the suffrage that they learned the difficulty of changing constitutions. They found that either National or State constitutions had to be amended and in the latter case the consent of a majority of all men was necessary. In Volume VI the attempt to obtain the vote through State action is described in 48 chapters and their reading is recommended to those who insisted that this was the way women should be enfranchised. Fifty-six strenuous campaigns were conducted, with their heavy demands on time, strength and money, and as a result 13 States gave suffrage to women! Wyoming and Utah entered the Union with it in their constitutions. Compare this result with the proclamation of the adoption of a Federal Amendment, which in a moment and a sentence conferred the complete franchise on the women of all the other States.

The leaders recognized this advantage and the National Suffrage Association was formed for the express purpose of securing a Federal Amendment in 1869, as soon as it was learned through the enfranchisement of negro men that this method was possible. A short experience with Congress convinced them that there would have to be some demonstration of woman suffrage in the States before they could hope for Federal action and therefore

they carried on the work along both lines. The question had to be presented purely as one of abstract justice without appeal to the special interests of any party, but from 1890 to 1896 woman suffrage had been placed in the constitutions of four States and there was hope that it was now on the way to general success. From this time, however, such idealism in politics as may have existed in the United States gradually disappeared. The Republican party was in complete control of the Government at Washington and was largely dominated by the great financial interests of the country, and this was also practically the situation in the majority of the States. The campaign fund controlled the elections and the largest contributors to this fund were the corporations, which had secured immense power, and the liquor interests, which had become a dominant force in State and national politics, without regard to party. Both of these supreme influences were implacably opposed to suffrage for women; the corporations because it would vastly increase the votes of the working classes, the liquor interests because they were fully aware of the hostility of women to their business and everything connected with it.

This was the situation faced by those who were striving for the enfranchisement of women. Congress was stone deaf to their pleadings and arguments and from 1894 to 1913 its committees utterly ignored the question. When a Legislature was persuaded to submit an amendment to the State constitution to the decision of the voters it met the big campaign fund of the employers of labor and the thoroughly organized forces of the liquor interests, which appealed not only to the many lines of business connected with the traffic but to the people who for personal reasons favored the saloons and their collateral branches of gambling, wine rooms, etc. They were a valuable adjunct to both political parties. The suffragists met these powerful opponents without money and without votes. A reading of the State chapters will demonstrate these facts. From 1896 for fourteen years not one State enfranchised its women.

These were years, however, of marvelous development in the status of women, which every year brought nearer their political recognition. Girls outnumbered boys in the high schools; women

crowded the colleges and almost monopolized the teaching in the public schools. Their organizations increased in size until they numbered millions and stretched across the seas. In 1904 the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was formed which soon encircled the globe. This year the International Council of Women, the largest organized body of women in existence, formed a standing committee on woman suffrage with branches in every country. In 1914 the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the largest organization in the United States, declared for woman suffrage and this was preceded or followed by a similar declaration by every State Federation. National associations of women for whatever purpose, with almost no exceptions, demanded the franchise as an aid to their objects, until the stock objection that women do not want to vote was silenced. Women who opposed the movement became alarmed and undertook to organize in opposition, thereby exposing their weakness. Their organization was largely confined to a small group of eastern States and developed no strength west of the Allegheny mountains. Its leaders were for the most part connected with corporate interests and did not believe in universal suffrage for men. There was no evidence that they exercised any considerable influence in Congress or in any State where a vote was taken on granting the franchise to women.

An outstanding feature of the present century has been the entrance of women into the industrial field, following the work which under modern conditions was taken from the homes to the factories. Thus without their volition they became the competitors of men in practically every field of labor. Unorganized and without the protection of a vote they were underpaid and a menace to working men. In self-defense, therefore, the labor unions were compelled to demand the ballot for women. They were followed by other organizations of men until hundreds were on record as favoring woman suffrage. Men trying to bring about civic or political reforms in the old parties or through new ones and feeling their weakness turned to women with their great organizations but soon realized their inefficiency without political power. The old objections were losing their force. The lessening size of families and the removal of the

old time household tasks from the home left women with a great deal of leisure which they were utilizing in countless ways that took them out into the world, so that there was no longer any weight in the charge that the suffrage would cause women to forsake their domestic duties for public life. Women of means began coming into the movement for the suffrage and relieving the financial stringency which had constantly limited the activities of the organized work. The opening of large national headquarters in New York, the great news center of the country, in 1909, marked a distinct advance in the movement which was immediately apparent throughout the country. The friendly attitude of the metropolitan papers extended to the press at large. Following the example of England, parades and processions and various picturesque features were introduced in New York and other large cities which gave the syndicates and motion pictures material and interested the public. Woman suffrage became a topic of general discussion and women flocked into the suffrage organizations.

Politicians took notice but they remained cold. This political question had not yet entered politics. The leaders of the National Suffrage Association strengthened its lines and established its outposts in every State, but they still made their appeals to unyielding committees of Congress. The Republican "machine" was in absolute control and woman suffrage had long been under its wheels with other reform measures. Then came in 1909-10 the "insurgency" in its own ranks led by members from the western States, and in those States the voters repudiated the railroad and lumber and other corporate interests and instituted a new régime. One of its first acts was the submission of a woman suffrage amendment in the State of Washington and with a free election and a fair count it was carried in every county and received a majority of more than two to one. The revolt extended to California, whose Legislature sent an amendment to the voters in 1911 after having persistently refused to do so for the past 15 years, and here again there was victory at the polls. With the gaining of this old and influential State the extension of the movement to the Mississippi was assured.

The insurgency in the Republican party resulted in a division

at the national convention in 1912 and the forming of the Progressive party headed by Theodore Roosevelt. The Resolutions Committee of the regular party gave the suffragists seven minutes to present their claims and ignored them. The new party needed a fresh, live issue and found it in woman suffrage, which was made a plank in its platform. The leaders of the National Suffrage Association were required by its constitution to remain non-partisan and with one exception did so, but thousands of women rallied to the standard of the new party. As most of them were disfranchised they brought little voting strength but the other parties were forced to admit them and for the first time they gained a foothold in politics. The division in Republican ranks resulted in putting into power the Democratic party, with an unfavorable record on woman suffrage and a President who was opposed to it, but "votes for women" was now a national political issue.

When the suffrage leaders went to the new Congress for a Federal Amendment they met a Senate Committee every member but one of which was in favor of it. The vote in the Senate on March 14, 1914, resulted in a majority but not the required two-thirds, and it was a majority of Republicans. The history of the struggle for this amendment for the next six years, through Democratic and Republican administrations, will be found in Chapter XX. Speaker Champ Clark was a steadfast friend. In 1914 William Jennings Bryan declared for it and thenceforth spoke for it many times. In 1915 President Woodrow Wilson announced his conversion to woman suffrage and in 1918 to the Federal Amendment and never wavered in his loyalty, rendering every assistance in his power. His record will be found in these volumes. In 1916, after Justice Charles Evans Hughes was nominated by the Republicans for the presidency, he announced his adherence to the Federal Amendment, being in advance of his party. This year the Republican and Democratic national platforms for the first time contained a plank in favor of woman suffrage but by State and not Federal action. A remarkable feature of the progress of this amendment in Congress was the increase of its advocates among members from the South, who for the most part believed it to be

an interference with the State's rights. In 1887, when the first vote was taken in the Senate not one southern member voted for it. On the second occasion in 1914 Senators Lea of Tennessee, Ransdell of Louisiana, Sheppard of Texas, Ashurst of Arizona and Owen of Oklahoma voted in favor. In 1919 on the final vote, if Arizona, New Mexico and Delaware are included, 17 Senators from southern States cast their ballots for the Federal Amendment, and four from northern States who did so were born in the South. It received the votes of 75 Representatives from southern States. The women of every southern State suffrage association worked for this amendment, believing that it was hopeless to expect their enfranchisement from State action, and the above members took the same view. It received a large Republican majority in Senate and House.

While this contest was in progress many events were taking place which had an influence on it. The movement for woman suffrage was progressing in Europe but when the war broke out in 1914, involving all countries, it was thought that all advance was lost. On the contrary the splendid service of the women obtained the franchise for them in Great Britain, The Netherlands and other countries, and at the close of the war the revolution in the Central countries resulted in the suffrage for men and women alike. The war work of Canadian women brought full enfranchisement to them. When the United States entered the war the patriotic response of the women to every demand of the Government and the magnificent service they rendered swept away forever the objection to their voting because they could not do military duty.

Stimulated by the action of Washington and California other western States gave suffrage to their women and its practical working effectually disproved every charge that had been made against it. At the close of 1915 Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt became president of the National Association and bringing to bear her great executive and organizing ability she re-formed it along the lines followed by the political parties, created a large, active working force and prepared for intensive State and national campaigns. Soon afterwards she received a legacy of almost a million dollars from Mrs. Frank Leslie to be used for

promoting the cause of woman suffrage and thus she was equipped for carrying the movement to certain victory.

In 1917 the voters of New York State by an immense majority gave the full suffrage to women, guaranteeing probably 45 votes in Congress for the Federal Amendment. In 1917 and 1918 the great "drive" was made on the Legislatures to give women the right to vote for Presidential electors and this was done in 14 States, granting this important privilege to millions of women. In several States the Legislature added the franchise for municipal and county officers. In 1917 the Legislature of Arkansas gave them the right to vote at all Primary elections and in 1918 that of Texas conferred the same, which is equivalent to the full suffrage, as the primaries decide the elections. By 1918 in 15 States women had equal suffrage with men through amendment of their constitutions.<sup>1</sup>

In January, 1918, the Federal Prohibition Amendment went into effect, putting an end to the powerful opposition of the liquor interests to woman suffrage. All political parties were committed to the Federal Amendment. In January, 1918, it passed the Lower House of Congress but the opposition of two Senators and finally of one prevented its submission. Meanwhile the Democratic administration of eight years had been succeeded by a Republican. This party during 44 years in power had refused to enfranchise women but now it atoned for the wrong and with the help of Democratic members the Amendment was submitted to the Legislatures on June 4, 1919. Nearly all had adjourned for two years and if women were to vote at the next presidential election special sessions would be necessary. One of the most noteworthy political feats on record was that of the president of the National Suffrage Association, with the assistance of others, in managing to have the Governors of the various States call these sessions. It is told in the State chapters with the dramatic ending in Tennessee.

The certificate was delivered to Secretary of State Bainbridge

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note that these fifteen States offer the only instance in the world where the voters themselves granted the complete suffrage to women. Those of British Columbia, Can., gave the Provincial franchise but had not the power to give it for Dominion elections. In all countries both the State and National suffrage was conferred by a simple majority vote of their Parliaments. The U. S. Congress had not this authority but a two-thirds majority of each House was necessary to send it to the 48 Legislatures for final decision. The Federal Suffrage Amendment had to be passed upon by about 6,000 legislators.



Colby at 4 o'clock in the morning on August 26, 1920, and at 9 he issued the official proclamation that the 19th Amendment having been duly ratified by 36 State Legislatures "has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States." It reads as follows:

"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.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

*Ida Husted Harper.*

# THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

## FOREWORD

The National Woman Suffrage Association was organized in New York City, May 15, 1869, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton president and Susan B. Anthony chairman of executive committee. [History of Woman Suffrage, Volume II, page 400.] It held annual conventions for the next half century, always in Washington, D. C., until 1895, after which date they were taken in alternate years to other cities, meeting in the national capital during the first session of each Congress. The object of the association from its beginning was to obtain an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would confer full, universal suffrage on the women of the United States, and its work for amending the constitutions of the States to enfranchise their women was undertaken as one means to achieve this main purpose. The American Woman Suffrage Association was organized in Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 24, 1869, with Henry Ward Beecher president and Lucy Stone chairman of executive committee, principally for action through the States, and it also held annual conventions. [Volume II, page 756.] In 1890 the two united in Washington under the name National American Woman Suffrage Association [Volume IV, page 164], and the work was continued by both methods. Full reports of conventions may be found in preceding volumes of the History of Woman Suffrage, the list ending in Volume IV with that of 1900. This convention was especially distinguished by the public celebration of the 80th birthday of Susan B. Anthony and her retirement from the presidency of the association which she had helped to found and in which she had continuously held official position, and by the election of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt as her successor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV, Chapters XX and XXI.

The assertion is frequently made that the enfranchisement of women was due to a natural evolution of public sentiment. A reading of the following chapters, which give the history of the work of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, will show how largely the creation of this sentiment was due to this organization to which all the State associations were auxiliary. It represented the organized movement during half a century to secure the vote for women—a struggle such as was never made by men for this right in any country in the world. It was the only large organization for this purpose that ever existed in the United States and its efforts never ceased in the more than fifty years. At each annual convention some advance was recorded. These chapters show that, while the principal object of the association was a Federal Amendment, it gave valuable assistance to every campaign for the amendment of State constitutions and that it was responsible for the granting of the Presidential franchise, which was so important a factor in gaining the final victory. The reports of its officers each year show the large amount of money raised and expended, the hundreds of thousands of letters written, the millions of pieces of literature circulated, the thousands of meetings held, the many workers in the field. The committee reports and the resolutions adopted show that all reforms vital to the welfare of women and children and many of a wider scope were included in the work of the association. The names of the speakers at the national conventions and at the hearings before the committees of Congress during all these years prove that this cause was championed by the leaders among the men and women of their generation. Such quotations from their speeches as space has permitted show that in eloquence, logic and strength they were unsurpassed and that their arguments were unanswerable.

If this volume contained only the first nineteen chapters the reader could not fail to be convinced that principally to the efforts of the National American Woman Suffrage Association the women of the United States owe their enfranchisement, but it shows too that in the forty-eight auxiliary States they also fought their own hard battles.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1901.

The Thirty-third annual convention opened on the afternoon of May 30, 1901, in the First Baptist Church of Minneapolis, with the new president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in the chair, and continued through June 4, with 144 delegates from twenty-six States present.<sup>1</sup>

Miss Anthony was present at this Minneapolis convention, alert and vigorous but happy to relinquish her official duties to one in whose ability and judgment she had implicit confidence; and the rest of the official board were there ready to give the same allegiance and loyalty to the new chief which they had rendered for many years to the supreme leader. The *Minneapolis Journal* said: "The formal opening of the suffrage convention yesterday afternoon was an impressive affair. Among the national officers seated on the platform were women who saw the first dawn of the suffrage movement, those who came into its fold midway of its life and those whose earnest endeavors are of more recent record. Among the first was the most honored member of the body, Miss Susan B. Anthony, and among the latter is the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. When the delegates rose and the Rev. Olympia Brown of Wisconsin stepped to the front of the plat-

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: The first years of the new century are destined to witness the most strenuous and intense struggle of the movement. Iniquity has become afraid of the votes of women. Vice and immorality are consequently organized in opposition, while conservative morality stands shoulder to shoulder with them, blind to the nature of the illicit partnership. Believers in this cause are legion, but many, satisfied that victory will come without their help, do nothing. We are approaching the climax of the great contest and every friend is needed. If the final victory is long in coming, the responsibility rests with those who believe but who do not act.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, }  
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, } Honorary Presidents.  
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.  
ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Vice-President.  
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, Corresponding Secretary.  
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary.  
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer.  
LAURA CLAY, }  
CATHERINE WAUGH McCULLOCH, } Auditors.

form and turned her face heavenward, saying, "In the name of liberty, Our Father, we thank thee," the impression even upon an unbeliever must have been that of entire consecration and one was reminded of when the early Christians met and consulted, fought and endured for the faith that was in them."

Although this was the first convention in many years over which Miss Anthony had not presided she was the first to speak, as Mrs. Catt at once presented her to the audience. With the loyalty which had characterized her life Miss Anthony first read a letter from the honorary president, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, then in her 86th year, which she prefaced by saying: "It is fitting that I should read this greeting from her, as I have stood by Mrs. Stanton's side for fifty years." The letter urged the same vigorous work in the church for woman's emancipation as had been kept up in the States and said: "The canon law, with all the subtle influences that grow out of it, is more responsible for woman's slavery today than the civil code. With the progressive legislation of the last half century we have an interest in tracing the lessons taught to women in the churches to their true origin and a right to demand from our theologians the same full and free discussion in the church that we have had in the State, as the time has fully come for women to be heard in the ecclesiastical councils of the nation. To this end I suggest that committees and delegates from all our State and national associations visit the clergy in their several localities and assemblies to press on their consideration the true position of woman as a factor in Christian civilization."

Press reports of Mrs. Stanton's paper were as follows:

"Woman today, as ever, supplies the enthusiasm that sustains the church and she has a right in turn to ask that the church sustain her in this struggle for liberty and take some decided action with reference to this momentous and far-reaching movement. It matters little that here and there some clergyman advocates our cause on our platform, so long as no religious organization has yet recognized our demand as a principle of justice. Discussion is rarely held in their councils but it is generally treated as a speculative, sentimental question unworthy of serious consideration. Neither would it be sufficient if they gave their adhesion to the demand for political equality, so long as by scriptural teachings they perpetuate our racial and religious subordination." Mrs. Stanton would demand that an ex-

purgated Bible be read in churches. "Such parables as refer to woman as 'the author of sin,' 'an inferior,' 'a subject,' 'a weaker vessel,'" she says, "should be relegated to the ancient mythologies as mere allegories, having no application whatever to the womanhood of this generation. It is not civil nor political power that holds the Mormon woman in polygamy, the Turkish woman in the harem, the American woman as a subordinate everywhere. The central falsehood from which all these different forms of slavery spring is the doctrine of original sin and woman as a medium for the machinations of Satan, its author. The greatest block today in the way of woman's emancipation is the church, the canon law, the Bible and the priesthood. Canon Charles Kingsley said not long ago: 'This will never be a good world for woman till the last remnant of canon law is stricken from the face of the earth.'" <sup>1</sup>

After finishing Mrs. Stanton's letter Miss Anthony presented her own greeting, in the course of which she said:

"If the divine law visits the sins of the parents upon the children, equally so does it transmit to them the virtues of the parents. Therefore if it is through woman's ignorant subjection to man's appetites and passions that the life current of the race is corrupted, then must it be through her intelligent emancipation that it shall be purified and her children rise up and call her blessed. . . . I am a full and firm believer in the revelation that it is through woman the race is to be redeemed. For this reason I ask for her immediate and unconditional emancipation from all political, industrial, social and religious subjection. It is said, 'Men are what their mothers made them,' but I say that to hold mothers responsible for the characters of their sons while denying to them any control over the surroundings of the sons' lives is worse than mockery, it is cruelty. Responsibilities grow out of rights and powers. Therefore before mothers can rightfully be held responsible for the vices and crimes, for the general demoralization of society, they must possess all possible rights and

<sup>1</sup> Miss Anthony had entreated Mrs. Stanton to send instead of this letter to the convention one of her grand, old-time arguments for woman suffrage but she refused, saying the time was past for these and the church must be recognized as the greatest of obstacles to its success. Miss Anthony felt that it would arouse criticism and prejudice at the very beginning but declared that no matter what the effect she would give what would probably be Mrs. Stanton's last message. A number of the officers and delegates were interviewed for the press and none was found who fully agreed with Mrs. Stanton's views. The Rev. Olympia Brown and the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw believed the obstacles to be in the false interpretation of the Scriptures and its application to women. The Methodist General Conference had this year admitted women delegates.

powers to control the conditions and circumstances of their own and their children's lives."

The audience then listened with keen appreciation to the president's address, during which she said: "If I were asked what are the great obstacles to the speedy enfranchisement of women I should answer: There are three; the first is militarism, which once dominated the entire thought of the world and made its history. Although its old power is gone and its influence upon public thought grows constantly less, it still molds the opinions of millions of people and holds them to the old ideals of force in government and headship in the family. The second obstacle is the unconscious, unmeasured influence upon the estimate in which women as a whole are held that emanates from that most debasing of our evil institutions, prostitution. . . . The third great cause is the inertia in the growth of democracy which has come as a reaction following the aggressive movements that with possibly ill-advised haste enfranchised the foreigner, the negro and the Indian. Perilous conditions, seeming to follow from the introduction into the body politic of vast numbers of irresponsible citizens, have made the nation timid. These three influences, born of centuries of tradition, shape every opinion of the opponents of woman suffrage. Not an objection, argument or excuse can be urged against the movement which may not be traced to one of these causes."

At the close of Mrs. Catt's address Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Denver presented her with a handsome gavel in behalf of the suffrage association of Colorado. The gavel was made of Colorado silver and the settings and engravings of Colorado gold. In one side was a Colorado amethyst, and the Colorado flower, the columbine, was burned into the gavel by a Colorado girl. Mrs. Bradford said she wished Mrs. Catt the good luck said to follow the possessor of an amethyst, who "shall speak the right word at the right time." She presented it as an expression of gratitude for her aid in their successful suffrage campaign of 1893. "We are apt to attribute everything good in Colorado to woman suffrage," said Mrs. Catt in response, "but in my secret mind I think much of it is due to the progressiveness of the Colorado men. They must be better than other men or they would not have enfranchised their women. I cannot love Colo-

rado any better than I do but I shall always value this gavel as a precious souvenir of that wonderful campaign."

In her report as vice-president at large the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw said regarding her many suffrage speeches during the year: "The manager of a bureau lately said to me: 'If you would only give up for a time the two reforms in which you are most interested, woman suffrage and prohibition, you could earn enough money on the regular lecture platform in a few years to live on for the rest of your life.' Any woman who does not live for unselfish service is a useless cumbrer of the earth. I would rather be known as an advocate of equal suffrage and starve than to speak every night on the best-paying platforms in the United States and ignore it."

The first evening of the convention was opened with prayer by the Rev. Marion H. Shutter.<sup>1</sup> The audience was far beyond the seating capacity of the large church and in presenting the official speakers Mrs. Catt said: "This is a great contrast to the early days when we did not use to be welcomed because we were not welcome. Now we are welcomed wherever we go but not often, as here, by the representative of a whole State." Governor Samuel R. Van Sant gave a hearty western greeting, which, he said, he wanted to make as cordial as he could express it and as broad as the State he lived in. He made this point among others: "You are doing a splendid work and the reason you do not get the ballot sooner is because you do not convert your own sex. I know for I have been a member of the Legislature. If you wanted to vote as much as you want other things you would go there and block the legislators so they couldn't get to their seats." Mayor Albert A. Ames extended the welcome of the city and declared his belief in woman suffrage. Former Mayor William Henry Eustis ended his address in behalf of the Commercial Club and Board of Trade by saying: "Commercial bodies are temporary but a great movement like this is eternal." Former Mayor James Gray, representing the press, assured them of its coöperation and said that from a dozen to twenty women were

<sup>1</sup> Invocations were pronounced at different sessions by the resident ministers, C. B. Mitchell, George F. Holt and Martin D. Hardin, and by the visiting ministers, Alice Ball Loomis, Celia Parker Woolley, Kate Hughes and Margaret T. Olmstead.



doing important work on the papers of the city. Mrs. Maud C. Stockwell, president of the State Suffrage Association, welcomed them to "the hearts of the women of Minneapolis."

Dr. Shaw closed the evening with a stirring address on *An Invisible Foe*, in which she referred to the many refusals they had had from the anti-suffrage leaders to come to the convention and debate the question. She accused them of wearing a khaki-colored uniform to conceal themselves from the foe and declared they were always careful to make their attacks when the enemy was not present, saying: "The anti-suffragists are not fighting woman suffrage, they are fighting the ideals of democracy and leaning toward an aristocracy. Take note of the words they use to designate the people, 'mob,' 'hordes,' etc. They look at the people as not only incapable and ignorant now but so for all time and they never learn that in the heart of every individual in the mob lie the forces which make for martyrs or for brutes." "From point to point through long and close argument the brilliant speaker moved with lightning velocity," said a press report. "She called up the anti-suffrage arguments made by the Rev. Samuel G. Smith of St. Paul, in his recent series of sermons on women, and laughed to scorn their plea for 'the days of chivalry,' which, she said, were a man's protection of his own women against other men. Woman must work out God's ideal of what a woman should be and she cannot do it until she is absolutely free as man is free."

Mrs. Catt brought to the presidency a definite belief that Congress would not submit a Federal Suffrage Amendment nor would important States be gained on referendum until national and State officers and workers were better trained for the work required. The increasing evidence of a united and politically experienced opposition as manifested in legislative action and referendum results had convinced her that the cause would never be won unless its campaigns were equipped, guided and conducted by women fully aware of the nature of opposition tactics and prepared to meet every maneuver of the enemy by an equally telling counteraction. She had been appointed by Miss Anthony chairman of a Plan of Work Committee at the convention of 1895 and assembling the practical workers they agreed upon recommen-

dations which proved a turning point in the association's policy. These were presented to that convention and adopted. A Committee on Organization was established with Mrs. Catt as chairman and contrary to the usual custom the convention voted that she be made a member of the National Board. For the last five years her committee had held conferences in connection with each convention which discussed and adopted plans for more efficient work. As president, she now determined to link more closely the work of national and State auxiliary organizations and in the pursuance of this aim and as ex-officio chairman of the convention program committee, she appointed the Executive Committee (consisting of the Board of Officers, the president and one member from each auxiliary State) to be the Committee on Plan of Work. For two entire days preceding this convention the Executive Committee had discussed methods of procedure, as presented by the Board of Officers, who had prepared these recommendations at a mid-year meeting held in Miss Anthony's home at Rochester in August.

The convention accepted the report which included the following: (1) Organization. That organization be continually the first aim of each State auxiliary as the certain key to success; that each State keep at least one organizer employed and endeavor to establish a county organization in each county or at least to form an organization in each county seat and at four other points; that organization work be done among women wage earners and that definite work be undertaken to win the endorsement and cooperation of other associations, chiefly the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Education Association. (2) Legislation. That each auxiliary State association appeal to Congress to submit to the Legislatures a 16th Amendment to the Federal constitution prohibiting the disfranchisement of U. S. citizens on account of sex; that the plan initiated by Miss Anthony be continued, namely, that all kinds of national and State conventions be asked to pass resolutions in favor of this amendment, to be sent to Congress; that State societies also ask their Legislatures to pass resolutions in favor of a 16th Amendment, these also to be sent to Congress; that auxiliaries whose States offer a reasonable possibility of a successful referendum try to secure the

submission of State suffrage amendments to the voters, with assurance of national cooperation; that auxiliaries whose State constitutions present obstacles to such procedure work to secure statutory suffrage, such as School, Municipal or Presidential; that auxiliaries not strong enough to attempt a campaign work for the removal of legal discriminations against women and attempt to secure co-guardianship of children, equal property rights, the raising of the age of consent, the appointment of police matrons, etc.; that a leaflet be prepared by Mrs. Laura M. Johns advising best methods for successful legislative work. To carry out this plan the Committees on Congressional Work, Presidential Suffrage and Civil Rights found their work for the year. (3) Press. Recommendations were made for rendering this department of work more efficient in the States; enrollment of persons believing in woman suffrage to be continued in order to secure evidence of the strength of general favorable sentiment; the literature of the association to include a plan of work for local clubs.

Work conferences were interspersed during the convention; one on Organization presided over by Miss Mary Garrett Hay; one by Mrs. Priscilla D. Hackstaff, chairman Enrollment Committee; one by Mrs. Babcock, chairman Press Committee. A chart showing the date of the opening of the Legislature in each State; the provision for amending its constitution; the suffrage and initiative and referendum laws and all other information bearing upon the technical procedure of securing the vote State by State was carefully drawn by the Organization Committee. With this in hand each State was given its legislative task. It was voted to urge the auxiliaries of Kansas, Indiana, New York, Washington and South Dakota to ask for submission of State constitutional amendments. It was voted that the corresponding secretary be elected with the understanding that she would serve at the national headquarters and be paid a salary.

The Executive Committee at a preliminary meeting repeated the resolution of the preceding year against the official regulation of vice in Manila, which was under United States control. It closed: "We protest in the name of American womanhood and we believe that this represents also the opinion of the best American

manhood.<sup>1</sup> This resolution was unanimously adopted by the delegates after strong addresses, and Miss Anthony, Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Avery and Miss Blackwell were deputized to ask a hearing and present it to the American Medical Association meeting in St. Paul at this time. That body allowed them ten minutes to state their earnest wish that it would endorse the resolution but it took no action.

Miss Anthony had consented to act as chairman of the Congressional Committee and her report was heard with deep interest. Her work during the year was upon two distinct lines, the old familiar petition to Congress to pass the 16th Amendment granting full suffrage to women, and another brought about by new conditions—a petition that the word “male” should not be inserted in the electoral clause of the constitutions proposed by Congress for Hawaii and Porto Rico. These petitions were secured from every State and Territory, a tremendous work, and were laid before the members of Congress from each State. The most interesting petition for the amendment was from Wyoming, where one sheet was signed by every State officer, several U. S. officials and other prominent citizens. They had signed in duplicate several petitions and thus Miss Anthony had an autograph copy with her. The work of securing this petition was done chiefly by Mrs. Joseph M. Cary, wife of the Senator. Miss Anthony was chairman also of the Committee on Convention Resolutions and believed strongly that to present the question of woman suffrage to conventions of various kinds and secure resolutions from them was an efficacious means of propaganda. Her inter-

<sup>1</sup> WHEREAS, Judge William Howard Taft and the Philippine Commissioners in a telegram to Secretary Root dated January 17, 1901, affirm that ever since November, 1898, the military authorities in Manila have subjected women of bad character to “certified examination,” and General MacArthur in his recent report does not deny this but defends it; and whereas the Hawaiian government has taken similar action; therefore

RESOLVED, That we earnestly protest against the introduction of the European system of State-regulated vice in the new possessions of the United States for the following reasons:

1. To subject women of bad character to regular examinations and furnish them with official health certificates is contrary to good morals and must impress both our soldiers and the natives as giving official sanction to vice.

2. It is a violation of justice to apply to vicious women compulsory medical measures that are not applied to vicious men.

3. Official regulation of vice, while it lowers the moral tone of the community, everywhere fails to protect the public health.

Examples were given from Paris, garrison towns of England and Switzerland, and St. Louis, the only city in the United States that had ever tried the system.

esting report for 1900 made at this time will be found in full in the History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV, page 439.

In introducing Mr. Blackwell (Mass.), Mrs. Catt said: "The woman suffrage movement has known many women who have devoted their lives and energies to it. I know of only one man. Years ago when Lucy Stone was a sweet and beautiful girl he heard her speak and afterwards proposed to her to form a marriage partnership. When she said that this might prevent her from doing the large work she wanted to do for equal rights he promised to help her in it and loyally and faithfully all through their married life he did so, as constantly and earnestly as Lucy Stone herself; and even after her death he continues to give his time, his money and his effort to the same end. I am glad to introduce Henry B. Blackwell." Mr. Blackwell was the pioneer in urging the suffragists of every State to try to obtain from their Legislature a law giving them a vote for presidential electors. Their authority for this action was conferred by the National Constitution in Article 2, Section 2: "Each State shall appoint in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress." His comprehensive report made to this and other conventions was an unanswerable argument in favor of the right of a Legislature to confer this vote on women and eventually it was widely recognized.

The treasurer, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton (O.), reported the total receipts of the year \$22,522. Mrs. Catt stated the needs of the association for the coming year and under the skilful management of Miss Hay subscriptions of \$5,000 were soon obtained. On motion of Dr. Shaw a vote of thanks was given to Miss Hay for her "able and efficient work in securing these pledges." The report for the Federal Suffrage Committee was given by Mrs. Sallie Clay Bennett (Ky.)<sup>1</sup>

The corresponding secretary, Mrs. Avery of Philadelphia, made the report of the great bazaar which had been held before the Christmas holidays in Madison Square Garden, New York City,

<sup>1</sup> The question of giving to women a vote for Representatives by an Act of Congress is considered in Chapter I, Volume IV, History of Woman Suffrage.

and netted about \$8,500. It was accompanied by the carefully prepared report of its treasurer, Mrs. Priscilla D. Hackstaff of Brooklyn. An exact duplicate of a beautiful vase three feet high which had been presented to Admiral Dewey by the citizens of Wheeling, West Virginia, at a cost of \$250, with the exception that his face on it was replaced by Miss Anthony's, was presented to the bazaar by Mrs. Fannie J. Wheat of that city. As no "chances" were allowed at suffrage fairs it was purchased by subscriptions and presented to Miss Anthony.<sup>1</sup>

A letter to Miss Blackwell from Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, then past 80 years of age, expressing her regret at not being able to attend the convention, closed: "It is not for lack of interest in our great cause or indifference to the dear western women with whom I was associated so many years ago and who, like myself, have grown gray in the work for women. . . . God bless you all and give you an ennobling season together, harmonious and uplifting in its results. Remember me in love to the old friends and pledge my affectionate regard to the new friends with whom I will try to keep step here on the Massachusetts coast. Yours with a thousand good wishes." A telegram of greeting was sent to Mrs. Stanton and others to Mrs. Cornelia C. Hussey of New Jersey, Mrs. Jane H. Spofford of Maine and Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway of Oregon, all pioneer workers for the cause. Miss Laura Clay (Ky.) gave a strong, logical address on Counterparts, "the dualism of the race," in which she said:

Any social system founded on a theory designed for the elevation of one sex alone, regardless of the other, is altogether false and delusive to the expectations built upon it, for the human race is dual and heredity keeps the stock common from which both men and women spring. Since the common stock is improved and invigorated by the acquired qualities of individuals, without regard to sex, it is to the advantage of both that all possibilities of development shall be extended to both sexes. In animals acquired qualities can be imparted to the stock only by parenthood; in the human family they are imparted even more widely and permanently through the influence of ideas. All that woman has lost by social systems which

<sup>1</sup> Among the donations which brought in the largest sums were the locomobile from Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Barber of New York; the Kansas consignment of fine flour and butter secured by Miss Helen Kimber of that State; the carload of hogs from Iowa farmers obtained by Mrs. Eleanor Stockman of Mason City; the handsomely dressed doll from Mrs. William McKinley and a fine oil painting by the noted landscape painter, William Keith of California.

denied to her education and the free expression of her genius in literature, art or statesmanship, has been lost to man also, because it has diminished the inheritable riches of the nature from which he draws his existence. He has been less, though unhampered by the shackles which bound her, because she was less. The world is not more called upon to rejoice in the triumphs of his genius in freedom than to mourn over the wasted possibilities of hers in bonds. . . .

The forward movement of either sex is possible only when the other moves also and the obstacles to progress exist in the attitude of both sexes to it, not in that of one alone. So in this woman suffrage movement we have learned that the apathy of women to their own political freedom is as great an obstacle to our success as the unwillingness of men to grant our claims. It is of the same importance to us to educate women out of their indifference as it is to educate men out of their unwillingness. If it should happen that this education shall come to women first, they will never need the argument of force to induce men to remove the legal obstacles, for men and women cannot long think unlike on any subject.

One of the most interesting reports was that of the Press Committee, made by its efficient chairman, Mrs. Elnora Monroe Babcock (N. Y.). Illustrating its work she said: "About 50,000 suffrage articles have been sent out from the press headquarters since our last annual convention; 2,400 of these were specials; 5,155 articles and items advertising the Bazaar; many articles on prominent women were furnished to illustrated papers and newspaper syndicates; a page of plate matter was issued every six weeks and seven large press associations were supplied with occasional articles." The names of State chairmen were given and the number of papers they supplied—New York, 500; Pennsylvania, 336; Iowa, 237; Massachusetts, 97; Indiana, 91; Illinois, 85; Ohio, 63, etc. Mrs. Babcock asked for a vote of thanks, which was unanimous, to Paul Dana, proprietor and editor of the *New York Sun*, for having given during the past two and a half years and for still giving two columns of its Sunday issue to an article by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, an unprecedented concession by a great metropolitan paper. Miss Anthony added her words of praise to Mr. Dana and to the department which she herself had been largely instrumental in securing.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At Miss Anthony's request Mrs. Harper had sent her a letter to read to the convention giving some details as to the scope of the *Sun* articles, in which she said: "I consider the success of this department due above all else to the fact that it deals with current events. Its text each Sunday is taken from the occurrences of the preceding week as they relate to women. . . . Letters of commendation and of criticism have been received

One of the most popular addresses of the convention was made by Mrs. Ellis Meredith of Denver—The Menace of Podunk—a clever satire showing that narrow partisanship and dishonest politics were to be found alike in New York and Podunk, Indiana.

Podunk is the place where the country is nothing, the caucus everything; where patriotism languishes and party spirit runs riot. It is the centre of intelligence where they hold back the returns until advices are received from headquarters as to how many votes are needed. The Podunkians believe it is a good thing to have a strong man at the head of the ticket, not because they care about electing strong men but because by putting a good nominee at the head of the ballot it is possible they may be able to pull through the seven saloon keepers and three professional politicians who go to make up the rest of the ticket. . . . But there lives in Podunk another class that is a greater menace to the life of the nation, the noble army of Pharisees. They have read Bryce's American Commonwealth and have an intellectual understanding of the theory and form of our government but they do not know what ward they live in, they are vague as to the district, have never met their Congressman and do not know a primary from a kettle drum. . . .

The politician and the shirk of Podunk are the creatures who are doing their noble best to blot out the words of Lincoln and make it possible for the government he died to save to perish from the earth. And between these two evils the least apparent is the most real. The man who votes more than once is nearer right than the man who refuses to vote at all. The activity of the repeater in the pool of politics may be wholly pernicious but is no worse than the stagnation caused by the inertia of his self-righteous brother. The republic has less to fear from her illiterate and venal voters than from those who, knowing her peril, refuse to come to the rescue.

The resolutions were presented by Mr. Blackwell, who, at conventions almost without number, served as chairman of this important committee, and the first ones set forth the political status of the women in the year 1901 as follows:

"We congratulate the women of America upon the measure of success already attained—school suffrage in twenty-two States and Territories; municipal suffrage in Kansas; suffrage on ques- from all parts of the United States and from London, Paris, Copenhagen, Berlin, Dresden, Zurich and Rome and from Melbourne. Among the writers are bishops and ministers, publishers, educators, authors, college presidents, physicians, women's societies, working-men's organizations and scores of men and women in the private walks of life. One article brought twenty-five pages of legal cap from lawyers in New York and Brooklyn. It is a noteworthy fact that it is the first metropolitan daily paper to make a woman suffrage department a regular feature."

The articles were published until the autumn of 1903, almost five years. Mr. Dana then sold the paper and it went under the control of William A. Laffan, an anti-suffragist, who discontinued them.



tions of taxation in Iowa, Montana, Louisiana and New York; full suffrage in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho—States containing more than a million inhabitants, with eight Senators and nine Representatives in Congress elected in part by the votes of women.

“We rejoice in important gains during the past year; the extension of suffrage upon questions of taxation to 200,000 women in the towns and villages of New York and to the tax-paying women of Norway; the voting of women for the first time for members of Parliament in West Australia; the almost unanimous refusal of the Kansas Legislature to repeal municipal woman suffrage and the acquittal in Denver of the only woman ever charged with fraudulent voting.”

A tribute was paid to the tried and true friends of woman suffrage who had died during the year, many of them veterans in the cause: Sarah Anthony Burtis, aged 90, secretary of the first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848 when adjourned to Rochester, N. Y.; Charles K. Whipple, aged 91, for many years secretary of the Massachusetts and New England Woman Suffrage Associations; Zerelda G. Wallace of Indiana, the “mother” of “Ben Hur”; Paulina Gerry, the Rev. Cyrus Bartol, Carrie Anders, Dr. Salome Merritt, Matilda Goddard and Mary Shannon of Massachusetts; Mary J. Clay of Kentucky; Eliza J. Patrick of Missouri; Fanny C. Wooley and Nettie Laub Romans of Iowa; Eliza Scudder Fenton, the widow of New York's war governor; Charlotte A. Cleveland and Henry Villard of New York; John Hooker of Connecticut; Giles F. Stebbins and George Willard of Michigan; Ruth C. Dennison, D. C., Theron Nye of Nebraska; Elizabeth Coit of Ohio; Major Niles Meriwether of Tennessee; M. B. Castle of Illinois; John Bidwell of California; Wendell Phillips Garrison of New Jersey.

On the evening when Miss Anthony presided she introduced to the audience with tender words Mrs. Charlotte Pierce of Philadelphia, as one of the few left who attended the first Woman's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848; Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne of Auburn, N. Y., niece of Lucretia Mott and daughter of Martha Wright, two of the four women who called that convention; Miss Emily Howland, a devoted pioneer of

Sherwood, N. Y.; the Rev. Olympia Brown of Racine, second woman to be ordained as minister; Mrs. Ellen Sulley Fray, a pioneer of Toledo, O., and Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick, wife of a Chief Justice of Louisiana, who organized the first suffrage club in New Orleans.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who had been the corresponding secretary of the association for twenty-one years, had insisted that she should be allowed to resign from the office. A pleasant incident not on the program took place one morning during the convention when Miss Anthony came to the front of the platform and said: "I have in my hand a thousand dollars for Rachel Foster Avery. It has been contributed without her knowledge by about four hundred different persons; most of you are on the list. I asked for this testimonial because I felt that you would all rejoice to show your appreciation of her long and faithful services and her great liberality to the cause. I should never have been able to carry on the work of the society as its president for so many years but for her able coöperation. She thinks she cannot talk but we know that she can work. She has done the drudgery of this association for more than twenty years and I hope the woman who will be chosen in her place, whoever she may be, will be as consecrated and free from all self-seeking."

Miss Kate M. Gordon, president of the Era Club of New Orleans, was almost unanimously elected as corresponding secretary. The only other change in the official board was the retirement of Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch as second auditor and the election of Dr. Cora Smith Eaton in her place. In referring later to Dr. Eaton, Mr. Blackwell said: "In my attendance upon thirty-three successive annual national conventions I have never seen one with such complete and faithful preparation by the local committee and such abundant and cordial welcome. . . . It seemed natural to recognize the generous hospitality thus extended to the convention by the people of Minnesota by choosing Dr. Eaton of Minneapolis, chairman of this local committee, as one of the auditors for the coming year." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other local chairmen were Irma Winchell Stacy, Mrs. A. T. Anderson, J. Bryan Bushnell, Dr. Margaret Koch, Mrs. James Harnden, Mrs. H. A. Tuttle, Mrs. Marion D. Shutter, Lora C. Little, Nellie Keyes, Mrs. Sanford Niles, Martha Scott Anderson, Josie A. Wanous, Gracia L. Jenks, Dr. Corene J. Bissonette, Mrs. Stockwell and Mrs. Gregory.

A closely reasoned address on the Ethics of Suffrage was made by Louis F. Post of Chicago, in the course of which he said :

Suffrage is a right, not a privilege. That it is a right of every individual is the only basis for women's demanding it. If it is not a right but a privilege that may be granted to men and withheld from women, be granted to the white and withheld from the black, be given to those who have red hair and kept from those with black hair; if it may be rightfully given to the millionaire and kept from the day laborer; rightfully extended to those who can read and withheld from those who cannot, or to those with a college education and from those who have only a common-school education—if these are the only bases on which women claim a share in government, then the fundamental argument for woman suffrage disappears.

Reason back far enough on the privilege line of argument and you soon come to that fetish of tradition, the divine right of kings. So if you cannot put your claim on any better ground than privilege you would better not go on. . . . Being a right, it is also a duty. He who has a right to maintain has a duty to perform. This is the firm rock upon which woman suffrage must rest. It must be demanded because women are members of the community, because they have common interests in the common property and affairs of the community; in a word, they have rights in the community and duties toward it which are the same as the rights and duties of every other sane person of mature age who keeps out of the penitentiary.

An unexpected pleasure was a brief address by Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, a veteran suffragist and prominent physician of New York, who was attending the convention of the American Medical Association. She based her argument for equal suffrage on the injustice practiced toward women physicians when they seek the opportunity for hospital practice. Mrs. F. W. Hunt, wife of the Governor of Idaho, testified to the good results of woman suffrage in that State for the past five years. Others who gave addresses were the Rev. Alice Ball Loomis (Wis.), The Feminine Doctor in Society; Mrs. Lydia Phillips Williams, president of the Minnesota Federation of Clubs, Growth and Greetings; Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert (Ill.), For the Sake of the Child; Miss Frances Griffin (Ala.), A Southern Tour; the Rev. Olympia Brown (Wis.), The Tabooed Trio; Mrs. Annie L. Digges (Kas.), The Duty of the Hour; Miss Laura A. Gregg (Neb.), Who Will Defend the Flag?; the Rev. Celia Parker Woolley (Ill.), Woman's Worth in the Community; the Rev.

William B. Riley (Minn.), Woman's Rights and Political Righteousness.<sup>1</sup>

An inadequate newspaper account of the very able address of Miss Gail Laughlin (N. Y.), on *The Industrial Laggard*, said:

Miss Laughlin described the nineteenth as the industrial century of which the factory was a notable product and co-operation the spirit. Men were trained to do one thing well and by division of labor the maximum result was attained with the minimum expenditure of labor and capital. This principal of division of labor has been applied everywhere except in the household, the field which especially concerns women. Household labor is outside the current of industrial progress. It is not even recognized as an industrial problem because it is not a wealth-producing industry. Students of economics will sometime understand that the industries which consume wealth should receive attention as well as those which produce it. Business principles are not applied to the domestic service problem. There are no business hours. The person is hired, not the labor. One woman described the situation: "If you have a girl, you want her, no matter at what time." There is no standard of work and the result is confusion worse confounded. The servant's goings-out and comings-in are watched and she has no hours to herself. Is it any wonder that so many women prefer to go into factory life at less pay but where they can have some hours of their own?

The report of the Committee on Legislation for Civil Rights, Mrs. Laura M. Johns (Kans.), chairman, showed that it had been in correspondence with many State associations which were working for the repeal of bad laws and the enactment of good ones; for raising the age of consent; for child-labor bills; for women physicians in State institutions; for women on school boards and in high educational positions; for many other civil and legal measures. Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby's report on *Industrial Problems affecting Women and Children* showed much diligent research into the discriminations against women in the business and educational world and gave many flagrant instances. "In

<sup>1</sup> Among those who took part in conferences and on committees were Helen Rand Tindall (D. C.); Annie R. Wood (Cal.); Ellen Powell Thompson (D. C.); Mariana W. Chapman, Lila K. Willets and Florence Gregory (N. Y.); Clara Bright and Jean Gordon (La.); Etta Dann (Mont.); Emily B. Ketcham and Maud Starker (Mich.); Maude I. Matthews (N. D.); Eleanor M. Hall (O.); Helen Kimber (Kas.); Eleanor C. Stockman, Dr. Frances Woods and Dollie R. Bradley (Ia.); Emily S. Richards (Utah); Bertha G. Wade (Ind.); Clara A. Young (Neb.); Evelyn H. Belden (Ia.); Addie N. Johnson (Mo.); Mrs. E. A. Brown (Minn.); Cornelia Cary (Brooklyn); Ida Porter Boyer (Penn.). Valuable reports were made by all of the State presidents.

Government positions," she said, "this was clearly due to their lack of a vote."

The Government departments at Washington are almost entirely governed by politics and women are greatly discriminated against, notwithstanding civil service rules. The report of A. R. Severn, chief examiner for the Civil Service Commission, shows that during the last ten years less than ten per cent. of the women who have passed the examinations have been appointed, while more than 25 per cent. of the men who passed obtained positions. To prevent the possibility of women obtaining high-class positions the examinations for these are not open to women. Of the 58 employments for which examinations were held, women were admitted to only 22. The per cent. of women employed of those who had passed was 13 in 1898; 6 per cent. in 1899, and lower in 1900, not a woman being appointed to a clerk's position from the waiting list. The Post Office Department in the last year sent out an order that women should not be made distributing clerks wherever it was possible to appoint men. . . . Legislation for the protection of children has been defeated in Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina. In the factories of Birmingham, it is stated, children of six and seven are obliged to be at work by 5:30 a.m. and to work twelve hours daily, attending spindles for ten cents a day. Jane Addams says she knows from personal observations that in certain States the conditions of child labor are as bad as they were in England half a century ago. In the great cotton mills at Columbia, S. C., she found a little girl scarcely five years old doing night work thirteen hours at a stretch, for three days in the week.

Sunday afternoon the Rev. Olympia Brown gave the convention sermon—The Forward March—in the First Baptist Church, with scripture reading by Mrs. Catt, prayer by the Rev. Margaret T. Olmstead, hymns by the Rev. Kate Hughes and the Rev. Mrs. Woolley; responsive reading by the Rev. Alice Ball Loomis. The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw preached in the Church of the Redeemer in the morning and Louis F. Post in the evening. Dr. Shaw preached in the evening at the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church; Miss Laura Clay spoke at the Central Baptist; Dr. Frances Woods at the first Unitarian; Miss Laura Gregg at Plymouth; Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford at the Wesley Methodist in the morning and the Rev. Olympia Brown in the evening; Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert in the Chicago Avenue Baptist; the Rev. Margaret F. Olmstead at All Souls; the Rev. Alice Ball Loomis at Tuttle Universalist; Mrs. Mariana W. Chapman at

the Friends' Church; Miss Ella Moffatt at the Bloomington Avenue Methodist, and Mr. and Miss Blackwell at the Trinity Methodist.

An official letter was sent by request to the Constitutional Convention of Alabama asking for a woman suffrage clause. An invitation to hold a conference in Baltimore was accepted. Arrangements were made to have a National Suffrage Conference September 9, 10, in Buffalo, N. Y., during the Pan-American Exposition. It was decided also to accept an invitation from the Inter-State and West Indian Exposition Board to hold a conference during the Exposition in Charleston, S. C. Official invitations were received from various public bodies to hold the next convention in Washington, Atlantic City, Milwaukee and New Orleans.

The president made the closing address to a large audience on the last evening, a keen, analytical review of the demand for woman suffrage. "Its fundamental principle," she said, "is that 'all governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.' It is the argument that has enfranchised men everywhere at all times and it is the one which will enfranchise women." As it was extemporaneous no adequate report can be given.

Nothing was left undone by this hospitable city for the success and pleasure of the convention. Very favorable reports and commendatory editorials were given by the newspapers. An excellent program by the best musical talent was furnished at each session under the direction of Mrs. Cleone Daniels Bergren. An evening reception in honor of the national officers, to which eight hundred invitations were sent, took place in the beautiful home of Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Gregory. The Business Woman's Club, Martha Scott Anderson, president, gave an afternoon reception in its rooms, the invitations reading: "The club desires to show in a measure its appreciation of the labor by the members of the National Suffrage Association in behalf of women." Trolley rides through the handsome suburbs and a visit to the big flouring mills were among the diversions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the close of the convention twenty-seven of the visitors made a trip in a special car to Yellowstone Park, which was arranged by Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay. They had a most interesting time which was graphically described by Miss Blackwell in the *Woman's Journal* of June 22. It also published some of the humorous poems written en route by the gay excursionists.

This chapter has tried to picture the first convention of the National American Suffrage Association in the new century, typical of many which preceded and followed. If it and other chapters seem overburdened with personal mention it must be remembered that it is a precious privilege to those who assisted in this great movement, and to their descendants, to have their names thus preserved in history. In the biography of Susan B. Anthony (page 1246) may be found the following tribute to these conventions, which were held annually for over fifty years.

It can be said without fear of contradiction that the National Suffrage Conventions will go down in history as the most notable held by women during the present age, excepting, of course, those of an international nature. The lofty character of their demands, the courage, ability and earnestness of their speakers, the unswerving fidelity to one central idea, give them a dominating position which they will hold for all time. They are pervaded by a remarkable spirit of democracy and fraternity. Those who come to scoff remain—not to pray but to have a good time. The reporters are all converted during the first two or three meetings and become members of the family. The delegates never wait for an introduction to each other; all have come together on the same mission and that is a sufficient guarantee. Nobody can remember afterwards what her neighbor wore and this proves that all were well dressed. The meetings are so systematic and business-like that one never feels she has wasted a minute. If points of serious difference arise they are taken up and settled by the Business Committee, out of sight of the public, but in all matters directly connected with the association every delegate has a voice and vote.

These are trained and disciplined women. There is nothing hysterical, nothing fanatical about them. They are animated by the most serious and determined purpose, and, in order to effect this, all sectarian bias, all political preference, all fads and hobbies in any direction are rigidly barred. Woman suffrage—that is the sole object. The offices all represent hard work and no salary, therefore no unseemly scramble takes place to secure them, and the association has the most profound confidence in its National Board. Every dollar subscribed has a definite channel designated for its expenditure and so there is no big treasury fund to quarrel over. There is always a sufficient number of experienced members to hold the younger and more impulsive recruits in check. Being one of the oldest women's organizations in existence it has accumulated a large store of wisdom and judgment. Even where people disapprove its purposes they cannot fail to respect its dignified, orderly methods.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1902.

The association held its Thirty-fourth annual convention, which was especially distinguished by the presence of visitors from other lands, in the First Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., Feb. 12-18, 1902.<sup>1</sup> There was special significance in this meeting place, as the pastor of the church for many years was the Rev. Byron Sutherland,<sup>2</sup> who from its pulpit had more than once denounced woman suffrage and its advocates; but it was now under the liberal ministry of the Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage, their

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: An International Woman Suffrage Conference will be held in connection with this annual convention, to which suffrage associations of fourteen countries have been invited to send delegates.

The principles which for a century have stood as the guarantee of political liberty to American men, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," can no longer be claimed as belonging to the United States alone for they have been adopted by all civilized nations. The steadily increasing acceptance of the belief that self-government is the highest form of government has revolutionized the popular thought of the world within the last fifty years. During that period all newly established governments have been fashioned after the model of a Republic; while in most European nations and their colonies the suffrage has been so largely extended that the mere skeleton of a monarchy remains.

Logical thinkers the world over have been led in consequence to ask: Are not women equally capable with men of self-government? What necessary qualification fits men for the exercise of this sacred right which is not likewise possessed by women? Are they less intelligent? The statistics of schools, colleges and educational bureaus answer "No." Are they less moral, peaceful and law-abiding than men? The statistics of churches, police courts and penitentiaries answer "No." Are they less public spirited and patriotic than men? The labors of millions of organized women in noble reforms, in helpful charities and wise philanthropics answer "No." . . .

An International Woman Suffrage Conference for the exchange of greetings, reports and methods forms a natural milestone on the march of progress. All persons believing that the fundamental principles of self-government contained in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States apply to women as well as to men, are invited to visit the convention and to unite in welcome to our foreign guests.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, }  
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, } Honorary Presidents.  
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.  
ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Vice-President-at-Large.  
KATE M. GORDON, Corresponding Secretary.  
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary.  
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer.  
LAURA CLAY, }  
CORA SMITH EATON, } Auditors.

<sup>2</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, Volume I, page 543.



strong and valued advocate. The *Washington Post* said: "More than a thousand visitors were present yesterday afternoon at the first session of the National American Suffrage Convention and the first International Woman Suffrage Conference. Perhaps no other meeting of its kind ever has occasioned as much interest on the part of Washington women generally.<sup>1</sup> The large audience room was packed to the doors . . . and it has been arranged to hold overflow meetings in the church parlors." The platform was banked with flowers over which waved the flags of thirty nations, lent by Miss Clara Barton, founder of the Red Cross, to whom they had been presented by representatives of each individual nation. Above them all hung the "suffrage flag" with four golden stars on its blue ground for the four States where women were fully enfranchised—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. The president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, was in the chair.

This convention will be ever memorable because under its auspices the First International Woman Suffrage Conference was held which resulted later in the founding of the International Alliance. The proceedings of this conference are described in the chapter devoted to the Alliance. Ten countries were represented and their delegates took part in the convention, which was welcomed on the opening afternoon by the Hon. Henry B. F. McFarland, president of the board of commissioners of the District of Columbia. He addressed the delegates as "stockholders in the national capital" and said: "Personally I welcome not only you but your cause. In common, I believe, with the majority of intelligent men I think you have won your case on the argument. Equal suffrage is equal justice and there is no reason why such women as you should be classed in the States with idiots and criminals." Mrs. May Wright Sewall, who was to

<sup>1</sup> "February could be appropriately marked on the calendar as woman's month at the national capital. For many years one or more national bodies of women have met in Washington some time in February. This year an unusually large number are assembling. On February 17, the day before the National Suffrage Convention ends, the Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution will open to continue five days. The fourth triennial of the National Council of Women of the United States will begin on February 19 and extend over the 25th. The National Congress of Mothers will convene February 25 and be in session until the 28th."

greet the foreign guests in the name of the International Council of Women, of which she was president, was detained until later. Mrs. Catt with words of highest eulogy introduced Miss Barton, who said:

Madam President, Ladies and Delegates: Among many honors which from time to time have been tendered me by my generous country people, not one has been more appreciated than the privilege of giving this word of public welcome to the honored delegation of women present with us.

Ladies of Europe, if a hundred tongues were mine they could not speak the glad welcome in our hearts. It is an epoch in the history of the world that your coming marks. For the first time within the written history of mankind have the women of the nations left their homes and assembled in council to declare the position of women before the world, bringing to national and international view the injustice and the folly of the barriers which ignorance has created and tradition fostered and preserved through the unthinking ages until they came to be held not only as a part of the natural laws and rights of man but as the immutable decrees of Divinity itself. . . . If woman alone had suffered under these mistaken traditions, if she could have borne the evil by herself, it would have been less pitiful, but her brother man, in the laws he created and ignorantly worshipped, has suffered with her. He has lost her highest help; he has crippled the intelligence he needed; he has belittled the very source of his own being and dwarfed the image of his Maker.

Ladies, there is a propriety in your crossing the seas to hold the first council in America, for it was in this new untrammelled land of freedom, free birth, free thought and free speech that the first outspoken notes were given, the first concerted action taken toward the release of woman, the enlightenment of man as a lawmaker, and the attention of the world directed to the injustice, unwisdom and folly of the code under which it lived. It was here that the first hard blows were struck. It was here the paths were marked out that have been trodden with bleeding feet for half a century, until at length the blows no longer rebound and the hands of the grateful, loving womanhood of the world struggle for a place to scatter roses in the paths which erstwhile were flint and thorns; and an admiring world of women and men alike breathe in tones of respect, gratitude and love the names of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.

Miss Anthony, I am glad to stand beside you while I tell these women from the other side of the world who has brought them here. This, ladies of Europe, is your great prototype—this the woman who has trodden the trackless fields of the pioneer till the thorns are buried in roses; this, the woman who has lived to hear the hisses turn to dulcet strains of music; the woman who has dared to plead for every good cause under heaven, who opened her door to the

fleeing slave and claimed the outcast for a brother; the woman beloved of her own country and honored in all countries.

Although a slow lesson to learn it has always proved that the grandeur of a nation was shown by the respect paid to woman. The brightest garlands of Spain, linked with immortelles, twine about the name of Isabella. The highest glory of England today is not that she placed her crown on the brow of her trusted and beloved new monarch, a man whom the nations of the earth welcome to their galaxy of rulers, but that she lays her mantle of fifty years' rule through war and peace and progress such as never was known before, upon the grave of a woman—that mantle on which no stain has ever rested and on which the sunlight of happiness is shadowed and dimmed only by the tears of a sorrowing nation, as it is reverently borne to its honored rest. England, thank God you had no Salic law! America has none, and, Miss Anthony, the path which you have trodden through these oft painful years leads to that goal; and, though your eyes will have opened upon the blessed light of the heaven beyond, verily there may be some standing here who shall not taste death until these things come.

Ladies and Delegates: In the name of the noble leader who has called you, we welcome you. In the name of our country, its great institutions of learning and equal privileges to all, we welcome you. In the name of the brotherhood of man, we welcome you. In the name of our never-forgotten pioneers, a Mott, a Stone, a Gage, a Griffing, a Garrison, a May, a Foster, a Douglass, a Phillips, we reverently welcome you. In the name of God and humanity, in the name of the angels of earth and the angels of heaven, we welcome you to our shores, to our halls, to our homes and to our hearts.

Miss Susan B. Anthony, honorary president of the association, who was next presented and enthusiastically received, closed her brief welcome by saying that Mrs. Stanton and herself conceived the idea of holding an International Suffrage Conference in 1883 when they were in Europe but the time was too early for it, and now, twenty years later, European women had come as delegates to one in the United States and henceforth the women of the two countries would go forward together in this cause. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president-at-large, referred to the fact that she was born in England and transplanted to America, and said: "While you are divided from us by geographical lines, which are imaginary, and by a language which is not the same, you have not come to an alien people or land. In the realm of the heart, in the domain of mind, there are no geographical lines dividing the nations. You come to us as members of one family.

You come that we may all stand on one plane of freedom. I wish we could take you to our four 'star States' where women vote. We mean to give you of our best but we expect to get from you much more than we give. You will show us that those who speak English are not the only ones whose hearts are alive to the great flame of liberty."

The national corresponding secretary, Miss Kate Gordon, read a telegram from Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen, leader of the suffrage movement in Canada: "Greetings and best wishes from your sisters across the line"; a cablegram from Christiana: "Success to your work, from the National Woman Suffrage Association of Norway." A letter was read by the delegate from Norway, Mrs. Gudrun Drewsen, from the president of the association, Miss Gina Krog, which said in part: "The woman suffrage movement! I know of no movement, no cause that is at the same time so national and so international. The victory now gained in Norway, municipal suffrage and eligibility to municipal office for a great many women, will no doubt in time influence every home in our country; but we could not have won this victory without receiving impulses from other civilized nations. We are indeed indebted to men and women in several European countries for the privileges which we now possess, but from no other country in the world have we received the inspiration in our work which we have had from the United States; to no women in the world are we so indebted as to the women of this country. Those great and noble pioneers and their fervent struggle—how they have inspired us and awakened our enthusiasm! That assiduous work, year after year—how it has strengthened our hands! That glorious example, those results attained in your country—how we have brought them before our legislators to awaken their sense of justice! I sincerely wish that the news of the victory achieved in our country may prove an impetus to you in your work. To be assured of this would give us the great satisfaction of feeling that at all events a small fraction of our great debt to you was paid."

Miss Gordon read a letter from the Federation of Progressive Women's Societies in Germany which declared that its first and foremost object was to secure for German women full political

rights and continued: "We watch with especial interest and sympathy the effort of those who persistently and courageously work for the full citizenship of women. The women of the United States have, in this struggle, set a noble example to the women of Europe. In Germany we recall with tender veneration such names as Lucy Stone, Frances Willard, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw and Susan B. Anthony. The women of Germany are without political rights. It is far easier to fight for equality and freedom in a young country, like the United States, than in an old civilization, cumbered with traditions—a country that looks back on a history of many centuries, that only a few decades ago fought its way through severe conflicts and painful changes to political unity and is now slowly growing into responsibilities which social and political problems impose on a modern State."

"The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Tasmania sends hearty greetings and trusts that the International Suffrage Conference may be successful and that it will bring nearer that day when man and woman shall sit 'side by side, full summed in all their powers,'" was the message signed by Jessie S. Rooke, its president, which was given by Miss Anna Gordon, president of the W. C. T. U. of the United States. The response to the addresses of welcome was made by Madame Sofja Levovna Friedland of Russia, who said in beautiful English:

I am a loyal daughter of a friendly country, who thanks you for your welcome and brings greetings from her distant home. Russia and the United States have been friends for many a year and are friends today, proven friends, who have stood by each other in the hour of need. In 1863 the French ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg laid before the Czar the proposition of Napoleon III, to interfere in your civil war for the purpose of perpetuating the division between the North and the South. After listening to this bold proposal of the French Emperor, Czar Alexander, the man who had freed twenty-five million slaves in one stroke of his pen, replied: "Tell your Emperor that the United States is our friend and tell him also that it has the same right to maintain a republican form of government as we have to choose a monarchy. Tell him also that he must keep his hands off and not meddle in its affairs for I will not allow anyone to interfere on the other side of the Atlantic. He who strikes my friend, strikes me." This answer in diplomatic language went the same day to Paris and soon after Russian battle-

ships arrived in the harbors of New York and San Francisco. There are still men and women who remember them. They used to wonder why the Russian men-of-war were lying peacefully in American waters. President Lincoln could have given the answer, for in a private message from the Czar he had been assured of the friendship of the great Eastern Empire. He knew that the commanders of the Russian ships had secret orders to act in case of necessity.

But the American people have done more, for there came a morning when the glorious winter sun of Russia greeted the Star-Spangled Banner, when American ships landed on Russian shores ready to protect us from a more cruel enemy—hunger. The cry of distress from our famine-stricken villages had found an echo in American hearts and the ships which came did not bear government orders, they bore the tokens of love from one brother to another; they brought us wheat and corn to feed our people.

Madame Friedland told of the visit of the Grand Duke Alexis to this country and of the poem read by Oliver Wendell Holmes at a banquet given in his honor, and closed: "Thus an American poet has expressed the feelings of his countrymen and women. God bless the United States! Long life to President Roosevelt and prosperity to you all! In the days to come and the years to follow may our two great nations stand side by side in harmony and peace. May the Star-Spangled Banner and the Russian Double Eagle soar aloft, not on battlefields, not against any nation, but for a brotherhood of men in the federation of the world." The opening session ended with the president's address by Mrs. Catt, in the course of which she said:

In ready response to growing intelligence and individualism the principle of self-government has been planted in every civilized nation of the world. Before the force of this onward movement the most cherished ideals of conservatism have fallen. Out of the ashes of the old, phoenix-like has arisen a new institution, vigorous and strong, yea, one which will endure as long as men occupy the earth. The little band of Americans who initiated the modern movement would never have predicted that within a century "Taxation of men without representation is tyranny" would have been written into the fundamental law of all the monarchies of Europe except Russia and Turkey and that even there self-government would obtain in the municipalities. The most optimistic seer among them would not have prophesied that Mongolian Japan, then tightly shutting her gates against the commerce of the world and jealously guarding her ancient customs, would before the century closed have welcomed Western civilization and established universal suffrage for

its men. He would not have dreamed that every inch of the great continent of South America, then chiefly an unexplored region over which bands of savages roved at will, would be covered by written constitutions guaranteeing self-government to men inspired by Declarations of Independence similar to that of this country; that the settlements in Mexico and Central America and many islands of the ocean would grow into republics, and least of all that the island continent of Australia, with its associates of New Zealand and Tasmania, then unexplored wildernesses, would become great democracies where self-government would be carried on with such enthusiasm, fervor and wisdom that they would give lessons in methods and principles to all the rest of the world. . . .

Hard upon the track of the man suffrage movement presses the movement for woman suffrage, a logical step onward. It has come as inevitably and naturally as the flower unfolds from the bud or the fruit develops from the flower. Why should woman suffrage not come? Men throughout the world hold their suffrage by the guarantee of the two principles of liberty and for these reasons only: One, "Taxation without representation is tyranny"; who dares deny it? And are not women taxed? The other, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." How simple and unanswerable that petition of justice! . . . Woman suffrage must meet precisely the same objections which have been urged against man suffrage and in addition it must combat sex-prejudice, a prejudice against the rights, liberties and opportunities of women.

Mrs. Catt closed her address with these words: "Yet before the attainment of equal rights for men and women there will be years of struggle and disappointment. We of a younger generation have taken up the work where our noble and consecrated pioneers left it. We in turn are enlisted for life and generations yet unborn will take up the work where we lay it down. So through centuries if need be the education will continue, until a regenerated race of men and women who are equal before God and man shall control the destinies of the earth. It will be the proud duty of the new International Alliance, if one shall be formed, to extend its helping hand to the women of every nation and every people and its completed duty will not have been performed until the last vestige of the old obedience of one human being to another shall have been destroyed."

The presence of the foreign visitors and the greetings from abroad made an original and pleasing variation of the usual program at national conventions. The Evening with the Pioneers

opened with the singing by the audience of The Battle Hymn of the Republic, written by one of them, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, led by another, John Hutchinson, a member of the famous family of singers, who the day before had celebrated his 90th birthday. Miss Anthony presided and the *Washington Times* said that she "was greeted with a storm of applause, the convention rising as one woman and with waving handkerchiefs cheering her to the echo for several minutes." The Loyal Legion of Women through its president gave her an armful of red roses and in accepting them she observed smilingly: "I can only say what I have often said in late years—it is much pleasanter to be pelted with roses than stones! The National Suffrage Association stands like a Mother Church with her arms wide open to those who want to come in and we are especially glad to receive loyal women."<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Florence Fenwick Miller, a member of the London School Board for nine years, brought greetings from Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren, 87 years old, of whom Miss Anthony said: "She is an elder sister of John and Jacob Bright. John was the great champion of manhood suffrage but Jacob was still greater, for he was a champion of suffrage for women also. Mrs. McLaren sent a loving and appreciative message to "the dear American women who have so steadfastly held up the banner of woman suffrage and especially to the octogenarians, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony," and closed it with a Christmas poem. Miss Anthony recalled her last visit to Mrs. McLaren in Edinburgh three years before and said: "I wish you could see how beautiful she looked as she lay on the bed in her pretty white cap and blue dressing sack. She is an inspiration to the women of Great Britain and she has been to me."

Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby (D. C.), gave a greeting from Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> The following pioneer workers for woman suffrage were seated on the platform, their ages averaging more than 75 years: Mrs. Virginia Clay Clopton, Ala.; A. E. Gridley, the Hon. Simon Wolf, Mrs. S. E. Wall, Mrs. Olive Logan, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Dr. A. D. Mayo, Miss Eliza Titus Ward, D. C.; Mrs. Mary B. Trimble, Ky.; Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick, La.; Mrs. Helen Coffin Beedy, Dr. Abbie M. Fulton, Mrs. Charlotte Thomas, Me.; Mrs. Harriet Jackson, Md.; Mrs. William Lloyd Garrison, Mass.; Mrs. Helen P. Jenkins, Mrs. Emily B. Ketcham, Mich.; Mrs. Phœbe Wright, N. J.; Mrs. H. E. Burger, Miss Mary Anthony, Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, N. Y.; Mrs. Harriet B. Stanton, O.; Dr. Jane V. Meyers, Mrs. G. M. S. P. Jones, Dr. Agnes Kemp, John K. Wildman, Dr. and Mrs. C. Newlin Pierce, Penn.; Mrs. Virginia D. Young, S. C.; Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, Utah; Miss Laura Moore, Vt.; Mrs. M. H. Grove, W. Va.



Stanton, in her 87th year, and read her paper on Educated Suffrage.<sup>1</sup> In this able and scholarly document Mrs. Stanton said:

The proposition to demand of immigrants a reading and writing qualification on landing strikes me as arbitrary and equally detrimental to our mutual interests. The danger is not in their landing and living in this country but in their speedy appearance at the ballot-box, there becoming an impoverished and ignorant balance of power in the hands of wily politicians. While we should not allow our country to be a dumping-ground for the refuse population of the old world, still we should welcome all hardy, common-sense laborers here, as we have plenty of room and work for them. . . . The one demand I would make for this class is that they should not become a part of our ruling power until they can read and write the English language intelligently and understand the principles of republican government. . . . To prevent the thousands of immigrants daily landing on our shores from marching from the steerage to the polls the national Government should prohibit the States from allowing them to vote in less than five years and not then unless the applicant can read and write the English language. . . . To this end, Congress should enact a law for "educated suffrage" for our native-born as well as foreign rulers, alike ignorant of our institutions. With free schools and compulsory education, no one has an excuse for not understanding the language of the country. As women are governed by a "male aristocracy" we are doubly interested in having our rulers able at least to read and write.

The popular objection to woman suffrage is that it would "double the ignorant vote." The patent answer to this is, abolish the ignorant vote. Our legislators have this power in their own hands. There have been various restrictions in the past for men. We are willing to abide by the same for women, provided the insurmountable qualification of sex be forever removed. . . . Surely, when we compel all classes to learn to read and write and thus open to themselves the door of knowledge not by force but by the promise of a privilege all intelligent citizens enjoy, we are benefactors, not tyrants. To stimulate them to climb the first rounds of the ladder that they may reach the divine heights where they shall be as gods, knowing good and evil, by withholding the citizen's right to vote for a few years will be a blessing to them as well as to the State. . . .

Mrs. Stanton had made her last address in person to a national convention in 1892, when she resigned the presidency of the association—that incomparable essay on *The Solitude of Self*—but she never had failed to send her annual battle cry. The one to

<sup>1</sup> Miss Anthony had objected strongly to Mrs. Stanton's letter to the convention of 1901 criticising the church, and she did not approve of demanding an educational requirement for the suffrage when women would have to obtain it by consent of men of all classes. Mrs. Stanton's letter, therefore, was sent for Mrs. Colby to read, who was in sympathy with its sentiment.

this convention, which began the fulfilment of her dream of a world-wide movement for woman suffrage, was written with all her old-time logic and forceful argument and it proved to be her last, as her long and valuable life was ended the next November.

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton (O.) read the paper of Mrs. Caroline Hallowell Miller (Md.), detained at the last moment, on *Why We Come Again*, in which she explained why the suffragists would continue to come to Washington and haunt Congress until their object, a Federal Amendment, had been attained. The humor for which Mrs. Miller, a staid "Quaker," was noted sparkled in its sentences although she protested that she was entirely serious. Miss Anthony introduced Henry B. Blackwell (Mass.) with the quaint remark: "He was the husband of Lucy Stone; I don't think he can quite represent her but he will do the best he can!" Mr. Blackwell briefly reviewed the agitation for women suffrage during the first half of the 19th century. He told of meeting Lucy Stone in 1850 and being so charmed he advised his elder brother to make her acquaintance; of hearing her address a Massachusetts constitutional convention in 1852 with William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips; of making his own first suffrage speech in Cleveland, O., in 1853 and of his marriage in 1855. In presenting the next speaker Miss Anthony said: "Mr. Blackwell alluded to his brother, who did not marry Lucy but Antoinette—the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, the first ordained woman minister—who will now address you." Her paper on Chivalry was a clear analysis of the changed ideas of this word, touching with sarcasm on that of the days when the effort for the rights of women began, a chivalry which gave the person and property of the wife, the guardianship of the children, all her legal privileges, to the husband. She traced the evolution from the early privations of the pioneer suffragists to the honors that are now showered upon them and drew a striking contrast between "the dying old chivalry, which made itself the sole umpire of the benefits to be granted, and the increasing new chivalry, which consults the beneficiaries themselves as to their needs and desires."

Miss Anthony then introduced the first woman ordained by the Universalist Church, the Rev. Olympia Brown, who struck

the keynote of her address in saying: "When we are vexed by the seeming irrationality of some of our Congressmen, may we not explain it as due to the fact that they are thinking of the kind of men who elected them? The United States debar intelligent American women from voting and says to the riffraff of Europe, 'Come over and help govern us.' It is an experiment which no other country in the world ever did make and no other ever will make and I predict that it will be a failure. It will be necessary to call in the aid of the intelligent American women and soon or late this will be done."

Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, daughter of the noted Abolitionist, Gerrit Smith, was asked to rise and Miss Anthony paid glowing tribute to him and to many men and women who had stood by the cause of woman suffrage in its early days. The audience were pleased to enjoy once more her informal and unique method of presiding, as glancing over the audience she singled out veteran suffragists who had come to hear and not to speak, calling them by name with some reminiscent comment. Her eye fell upon William H. Bright, who sponsored the bill in the Legislature of Wyoming which gave the first equal suffrage ever granted anywhere to women. In answering the demand of the audience for a speech he told how Mrs. Esther Morris had come from New York State to Wyoming in 1867 and how she and his wife had persuaded him to prepare the bill, which was passed by a Democratic Legislature and signed by a Republican Governor. In response to a general request Miss Anthony told the story, of which audiences never seemed to tire, of that historic occasion when she broke all precedents by addressing a Teachers' Convention in 1853. This interesting session closed with the singing of Auld Lang Syne led by the venerable John Hutchinson.

During a morning session Miss Gordon made her report as corresponding secretary, saying that although it covered only the seven months since the last convention it showed that 6,500 letters had been sent out from the headquarters during this period. In 1895, when Mrs. Catt became chairman of the Organization Committee, she had established headquarters for her work in one little room in the New York *World* building, that was really an

annex of her husband's offices, and begun the publication of a Bulletin, which was the organ of the committee. In 1897 it became the organ of the National Association and had now expanded into a quarterly paper called *Progress*, which was edited by Alice Stone Blackwell, Ellis Meredith and Laura Gregg. A preliminary edition of 100,000 had been sent out from the headquarters, the expense borne by Boston women, and later 16,000 copies of the October and 20,000 of the January editions had gone to the 14,000 newspapers of the country, to members of Congress and others. A monthly series of Political Equality Leaflets was also commenced and a Course of Study for Clubs and individuals was established for which a dozen or more books were published. These two valuable features were carried on without any expense to the association, as they paid for themselves.

Miss Gordon described the National Conference held in Charleston, S. C., February 3-4, at the invitation of the board of the Inter-State and West Indian Exposition; told of the conference in Baltimore<sup>1</sup> and said of the one in Buffalo: "The far-reaching effect and impetus given to the woman's movement by the Congress of Women held in connection with the Chicago Exposition, determined the Business Committee's acceptance of an invitation to hold a National Conference during the Pan-American Exposition. Too late did we learn that the invitation extended included no responsibility whatever upon the Exposition to further the success of the conference. Buffalo did not represent an organized center and after several fruitless attempts to form a local committee, the headquarters realized that every little detail essential to success must be attended to by the board. From all sides reports of the most discouraging nature were received as

<sup>1</sup> The Charleston conference was held in the Assembly Room of the Woman's Building, welcomed by Mayor Smyth, Mrs. S. C. Simons, president of the women's department, and Mrs. Virginia D. Young in behalf of the State Press Association. Mrs. Catt responded and later Mr. Blackwell made an address. Among the speakers here and in German Artillery Hall was the Hon. R. R. Hemphill (S. C.), always a staunch advocate of woman suffrage. An afternoon reception was given by the Woman's Board. The *News and Courier* and other papers had long and excellent reports.

The Baltimore conference was held a few days later in the main auditorium of the Central Y. M. C. A. Hall, with the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw presiding. It was welcomed by Dr. E. O. Janney of Johns Hopkins Medical School, and the national speakers were Miss Laura Clay, president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association; Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, Judge J. G. Flenner of Idaho; the Rev. Olympia Brown, Mrs. Colby, Miss Gordon and Mr. and Miss Blackwell.

to the absolute failure attending all conferences there but nevertheless we started a vigorous correspondence and for five preceding weeks every Sunday paper in Buffalo was supplied with matter from headquarters. To make a long story short, September 9-10 witnessed our conference well attended, with the night sessions crowded and success acknowledged on all sides, even though we labored under the disadvantage of its being held during the season of sorrow and distress in that city while President McKinley's life hovered in the valley of the shadow of death."

Miss Gordon said that during the year Mrs. Catt had made a tour of nine States and taken part in forty meetings. Referring to the efforts made to have a woman suffrage clause put into new constitutions that were being framed in several States she said: "The clause which lived twenty-four hours in the Alabama Constitution, granting to taxpaying women owning \$500 worth of property the suffrage on questions of bonded indebtedness, was killed by a disease peculiar to the genus homo known as chivalry. In the case in point, the diagnosis revealed that the fairest, purest and brightest jewels that ever shone under the brilliant rays of God's shining sun would be immeasurably lowered by voting upon questions relating to the taxation of their own property. Yet, under the vagaries of this disease, this same convention conferred on husbands the right to vote on their wives' property. This is the same character of chivalry which gives the wages of the brightest, fairest jewels to the husband, which makes impossible equal pay for equal work and which classes the jewels with the idiots, insane and criminals in that and other States."

The program was so crowded with attractions that it left no time for the usual conferences on work and campaigns, so they were placed at 9:30 a.m. As they had been so largely attended by visitors the preceding year as to call forth a rule from the Board of Officers that thereafter delegates only should be permitted to attend them, this was not disastrous. Early morning conferences therefore were held on Organization and Press and two others took the form of State presidents' councils. The Plan of Work recommended again by the Executive Committee and adopted by the convention urged work in Congressional districts for the 16th Amendment; an attempt to secure tax-paying

suffrage; more resolutions by national and State conventions; a campaign to secure suffrage speakers at Chautauqua assemblies and State and county fairs; prizes for essays on woman suffrage in schools and colleges; circulating suffrage libraries and the general use of a suffrage stamp on letters.

Two novel evening programs were devoted to *The New Woman* and *The New Man*, the first with the following speakers: Mrs. Helen Adelaide Shaw of Boston; Mrs. Elizabeth M. Gilmer of New Orleans, known far and wide as "Dorothy Dix," said to receive the highest salary of any woman journalist; Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, a prominent physician and surgeon of Minneapolis; Miss Gail Laughlin (N. Y.) who had taken the highest honors in the Law Class of Cornell University; the Rev. Ida C. Hultin, a successful Unitarian minister of Boston. Miss Margaret Haley of Chicago, who led the great fight of the Teachers' Federation of that city to compel the big corporations to pay their taxes in order that the public schools should not be crippled for lack of funds, could not be present because of a crisis in the legal proceedings. Each of the women representing the four professions of law, medicine, theology and journalism, in addresses scintillating with humor, reviewed the early prejudices which had been overcome, told of the large number of women who had entered the field when the opportunity came but showed that they could never have an even chance until there was complete obliteration of sex prejudice. Little idea of their interest could be obtained from fragmentary paragraphs.

The house was crowded to hear about *The New Man*,<sup>1</sup> represented first on the program by Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison and owner and editor of the *New York Evening Post*, who gave a spirited and effective account of Women in the New York Municipal Campaign. This was

<sup>1</sup> A Washington paper said: "There were a good many men in the audience and they did not look much as they do in the comic papers. The suffragists' husbands in caricature are consumptive, cadaverous, insignificant mortals, trailing around in the wake of ram-bunctious and overwhelming wives; but most of the men who mixed themselves up with this convention looked as if they could not very easily have been dragged there if they had not wanted to come. Some of them were six feet tall and broad in proportion and none of them looked as if they had been in the habit of asking their wives for permission to think. They did not act like cats in a strange garret either but as if they were having the time of their lives. No wonder; when a man does make up his mind to come out for woman suffrage he can depend upon it he is going to be appreciated."

the first in which women ever had taken a prominent part and it had attracted wide attention, a revolt against Tammany corruption under Richard Croker. Mr. Villard told of the remarkable work done by the Women's Municipal League under direction of the Citizen's Union for the election of Seth Low as Mayor and a reform ticket. He paid a sarcastic tribute to the assistance of the women anti-suffragists. "To have been really consistent," he said, "they should have urged upon their more emancipated sisters that woman's sphere is the home and any steps that lead beyond it tend in the long run to the destruction both of the home and of the eternal feminine." He closed by declaring that "the Titanic struggle between right and wrong in the great cities can not be won without the cooperation of that half of the nation's citizens in whose hearts are ever found the truest ideals of family and society, of city life and State life and of national existence." At its conclusion Mrs. Catt said: "And yet after Mr. Low was elected Mayor of Greater New York a large number of the women who had helped him win the victory urged him to appoint some women on the school board and he refused. So we must suppose that he is willing to have women pull the chestnuts out of the fire for men but is not willing to give them a share of the chestnuts."

A feature of the evening was the scholarly address of the Hon. William Dudley Foulke (Ind.), president of the U. S. Civil Service Commission. He objected to being classed as a "new man," since long ago he was for several years president of the American Suffrage Association. "Men would not be satisfied with indirect influence," he declared and continued: "It is often said that woman suffrage is just but that there is no need of it, because women have no interests separate from those of men. That argument was used to me only lately by an eminent political economist. I said: 'Suppose a railroad runs through a town and a woman owns a large property in that town and yet cannot vote on the question of raising a subsidy; are her interests necessarily the same as those of every man in the town?' My friends, that case is universal. Suppose a widow is trying to bring up her son in the principles of morality and a saloon is opened on the corner opposite her home. I do not speak as

an advocate of prohibition but I do say that the interest of the mother is different from that of the man who sells liquor. Or suppose she is bringing up a daughter; she has a sacred right to protect that daughter from a libertine. Her interest is certainly different from that of the tempter. . . . We do not realize what an immense waste there is in denying woman entrance to political life. She ought to have free access to anything she is qualified to do and where she is not qualified she will drop out."

John S. Crosby, a prominent Democratic leader of New York, made a thorough analysis of the functions of the State and the Government, showed the utter fallacy of constituting men the governing and women the governed class and closed as follows: "Attempt to prove that woman's claim to the right of suffrage is as valid as any that man can make would be like trying to demonstrate the truth of a self-evident proposition. . . . We ask the ballot for woman not merely because she has a right to it but quite as much because it is her duty to exercise that right. The irresistible power of that all-embracing organization, the State, holds you and me and all that are dear to us as its helpless and often hopeless subjects. The combined wisdom of all of us would be none too great for its intelligent administration and we demand for our own sake and for the sake of those that shall come after us that the wisdom of woman shall be included; not only that her delicate, intuitional sense of justice shall leaven the lump of public opinion but that her deft hand shall help to knead it into the bread of righteous law. We ask as one of the rights that government is bound to secure that in the administration of its power it shall make use of the fullest wisdom of the whole people; that the entire popular brain and social conscience shall take cognizance of and be responsible for all acts of government. Not until then shall we see true democracy; not until then shall we indeed have a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

The next day was one always commemorated by suffragists—the birthday of Susan B. Anthony—this time the 82nd. The *Woman's Journal* began its account: "As Miss Anthony sat at breakfast on February 15, with one of the jars of delicious cream



before her that were sent her daily by the president of the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association, she was unexpectedly surrounded by the foreign delegates in a body. A birthday greeting drawn up and signed by them was read aloud by Mrs. Florence Fenwick Miller of England, while the rest, grouped behind her, bent forward listening with attentive faces—a pretty picture. Among the gifts which she received during the afternoon session were a canoe full of flowers from ‘one of the girls’ with a poem; a handsome feather boa from Mrs. Swift and Mrs. Sperry of California; a cup made from the wood of the floor under the table on which the Declaration of Independence was signed, presented in the name of Mrs. General Geddes; a bouquet of red roses from Prof. Theodosia Ammons of Colorado Agricultural College; potted plants from the Swedish and Norwegian delegates; over \$500 from Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, Miss Emily Howland, Mrs. Kenyon, Mrs. W. W. Trimble, Miss Nettie Lovisa White, Mrs. William M. Ivins and other friends; also quantities of fruit and flowers. The address was as follows:

We, the undersigned, Foreign Delegates to the first International Woman Suffrage Congress, gladly take the opportunity of your 82nd birthday to express to you our love and reverence, our gratitude for your lifelong work for women, and are rejoicing that you have lived to see such great steps onward made by the world at large in the direction in which you led at first under such prejudice. Praying that you may enjoy years of health, cheered by every fresh advance, we remain, your loving friends,

Florence Fenwick Miller, England; Sofja Levovna Friedland, Russia; Carolina Holman Huidobro, Chili; Gudrun Drewsen, Norway; Vida Goldstein, Australia; Emmy Evald, Sweden; Antonie Stolle, Germany.

[Later the foreign delegates gave Mrs. Catt a handsomely engraved silver card case.]

The Washington *Times* said of the occasion:

The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw presented a large basket of fruit from some of the principal suffrage workers with these touching words: “Miss Anthony, you have been more than a leader to us of your own country, more than a teacher, more than a counselor, you have been our beloved friend. Take this with our love for you, dear, dear friend.” This completed Miss Anthony’s conquest and she almost broke down. There has been very little emotionalism in

this convention but for some minutes there was ample proof all over the hall that being delegates to a suffrage convention had not made any woman forget how to cry. Mrs. Catt finally came to Miss Anthony's rescue in a little speech full of tender appreciation: "The greatest thing about Miss Anthony to my mind is her utter unselfishness and lack of self-consciousness. As we came up the aisle the other night and the audience broke into a thunder of applause for her whom all love, Miss Anthony looked about to see what caused it and then asked: 'What are they applauding for?' She credits all attentions to herself as for the cause and it is dearer to her than life. Last night at an hour when all respectable women suffragists should have been in bed, the treasurer and I put our heads together and decided that we would ask all of you to give a present to the association on Miss Anthony's birthday instead of giving it to her. We know her well enough to be sure this is what she would like best."

Miss Mary Garrett Hay, the champion money raiser, then made the appeal to the audience, who quickly responded with over \$5,000 and she received an appreciative vote of thanks from the convention. Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, the treasurer, reported the receipts of the preceding year as \$13,581, with a carefully itemized and audited statement.

Among the most interesting and valuable features of all national conventions are the reports of the work in the various States and yet because of the large number it is impossible to give specific mention or quotations. They were varied on this occasion by the reports from foreign countries—Venezuela, Chili, Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Porto Rico, Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Turkey, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and France. These had been obtained at the request of Mrs. Catt from ambassadors, consuls or persons appointed by them and represented months of labor. Several evenings were largely devoted to addresses by delegates from other countries; one by Public School Inspector James L. Hughes, Toronto; the English Woman in Politics, Florence Fenwick Miller; the Australian Woman in Politics, Vida Goldstein; Women in South American Republics, Carolina Huidobro; Women in Porto Rico, Resident Commissioner Federico Degetau; Women in the Philippines, Harriet Potter Nourse; Deborah, Emmy Evald, Sweden; Women in Egypt and Jerusalem, Lydia von Finkelstein Mountford; Women in Turkey,

Florence Fensham, Dean of American College for Girls in Constantinople; Women in Germany, Antoine Stolle.

When the report for Porto Rico was made Miss Shaw supplemented it with a graphic account of a trip to the West Indies with Mrs. Lydia Avery Coonley Ward of Chicago, which she had just finished, telling of the position of women, the marriage laws, etc. The work of the National Council of Women was presented by the Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer (R. I.); the report of the affiliated Friends' Equal Rights Association by Mrs. Mariana W. Chapman (N. Y.), its president.

The Sunday afternoon services in the church were conducted by the Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, assisted by the Rev. Olympia Brown and the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Spencer first defined the ideal of womanly character held by the older poets and philosophers, quoting Milton's line describing Adam and Eve: "He for God only; she for God in him," and the expression used by the hard, old father of Tennyson's "Princess": "Man to command and woman to obey." She then expressed the modern ideal as that of devotion to the same essentials but different in expression. "Woman is not called to a new kingdom but to a larger occupancy of that which has been hers from the beginning. The woman with the child in her arms was the beginning of the family; the hearth fire and the altar fire grew from this; the elder child teaching the younger was the beginning of the school. We are making over all these inherited traditions and inherited tendencies and socializing them. . . . The ideal woman is no longer a far-away Madonna with her feet on the clouds; she is as divine but she is human. What means the humanizing of religion and the passing of harsh, old creeds but that a greater, more human, more womanly influence is felt in all the relations of life."

<sup>1</sup> Besides the women ministers mentioned in this chapter sessions were opened by the Rev. Ulysses G. B. Pierce, the Rev. John Van Schaick, Jr., the Rev. Alexander Kent and the Rev. Donald C. McLeod, all of Washington.

The excellent musical program was in charge of Miss Etta Maddox of Baltimore. She was a graduated lawyer but the courts of Maryland had refused her permission to practice, as contrary to law. After the convention she was accompanied to Baltimore by Miss Laura Clay, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, an attorney of Iowa; Miss Gail Laughlin, a New York lawyer; Dr. Cora Smith Eaton and Mr. Blackwell. The Judiciary Committee of the State Senate granted a hearing conducted by Miss Maddox. By the end of March both Senate and House had passed a bill giving women the right to practice law.

Mr. Blackwell, chairman of the committee on Presidential suffrage, said in his report: "This is the open door for woman suffrage in every State in the Union. Any Legislature at any session by a majority vote of both Houses, either separately or in joint session, without any change of State constitution, can empower women to help select the presidential electors on the same terms as male citizens. The power is absolute and unqualified. Let women in every State petition their Legislature to enable women to take part in this most important form of suffrage known to the American people. It is objected to our demand for woman suffrage that women do not want it and will not exercise it if granted. This is now the only method of testing women's wish to take part in their government. If by a general exercise of the right they show their public spirit, the Legislature by submitting an amendment to the State constitution can afterwards extend suffrage to its citizens in State and local elections. This step will be the most conservative way of procedure. The control will remain, as now, in the hands of a Legislature elected by men alone. If it prove unsatisfactory to the men of the State any subsequent Legislature can repeal the law."

A report of the International Suffrage Conference, which had been in progress during the convention, and the forming of a committee to further permanent organization, was made by its secretary, Miss Goldstein, and the convention voted that the National American Woman Suffrage Association should cooperate with this committee. The nominations for office were made as usual by secret ballot and as usual were so nearly unanimous that the secretary was instructed to cast the vote. The only change in the present board was the election of Mrs. Mary J. Coggeshall, for many years prominent in the work in Iowa, as second auditor in place of Dr. Eaton, whose professional duties required all her time. Invitations for the next convention were received from Niagara Falls, Detroit, St. Louis, Denver, Baltimore and New Orleans. The Board of Trade, the Era Club and the Progressive Union united in the one from New Orleans, which was accepted and cordial thanks returned for the others.

The resolutions presented by Mr. Blackwell, chairman of the

committee, rejoiced in the suffrage already gained and the securing in the past year of laws in various States giving equal guardianship of their children to mothers and increased property rights to wives. They called the attention of the Civil Service Commission to discriminations made against women and emphasized the protest of the preceding year against government regulation of vice in the Philippines. Later at an executive meeting of the board a vigorous set of resolutions was prepared, stating that the reports of Governor William H. Taft and General McArthur admitted and defended "certified examinations of women" in the new possessions of the United States. It showed at length the results of government regulation in other countries which had caused it to be abandoned and declared that "such things ought not to be permitted under the American flag."<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Colby's report on Industrial Problems Relating to Women cited as one example of discrimination: "An effort is now being made in Congress to do away with the annual sick leave of employees, because, it is claimed, women take so much advantage of it. Investigation shows, however, that the per cent. of sick leave is highest in the Inter-State Commerce Commission, where not a woman is employed—twelve per cent.—and only seven per cent. in the Agricultural Department, where a very large number are employed." She gave numerous instances of unfairness against women on the civil service lists, said that women wage earners must find a forum on the suffrage platform where they can plead their cause and carefully analyze the industrial problems especially affecting women. Mrs. Elnora M. Babcock, chairman of the Press Committee, gave a comprehensive report stating that while 50,000 news stories and articles had been sent to the papers in 1900 the number had increased to 175,000 during the last year and there was reason to believe that three-fourths of them had been used. The largest city papers freely accepted the articles.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Anthony, Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Upton and Miss Blackwell were made a committee to present the matter to President Roosevelt. Protests arose from all parts of the country and before they had time to call on him he declared himself opposed to "regulated vice." The dispatches of March 22 announced that a general order signed by Secretary Root had gone from the War Department to Manila that no more "certificates" would be issued but that soldiers as well as women would be inspected and cases of disease would be sent to the hospital.

Former U. S. Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire came in for one session and was called to the platform for a speech. He was much loved by the suffragists, as he had been one of the strongest champions of woman suffrage during his many years in the Senate and had brought the Federal Amendment to a vote on Jan. 25, 1887. (History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV, chapter VI.) Letters of affectionate greeting were sent to the pioneers and veteran workers, Mrs. Stanton, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Mary S. Anthony, Jane H. Spofford, Sallie Clay Bennett, Caroline Hallowell Miller and Abigail S. Duniway. The deaths among the older and more prominent members during the year had been many and fifty were mentioned in the memorial resolutions.

The notable social features of the week were the afternoon receptions given by Mrs. Julia Langdon Barber at her beautiful home, Belmont, and by Mrs. John B. Henderson at Boundary Castle, the latter followed the next day by a dinner for the officers of the association and the delegates from abroad. Both of these well-known Washington hostesses were early suffragists and had often extended the hospitality of their spacious homes to the individual leaders and to the conventions.

A very interesting address was given on the last evening by Madame Friedland on Russian Women of Past Centuries. U. S. Senator Thomas M. Patterson of Colorado presented a vigorous and convincing endorsement of the practical working of woman suffrage in that State for the past nineteen years and its benefits to women and to civic life. U. S. Senator John F. Shafroth of Colorado, always a strong and loyal supporter of suffrage for women, was on the platform. Dr. Shaw, introduced by Mrs. Catt as "the Demosthenes of the movement," delivered for the first time her impressive speech, *The Power of an Incentive*, in which she showed how laws, customs and lack of opportunity took away the incentive for great work from the life of women. Until they can have the same that inspires men, she said, they never can rise to their highest capabilities. No adequate reports of any of these addresses exist.

The audience waited to hear from Miss Anthony, who was thus described by a writer present: "The picture that Miss An-

thony made during the evening was one which the delegates will carry away with them to keep. She wore a black satin gown with a handsome point lace fichu and draped over her shoulders a soft, white shawl, while close by was a large jar of lavender hyacinths. Her expressive face reflected every mood of the evening and it now spoke pride, satisfaction and sorrow. She told of the joy and gratification she felt in the wonderful galaxy of women at the convention and the progress of her loved cause, and when she voiced the wish that she might be with them at the next convention her words were almost lost in a whirlwind of applause."

Mrs. Catt in closing with a brief address one of the most noteworthy conventions on record, called attention to what had been the key-note of her speech before the House Judiciary Committee and said: "We have asked of Congress the most reasonable thing a great cause ever demanded—an investigation of conditions in the equal suffrage States—and on its results we rest our case."

Under the heading *Impressions of a Non-combatant* a writer in the *Washington Times* gave the following opinion:

If there is one convention among the many Washington has seen which may be called unique, it is that of the National Suffrage Association. There is nothing like it in the world. There is only one Susan B. Anthony and there is practically only one suffrage fight. . . . In the old days the power of an idea was the only thing that could have waked up an interest and held the suffragists together. It took faith and zeal and lots of other things to be a believer in woman suffrage then. Now it only takes executive ability and vim and a general interest in public affairs: . . . The problems discussed were almost purely legal and economic, dealing with the suffrage question proper, the wages of women and their occupations. There was very little empty rhetoric but a good deal of fun. In short, there are two extra senses with which most of the delegates seem to be provided—common sense and a sense of humor—excellent substitutes for emotion when it comes to practical affairs. If the association ever loses the idealism which is still its backbone it will be a political machine of much power; it seems likely to be for the present a decided force in the direction of civic reform.

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For a quarter of a century during the first session of each Congress committees of Senate and House had given a hearing to representatives of the National Suffrage Association to present

arguments for the submission of an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would enfranchise women, and at an earlier date to advocate other suffrage measures. Because of the distinguished speakers from abroad the hearings at this time were of unusual interest. The convention adjourned for them on the morning of February 18 and the Senate and House Committee rooms were crowded.

All the members of the Senate Committee were present—Augustus O. Bacon (Ga.) chairman; James H. Berry (Ark.); George P. Wetmore (R. I.); Thomas R. Bard (Calif.); John H. Mitchell (Ore.). Miss Susan B. Anthony, honorary president of the association, presided and said:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this is the seventeenth Congress that has been addressed by the women of this nation, which means that we have been coming to Congress thirty-four years. Once, in 1887, the Senate brought the measure to a discussion and vote and defeated it by 34 to 16, with 26 not wishing to go on record. We ask for a 16th Amendment because it is much easier to persuade the members of a Legislature to ratify this amendment than it is to get the whole three million or six million, as the case may be, of the rank and file of the men of the State to vote for woman suffrage. We think we are of as much importance as the Filipinos, Porto Ricans, Hawaiians, Cubans and all of the different sorts of men that you are carefully considering. The six hundred teachers sent over to the Philippines are a thousand times better entitled to vote than are the men who go there to make money. The women of the islands are quite as well qualified to govern and have charge of affairs as are the men. I do not propose to talk. I am simply here to introduce those who are to address you.

Miss Anthony then presented Miss Harriet May Mills (N. Y.), who spoke from the standpoint of tax paying women, who in the towns and villages alone of her State paid taxes on over \$5,000,000 worth of property; Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg, president of the Pennsylvania Suffrage Association, who showed the connection between politics and conditions in Philadelphia; the Rev. Olympia Brown, president of the Wisconsin association, who pointed out the need of both the reason and the intuition in the country to govern it wisely. Mrs. Mariana W. Chapman, president of the New York association, called for a Federal Amendment to enfranchise women because of the principles on which this Government was founded. Miss Gail Laughlin, a graduate



of Wellesley College and Cornell University Law School, made a strong argument on the effect enfranchisement would have on woman's economic independence and greater efficiency. Mrs. Jennie A. Brown, of Minneapolis, told of the unlimited opportunities allowed to the women of the great northwest which were largely counteracted by their political restrictions. Mrs. Mary Wood Swift of California, president of the National Council of Women, declared that the countless thousands of the educated, developed women of today were fully equal to the responsibilities of citizenship. Mrs. Lucy Hobart Day, president of the Maine association, demonstrated the inferior and unfortunate position of disfranchised women. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal* (Boston), indicated how every step of the progress of women had been opposed by the same objections now made to woman suffrage and submitted these objections and the answers to them in a convincing statement which filled ten pages of the printed report of the hearing.

Miss Anthony introduced Mrs. Gudrun Drewsen, one of the foreign delegates to the convention, who said in part: "Norwegian women look back to the 25th of May, 1901, as a day of great victory, for on that day a bill was passed in our Parliament which granted Municipal suffrage to all women paying taxes on a certain limited income, about \$100 a year, or whose husbands paid on such income. This law has thoroughly changed the position of the married woman and from having always been a minor she has suddenly become of age. It may be of interest to you of the United States, who can show so many tax paying women without any right to vote, to know that we were not able to get our Parliament interested in tax paying woman suffrage until the bill included wives also. The immediate result of this law has been the election of several women to important municipal positions; for instance, members of the common council in the capital; members of the board of aldermen; at one place chief assessor. Women may serve on juries and grand juries and have been appointed members of special congressional commissions. Several women doctors have been appointed in public institutions, on boards of health as experts for the Government, etc. Matrons have been employed at prisons

where women are and special prisons for women in charge of a matron have been established. On the whole we begin to see the glory of the rising sun which will give us in a little while the bright, clear day."

Miss Vida Goldstein, a delegate from Australia, began her address: "I am very proud that I have come here from a country where the woman suffrage movement has made such rapid strides. The note was first struck in America and yet women today are struggling here for what we have had in Australia for years, and we have proved all the statements and arguments against woman suffrage to be utterly without foundation. It seems incredible to us that the women here have not even the School and Municipal suffrage except in a very few States. We have had this for over forty years and we have never heard a word against it. It is simply taken as a matter of course that the women should vote. They say that as soon as women get this privilege they are going to lose the chivalrous attentions of men. Let me assure you that a woman has not the slightest conception of what chivalry means until she gets a vote. . . ." Miss Goldstein told of woman suffrage in New Zealand and produced the highest testimony as to its good results in both countries.

In closing the hearing Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, national vice president, said in part:

Our association desires you not only to report the resolution for this amendment favorably but to recommend the appointment of a committee to investigate this subject. Years ago when our women came before you we had nothing but theory to give you, what we believed would be the good results of woman suffrage if it were granted. The opponents had their theories and they stated the evils they believed would follow. The theory of one person is as good as that of another until it has been put to the test, but after that both sides must lay aside all theory and stand or fall upon facts. In four States women have the full suffrage. For more than thirty years they have been exercising it in Wyoming equally with men; in Colorado for nine years and in Utah and Idaho for six years. We do believe that from six to thirty years is long enough time to measure its effect. What we would like better than anything else is that Congress should appoint a committee of investigation, and that such a committee should investigate the result of woman suffrage in the States where it has already been granted. . . . So sure are we its report would be favorable that we are perfectly willing to stake our future on it. While we do not claim that only good would

come from woman suffrage, we do believe that among all the people of a community or of a nation there are more good men and women than there are bad men and women, and that when we unite the good men and good women they will be able to carry measures for the general welfare and we will have better laws and conditions.

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At the hearing before the House Judiciary Committee, Representative John J. Jenkins, in the chair, expressed regret that George W. Ray of New York, the chairman, was unavoidably absent and said: "He is very much in sympathy with what the ladies desire to say this morning—much more so than the present occupant of the chair." Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Suffrage Association, who had charge of the hearing, said: "Mr. Chairman, we have just been holding an International Woman Suffrage Conference in the city of Washington, eight nations having sent official delegates from woman suffrage organizations, and several others have cooperated through correspondence, and we have invited representatives of these nations to come to you this morning and present some facts concerning the practical operation of suffrage in countries other than our own. Our first speaker will be Miss Vida Goldstein of Australia." Miss Goldstein gave in substance the address which will be found in the report of the Senate hearing, after which Mrs. Catt said: "Although I have been a resident and taxpayer in four different States and able to qualify as a voter I have never been permitted any suffrage whatever. I now have the privilege of introducing a Russian woman who has been a voter in her country ever since she was 21." Madame Friedland said in part:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: In a country like Russia, with an absolute government, there is but little suffrage for either men or women but the little there is equally shared by both. We do not, of course, vote for Czars; neither do we vote for Governors but the municipal officers are elected by the votes of the real-estate owners regardless of sex. The woman, however, does not vote in person but transfers her vote to her husband, her son or her son-in-law and in case these are unable to vote for her she has the right to delegate her vote to an outsider. He simply has the proxy and votes as the woman dictates.

Russia, whose political institutions are the least liberal in Europe, has the most liberal laws in regard to the civil capacity of her women.

Every woman, married or single, if she is of age, enjoys complete civil capacity. Marriage does not in any way change the rights of husband and wife over the property they possess or may acquire. The husband has no legal right whatever over the property of his wife and she is by no means under his guardianship. This may account for the fact that we have less divorce than in many other countries. We have different laws for the different social classes. A nobleman will pay his taxes according to the law for the nobility, while his wife may be a commoner and have to pay hers according to the laws for the commoners, but both are taxpayers and consequently both are voters. It is quite a common thing to see a woman of the people, a peasant woman, take her place and often her husband's place, as he has a right to delegate his vote to her at elections, and she may also take it at county meetings and assemblies of every kind. Lately the government of the peasantry have made an effort to deprive the women of the right to hold office but the Senate has prevented them on the ground that if women share the hard struggle for existence with the men, as they do in our remote rural districts, they must also share the privileges. Gentlemen, I hope I have your sympathy with the ideas practiced in my country for our women.

Mrs. Catt said of her next speaker: "It is eminently proper that a woman of Sweden should address you, where women have voted longer than anywhere else in the world."

Mrs. Emmy Ewald. I stand before this legislative power of America representing a country where women have voted since the 18th century, sanctioned in 1736 by the King. The men gave suffrage to the women without their requesting it, because they believed that taxation without representation is tyranny. The taxpayer's vote is irrespective of sex. Women vote for every office for which their brothers do and on the same terms, except for the first chamber of the Riksdag. They have the Municipal and School suffrage, votes for the provincial representatives and thus indirectly for members of the House of Lords.

Women are admitted to the postal service on equal salaries with men. In the railway service, which is controlled by the Government, women have ever since 1860 been employed in the controlling office and ticket department and in the telegraph and telephone service, which are owned by the Government. In 1809 women were given the rights of inheritance and in the same year equal matrimonial rights. The colleges and universities are open to them and they receive degrees the same as men. All professions are open except the clerical. Women teachers are pensioned equally with men. Tax paying women have voted in church matters since 1736. Every woman is taxed in the Lutheran Church in America but has no vote and the women blame the Americans because the clergy educated here imbibed the false spirit of liberty and justice.

You can not trust the ballot into the hands of women teachers in the public schools but you give it to men who can not read or write. You can not trust the ballot to women who are controlling millions of money and helping support the country but you give it to loafers and vagabonds who know nothing, have nothing and represent nothing. You can not trust the ballot in the hands of women who are the wives and daughters of your heroes but you give it to those who are willing to sell it for a glass of beer and you trust it in the hands of anarchists. Oh, men, let justice speak and may the public weal demand that this disfranchisement of the noble American women shall be stopped.

Mrs. Catt then introduced to the committee Miss Isabel Campbell, daughter of former Governor Campbell of Wyoming, who in 1869 signed the bill which enfranchised the women of the Territory; Prof. Theodosia Ammons of the Colorado University of Agriculture and Mrs. Ida M. Weaver, a resident of Idaho. Each gave a comprehensive report of the practical working of woman suffrage in her State; the large proportion of women who voted; their appointment on boards and election to offices; the result in improved polling places, better candidates and cleaner politics; higher pay for working women; the advantages to the community; the comradeship between men and women and the general satisfaction of the people with the experiment. Their reports as a whole offered unimpeachable testimony in favor of the enfranchisement of women.

Mrs. Florence Fenwick Miller in her address said:

I have been asked to direct especially my attention to the position of women in England. I hope you, as members of a republic, will be ashamed to hear that the monarchy of England gives its women citizens a great many rights which you deny to yours, that we have had those rights for so many years that nobody talks about them. When I am asked to give you testimony as to the smooth working of the women's vote in all local affairs, I am at a loss to know what to say, because it runs along so easily and naturally, so like breathing the air in a thoroughly healthy state of the lungs, that there is absolutely nothing to be said. Men and women vote on equal terms and the woman's vote is as much a matter of course as the man's.

The local government of England is divided among a number of different bodies. We have the school boards, established in 1870, which have managed the elementary education of the country, now compulsory and free. They spend very large sums of the taxpayers' money and for them every woman who pays taxes has a vote. Any woman whom the electors choose is entitled to take a seat on them.

There are at present not only hundreds of thousands of women voting for the school boards but there are 276 women sitting as representatives upon those of England alone. I myself have for nine years been a member of the school board of London, sitting for one of the great divisions called Hackney, which has 60,000 voters. My election committee was composed of men and women. Men worked for me very hard indeed! . . . The next great local governing bodies are the boards of guardians of the poor. These bodies spend annually about \$127,000,000, which they raise from the taxpayers, men and women. These are huge organizations. Many of the workhouses contain over 1,000 persons; besides which, outside relief in money or food or medical aid is given. Every woman who is a taxpayer can vote for a member of these boards. Women are eligible to sit on them the same as men. There are nearly 1,000 women on the boards.

Women may vote for the municipalities, for the town councils. I can not offer you any illustration of how the women's vote has improved them for the simple reason that when those councils were instituted in 1869 the Parliament of a monarchy was sufficiently large-minded to perceive that women ought to vote for them; that they have to pay their taxes and where a woman stands at the head of a household she is not only equally entitled to representation in regard to the spending of her money but also she is as much concerned with the work that the councils have to do as any man. This was so obviously just that women were given the right to vote on them and have exercised that right ever since. . . . The women vote as fully as the men do.

We have district, parish and county councils, which have to a considerable extent the moral and the intellectual government of the cities under them, licensing of places of amusement, public parks, technical education for young people over school age and so on. The building of homes for the poor, the oversight of lunatic asylums and matters of that kind, they have under their authority. These were established in 1884 and the women who had voted so well for many years for school boards and town councils of course were given the right to vote for the new county councils.

Mrs. Miller went fully into the work of women on borough and county councils and closed her valuable address by saying: "Gentlemen, the work of women in English public life has not only been unattended with any mischief but has been a great force for service and benefit. Surely American men can trust their sisters as our men have for the past generation trusted us, to their own as well as our advantage."

In closing the hearing to which the committee gave the strictest attention, Mrs. Catt said in part:

I have a favor to ask of this committee in an official capacity; it is something we have never asked before. . . . We have brought to you testimonials of the success of woman suffrage in operation throughout the world and I think that if any man among you were called to stand before a committee and give in five or ten minutes some proof of the favorable results of man suffrage, he would find it a very difficult thing to do. What I now ask in behalf of our association is that this committee will request the House of Representatives to appoint a commission to investigate the results of woman suffrage in operation. This has never been done. . . .

We ask you in the interest of fairness to see that this commission is appointed to investigate woman suffrage in exactly the same spirit it would use if it were investigating man suffrage in Cuba. We ask you to chase down to its lair every single charge and objection that has been made and if when an honest commission has made an honest investigation you discover that woman suffrage has proved a good thing, if you find that it has proved as beneficial to women as man suffrage has proved to men, then we shall expect that another Judiciary Committee will give a favorable report and ask Congress to submit a 16th Amendment. And if you discover that it is not a good thing, then I promise you in behalf of our association that we will turn our guns into those States and see that it is made a good thing; for never so long as there are women who are educated, women who think for themselves, will they rest content until they have the only weapon that governments can give them for defending liberty and pursuit of happiness. We stand before you as citizens of the United States, qualified, intelligent, taxpaying women, who demand for ourselves the same right to make the Government under which we live that has been given to men.

No commission was appointed, no report was made by Senate or House Committee and there were no definite results of such appeals as never had been made by men for the franchise in this or any other country.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1903.

In 1903 the National American Suffrage Association for the second time took its annual convention to a southern State and held it in New Orleans, March 15-25, in Athenaeum Hall.<sup>1</sup> The *Woman's Journal* said: "To the northern delegates there was something almost magical in the sudden change from snowdrifts and nipping winds to balmy air and a temperature like June. The delicious climate of Louisiana in spring has not been exaggerated and it seems wonderful to find roses in bloom in March, the

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: The association goes to New Orleans in response to an invitation from the Progressive Union, the Era Club of women and many prominent individuals. It is especially appropriate that the advocates of this important reform should assemble in Louisiana in honor of the action taken by this State in 1898, when its constitutional convention incorporated a clause giving to tax-paying women a vote on all questions of taxation submitted to the electors; and in commemoration of the splendid use they made of this privilege at the election held to secure to New Orleans the completion of its drainage and the establishment of a sewerage system and free water supply. . . .

Never in the fifty years of this movement have its advocates had such a victory to record as was achieved in Australia in June, 1902, when almost the first act of Parliament of the new Federation of States was to confer the full national suffrage with the right to a seat in the Parliament on all qualified women of the entire commonwealth. This one act enfranchised about 800,000. These added to those of New Zealand and of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, it will be found that 1,125,000 English-speaking women are at the present time in possession of the complete suffrage and all except those of Wyoming have been enfranchised within the past ten years. By adding to these the women of Great Britain and Ireland, who have all except the Parliamentary vote, those of Kansas with Municipal, of Louisiana, Montana, and New York with the Tax-payers' and of over one-half of the States with the school ballot, the 1,125,000 will be multiplied several times. . . .

It is, therefore, with courage and hope inspired by the glorious promise of the new century for greater material and moral progress in all directions than the world has ever known, that the advocates of this measure, which ultimately will affect the destinies of the whole American people, are called in convention to review the labor of the past year, to plan that of the future, to strengthen the old comradeship and greet new workers and friends.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Honorary President.  
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.  
ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Vice-President-at-Large.  
KATE M. GORDON, Corresponding Secretary.  
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary.  
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer.  
LAURA CLAY, }  
MARY J. COGGESHALL, } Auditors,



wistaria vines in a cloud of purple blossom and the grass an emerald green. . . . The delegates were enthusiastic over the quaint houses surrounded by palms, bananas and great live oaks, a pleasing novelty to most of them."

The hostess of the convention was the Era Club, the largest organization of women in the city, its title—ERA—cleverly concealing Equal Rights Association. It was founded in 1896; Miss Kate Gordon, the present secretary of the National Association, was formerly its president and her sister, Miss Jean M. Gordon, now filled that office. On the first afternoon the spacious and beautiful home of Mrs. Reuben Bush, prominent in club and civic work, was opened for the club to entertain the officers, delegates and a large number of invited guests. Sunday evening all were received informally in the charming home of Misses Kate, Fanny and Jean Gordon.

The excellent convention program was prepared by Miss Kate Gordon. The first evening session was opened with prayer by the Right Reverend Davis Sessums, Episcopal Bishop of Louisiana, who said in the course of it: "Prosper, we beseech thee, the deliberations of this association whose representatives are here assembled and direct and rule their judgment and actions in all things to the furtherance of truth and justice, so that their work may be an abiding work and contribute to the growth of true religion and civilization, to the happiness of homes and to the advancement of Thy Kingdom."

The *Picayune* thus described the occasion: "In the presence of a magnificent audience that packed the Athenæum to its utmost capacity, the thirty-fifth annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was formally opened last night, with the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in the chair. Seldom perhaps in its history has the association received such a greeting, for the audience was not only deeply interested and sympathetic but it was representative of the finest culture in the city and State. Distinguished jurists, physicians and teachers, staid men of business and leaders in many lines united with women of the highest social standing in giving the convention a hearty and earnest welcome. Many were no doubt attracted by the memory of the former visits of Miss Susan B.

Anthony and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and the remarkable personality of the pioneer suffrage workers, but whether they came from pure interest in these famous leaders or deep sympathy with the cause, all were generous in giving to both the credit and applause they justly deserved. . . .

Mayor Paul Capdeville, who was to welcome the convention, was ill and this was very acceptably done by "Tom" Richardson, secretary of the Progressive Union, an important commercial body of 1,600 members that had joined in the invitation for it to come to New Orleans and contributed the rent of the Athenæum. He expressed his pleasure at being associated with the suffragists of the city, "who had never neglected any opportunity to promote its best interests," and said: "No other class of our citizens have done it so much good." He was followed by the Hon. Edgar H. Farrar, an eminent lawyer, author of the Drainage and Sewerage plan, who told of the valuable assistance of women in the strenuous fight against the State lottery ten years before and described the splendid work of the women since the constitutional convention of 1898 had given them taxpayers' suffrage. Miss Gordon read a poem of welcome by Mrs. Grace G. Watts and gave the Era Club's welcome and then Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who was presiding, introduced Miss Anthony to respond. The *Picayune* said in its report:

Seated upon the platform was Miss Susan B. Anthony, the woman who for two-score years stood the brunt of ridicule, sarcasm and cartooning and never once was deterred from the course that she fully believed to be the just and true one. Of the great leaders in this movement she alone remains. . . . Spanning a distance of forty years stood at her side Mrs. Catt, the younger woman who has taken up the battle, and grouped around were earnest young girls and middle-aged women fired with her enthusiasm and looking up to her with a reverence that was very beautiful and a most gracious tribute from youth to old age. When Miss Jean Gordon advanced to present her with a great cluster of Maréchal Neil roses and took her so sweetly by the hand and in the name of the young women of today and of the Era Club thanked her for the battles she had fought, the scene was most touching, representing as it did the two extremes of the suffrage workers, those of half-a-century ago and those of today.

There was another there, a woman who has been very near to the hearts of New Orleans people, who has never been aggressive in her advocacy of the cause but whose quiet approval, whose earnest

sympathy, whose expenditure of time and money and whose high social standing gave to it a strength even in those early days that one of less ability and social position and more pronounced opposition could not have secured. Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick, the pioneer suffragist of Louisiana and the lifelong friend of Miss Anthony, came in for her share of the honors of the evening. With equal grace and tenderness Miss Gordon advanced to her and offered her too the fragrant expressions of more youthful workers. For a moment Miss Anthony and Mrs. Merrick stood together, and the audience, rising to its feet in a great wave of enthusiasm, waved handkerchiefs and fans in greeting. Perhaps that precious hour of triumph, away down here in this old southern State, as she stands nearing the border land of another world, recompensed the great pioneer for much that she had borne when life was young and audiences, as she said, less sympathetic. Mrs. Merrick's remarks, also, touched a deep chord and roused the audience to a state of earnest sympathy.

Miss Anthony told of her visit to New Orleans in 1884 during the Centennial Exposition, when she was the guest of Mrs. Merrick, and spoke of Mrs. Eliza J. Nicholson, owner and editor of the *Picayune*, paying a tribute to her and to the gifted writer, "Catharine Cole," of its editorial staff, both now passed from earth. In Dr. Shaw's eloquent response to the greetings she said: "Nothing has given me greater hope for women and has made me prouder of women than the splendid reserve power shown by southern womanhood for the last twenty-five years. When your hearthstones were left desolate and your bravest and strongest had gone forth never to come back, your women, who had been cared for as no other women ever were cared for, who were uneducated to toil, unacquainted with business requirements, averse to them by instinct and tradition—when they had to face the world they went out uncomplaining and worked with sublime heroism. . . . I am glad to come among you southern women and to say that you have been an inspiration to the women of the North and to whole world. The daughters of those women of twenty-five years ago are the ones who have made this splendid convention possible. Over our country now there floats only one flag but that is a flag for women as well as men. If there are any men who ought to have faith in women and in their power to dare and do it is southern men, who owe so much to southern women."

Mrs. Catt then gave her president's address of which an ex-

tended press notice said: "Never was there a more masterly exposition of a theme, never a more earnest or cogent argument. A distinguished Justice of the Supreme Court who was present remarked to the writer: 'I have heard many men but not one who can compare with Mrs. Catt in eloquence and logical power.' So the entire audience felt and at the close of her magnificent discourse she was the recipient of an ovation that came spontaneously from their hearts. The scene presented in the Athenæum was indeed a remarkable one." The address was not written and no essential part of it can be reproduced from fragmentary newspaper reports.

A discordant note in the harmony was struck by the *Times-Democrat*, which, in a long editorial, *Woman Suffrage and the South*, assailed the association because of its attitude on the race question. The board of officers immediately prepared a signed statement which said in part:

The association as such has no view on this subject. Like every other national association it is made up of persons of all shades of opinion on the race question and on all other questions except those relating to its particular object. The northern and western members hold the views on the race question that are customary in their sections; the southern members hold the views that are customary in the South. The doctrine of State's rights is recognized in the national body and each auxiliary State association arranges its own affairs in accordance with its own ideas and in harmony with the customs of its own section. Individual members in addresses made outside of the National Association are of course free to express their views on all sorts of extraneous questions but they speak for themselves as individuals and not for the association. . . .

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is seeking to do away with the requirement of a sex qualification for suffrage. What other qualifications shall be asked for it leaves to each State. The southern women most active in it have always in their own State emphasized the fact that granting suffrage to women who can read and write and who pay taxes would insure white supremacy without resorting to any methods of doubtful constitutionality. The Louisiana association asks for the ballot for educated and taxpaying women only and its officers believe that in this lies "the only permanent and honorable solution of the race question." . . .

The suffrage associations of the northern and western States ask for the ballot for all women, though Maine and several other States have lately asked for it with an educational or tax qualification. To advise southern women to beware of lending "sympathy or support" to the National Association because its auxiliary so-

cieties in the northern States hold the usual views of northerners on the color question is as irrelevant as to advise them to beware of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union because in the northern and western States it draws no color line; or to beware of the General Federation of Women's Clubs because the State Federations of the North and West do not draw it; or to beware of Christianity because the churches in the North and West do not draw it. . . .

The *Times-Democrat* published this letter in full and endeavored by its press reports afterwards to atone for its blunder. It had been feared that trouble over this question would arise but no other paper referred to it. The *Picayune*, *Item* and *States* were most generous with space and complimentary in expression throughout the convention.<sup>1</sup>

The reports at the executive sessions were possibly of more interest to the delegates than the public addresses. Miss Gordon in her secretary's report spoke of the 12,000 or 13,000 letters which had been sent out since the last convention, many of them made necessary by the International Conference of the preceding year, and of the ending of its proceedings. To the 14,000 newspapers on the list to receive the quarterly *Progress* the names of legislators in various States had been added, and to the latter leaflets attractively prepared by Miss Blackwell also were sent. She described the new suffrage postage stamp, a college girl in cap and gown holding a tablet inscribed: "In Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho women vote on the same terms as men," to offset the prevailing ignorance of this fact. Resolutions endorsing woman suffrage had been secured from the National Grange, the

<sup>1</sup> The colored women had some excellent organizations in New Orleans, the most notable being the Phyllis Wheatley Club, which in addition to its literary and social features maintained a training school for nurses, a kindergarten and a night school. It invited Miss Anthony, Miss Blackwell and Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller to address it and they were accompanied by "Dorothy Dix," the well-known writer, a New Orleans woman. In the large assemblage were some of the teachers from the four colleges for colored students—Methodist, Congregational, Baptist and the State. "Dorothy Dix" said in her brief address that no woman in the city was more respected or had more influence than Mrs. Sylvanie Williams, the club's president, and gave several instances to illustrate it. After the addresses Mrs. Williams presented Miss Anthony with a large bouquet tied with yellow satin ribbon and said: "Flowers in their beauty and sweetness may represent the womanhood of the world. Some flowers are fragile and delicate, some strong and hardy, some are carefully guarded and cherished, others are roughly treated and trodden under foot. These last are the colored women. They have a crown of thorns continually pressed upon their brow, yet they are advancing and sometimes you find them further on than you would have expected. When women like you, Miss Anthony, come to see us and speak to us it helps us to believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and at least for the time being in the sympathy of woman."

American Federation of Labor and a number of large labor unions. For the first time in the history of the National Education Association, three-fourths of whose members are women, a woman had been invited to address their annual convention and the one selected was the president of the National American Suffrage Association. Mrs. Catt was cordially received by them in July at Minneapolis.

Four of the five morning sessions were given over completely to Work Conferences. The usual ones on Organization and Press were held with Miss Mary Garrett Hay and Mrs. Elnora Babcock respectively presiding. The conference on Enrollment gave way to one on Literature, Dr. Mary D. Hussey presiding, and a new one on Legislation was added. A president's and a delegates' conference completed the list. The Plan of Work again presented by the Executive Committee emphasized the line of action adopted in the first year of Mrs. Catt's presidency and urged that the States endeavor to secure recommendations of their Legislatures asking the submission of a 16th Amendment; that special efforts be made to secure the appointment of a Commission to investigate the working of full suffrage in States where it now exists; that correspondence be taken up vigorously with all members of Congress giving them the arguments in favor of a Federal Amendment and of a Commission on Investigation; that the association aim to double its membership the coming year and that a catalogue of woman suffrage literature be prepared for libraries.

Only \$3,000 in pledges were called for and \$3,200 were quickly subscribed.<sup>1</sup> The treasurer, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, announced receipts during the year of \$18,310 with a balance of \$6,183 now in the treasury. "New York has always been the largest contributor and paid the largest auxiliary fee," she said, "and it never has any aid from the national treasury. Its temper

<sup>1</sup> The important decision was made at this convention to remove the headquarters on May 1 from New York to Warren, O., the home of the national treasurer, Mrs. Upton. The burden of having charge of them had borne heavily upon Mrs. Catt for the past three years and it grew more difficult as each year she had to spend more time in field work. Miss Gordon, the corresponding secretary, wished to remain in New Orleans because of her mother's failing health and it was necessary to have a national officer in charge. Mrs. Upton consented reluctantly to assume the responsibility and only on the assurance of Miss Elizabeth Hauser, a capable executive, that she would manage the details of the office. The arrangement was to be temporary but it continued for six years.

is always sweet and its methods always business-like but to be sure it has always been blessed by having one of its citizens as national president. This year, however, Massachusetts has won the place at the head of the list." Mrs. Catt reported for the Congressional Committee that Congress had entirely ignored the urgent appeals of last year for a committee to investigate the effects of woman suffrage in the equal franchise States. Mrs. Sallie Clay Bennett (Ky.) made her usual strong plea for an effort to secure from Congress Federal suffrage or the right to vote for members of Senate and House Representatives. For many years Mrs. Bennett, as chairman of the committee, had appealed to the association for action but while it considered that the measure would be perfectly valid it believed it to be hopeless of attainment. [History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV, page 6.] Mrs. Elnora M. Babcock (N. Y.), chairman of the Press Committee, made a comprehensive report of the constantly increasing favorable comment of the newspapers. Mrs. Boyer, chairman for Pennsylvania, had placed 5,700 suffrage articles and the chairmen of various other States had a proportionate record. Miss Blackwell gave as a recipe for finding favor with editors: "Make your articles short; make them newsy; don't denounce the men." Mrs. Priscilla D. Hackstaff (N. Y.), chairman of the Enrollment Committee, reported a good start on the nation-wide enrollment of men and women who believe in woman suffrage.

Henry B. Blackwell, chairman of the Presidential Suffrage Committee, urged the southern women to petition their Legislatures, seven of which would meet during the year, to give women the right to vote for presidential electors. "The choice of President and Vice-president of the United States," he said, "is the most important form of suffrage exercised by an American citizen. . . . The King of England and the Emperor of Germany are practically possessed of no greater political power than our President during his official term," and he continued:

Here then is an open door to equal suffrage. Once let the women of any State take their equal part in this great national election and their complete equality is assured. Without change of State or Federal Constitution, without ratification by the individual voters, a simple majority of both houses of any Legislature at any time in any

State can confer upon women citizens this magnificent privilege, which will carry with it a certainty of speedy future concessions of all minor rights and privileges. It is amazing that no concerted effort has been made until recently to secure this right, so easily obtained and of so much transcendent importance. Especially is it strange that in States where iron-bound constitutional restrictions forbid any exercise whatever of local or municipal woman suffrage and where the social conditions make an amendment of State constitution almost impossible, suffragists allow year after year to elapse without any effort to get the only practical thing possible, action by the State Legislature conferring Presidential suffrage on women. Suffrage in school or municipal elections cannot give us a full and fair test of the value of equal suffrage or of woman's willingness to participate. Suffrage in State elections cannot be had without amendment of State constitutions, always difficult and usually impossible of attainment in the face of organized opposition. Why not then avail ourselves of this unique, this providential opportunity?

Among other committees reporting was that on Church work, Miss Laura De Merritte (Me.) chairman, and her recommendations were adopted that the committee on National Sunday School lessons be asked to prepare one each year on the rights and duties of women citizens; that ministers of all denominations be urged to preach one sermon each year on this topic; that all women's missionary societies be requested to make it a part of their regular program at their annual conventions and that a place be sought on the program of national conventions of the Epworth League and Christian Endeavor Societies to present the question of woman's enfranchisement. The valuable report of the Committee on Industrial Problems Relating to Women and Children by the chairman, Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby (D. C.) said: "Everyone can recall instances of discrimination against women by factories, business firms, school boards and municipalities, making it plain that women are at a disadvantage as non-voting members of the community. As a recent fact in regard to the government I would cite the order by Postmaster-General Payne that a woman employee must give up her position if she marries." The report continued:

Nearly all the appointments in the departments obtained last year by women were as printers' assistants at a small salary. Not a woman has been selected by the Pension Office in six years. In 1902 twenty-seven women were chosen as typewriters and stenographers



and 114 men. The Civil Service Commissioners are compelled by law to keep separate lists of men and women who have passed examinations and must certify to the appointing officers from either list as specified by the heads of the bureaus, so that it is quite possible for these to keep women out and fill the places with voters. Commissioner W. D. Foulke not long ago called the attention of the chiefs of bureaus to the fact that by taking from the men's list down to the lowest point of eligibility, while women who passed with a rank of 90 and over were not chosen, the Government was not getting the skilled labor to which it was entitled.

The continued defeat of child labor protection laws in some of the southern States and the conditions of children working in the mines of Pennsylvania, as shown in testimony before the Coal Strike Commission, show the need of woman's help in shaping social economics and her powerlessness without the ballot. . . . How can we get hold of the wage-earning women in mass and convince them that from their own selfish and personal standpoint, if from no other, they should join the ranks of those that are working for the ballot? Talented speakers from the ranks of wage-earners have thrilled audiences with their impetuous oratory but there has been no general rally of working women to secure the ballot for themselves. . . .

How can we stimulate in women of wealth and opportunity, whose influence would be invaluable and whose support might give the movement the financial backing it needs, a consciousness of the solidarity of human interests, so they will see that from an impersonal, unselfish standpoint, if they have no personal need, they are under the most commanding obligation to add their strength to ours to make better conditions for working women? We might despair of reaching either the overworked, underpaid and unresponsive wage-earner, or the indifferent, irresponsible and almost inaccessible woman of fortune, were it not that all along the social line we are linked by one common possession, our womanhood, which, when awakened, is the Divine Motherhood and it is to this we must appeal.

Miss Anthony presided at the Friday evening public meeting, which was opened with prayer by the Rev. Gilbert Dobbs, who said: "We invoke Thy divine blessing, O God, upon this assembly and we rejoice that Thou hast always opened the way for Thy consecrated servants—women—to do well from the time of Miriam and of Deborah to the present. While not often has the call been to women to don armor and press on to battle, yet it may be that Thou hast reserved them for the battle of ballots, in which they can secure victory for all moral good and aid in the overthrow of every organized vice and infamy, so that there shall be a higher type of public morals and nobler methods of government."

Mrs. Bennett spoke in her humorous and inimitable way on *The Authority of Women to Preach the Gospel of Christ in Public Places*. Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery (Penn.) under the title *What's in a Name?* told of the efforts that were being made by the conservative women of Philadelphia to reform municipal conditions through Civic Betterment Clubs, not by the ballot in the hands of women but through the men voters. "Yet, after all," she said, "are not these clubs doing good work for woman suffrage under another name? For as these earnest but conservative women find themselves in contact with life at so many new points they are getting so used to all the things which go to make up that awful bugaboo, 'politics,' that they will soon begin to realize that politics affects for good or evil all the things which touch the daily lives of every one of them. After awhile, perhaps sooner than most of us think, they will join the ranks of the wiser women who are now suffragists and who know that they want the vote and why they want it."

Miss Frances Griffin (Ala.) kept the audience in a gale of laughter from the first to the last of her speech, which began: "My address is put down on the program as 'A Song or a Sermon.' It is going to be neither, I have changed my mind. Mrs. Catt's address last night furnished argument enough to lie three feet deep all over Louisiana for three years."

The talented young lawyer, Miss Gail Laughlin (Me.), gave an address entitled *The Open Door*, during which she said:

Suffrage is not the ultimate end but it is the golden door of opportunity. Through the open door of suffrage the mother may follow her child and still guard him after he passes the threshold of home, and through it she can extend a helping hand to mothers whose children toil in the mills of Alabama, the factories of the eastern States and the sweat-shops of New York. Through this door the protected women of the world may go out to bind up the wounds of those who have fallen in the battle of life. . . . The old-fashioned Chinese man thought his wife was not beautiful unless she had little feet on which she could not walk. Some of the young Chinese are learning that it is pleasanter for a man to have a wife who can walk by his side. Formerly men thought it desirable that a woman's mind should be cramped. The modern man is beginning to find that it is more satisfactory to have for a wife a woman whose mind can keep pace with his. . . . It is more womanly and dignified for women to sit in legislative halls than to stand around the lobbies. . . . This exclusion of

woman from the government today is a relic of the dark ages when they were regarded as appendages to men and it was even doubted if they had a soul. Men and women must rise or fall together and travel the pathway of life side by side. We shall not attain to the heights of freedom unless we have free mothers as well as free fathers, free daughters as well as free sons.

One of the notable addresses of the convention was that of the eminent physician, Dr. Henry Dixon Bruns—a lifelong advocate of woman suffrage—on Liberty, Male and Female, a part of which was as follows:

I can conceive of but one watchword for a free people. It is written between the lines of our own constitution and underlies the institutions of every liberal government: "Equal rights and opportunities for all; special privileges to none," understanding by this that the Government shall protect all in the enjoyment of their natural rights—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—and that all who measure up to a certain standard shall have a voice in shaping the policy and choosing the agents of the government under which they live. I can imagine none better than that now accepted by a majority, I believe, of the American people, namely, evidence of intelligence and the possession of a certain degree of education and of character evidenced by the acquirement of a modicum of property and the payment of a minimum tax. It was for regulation of the full suffrage in this manner that I contended in our constitutional convention of 1898, to wit: the admission to the franchise of all women possessing these qualifications. I still believe that this would have afforded the best solution of our peculiar difficulties and have spared us the un-American subterfuge of "mother tongue" and "grandfather" clause. If a vote could have been taken immediately after the notable address made by your distinguished president before the convention, I feel confident that women would have been admitted to the suffrage in this State. . . .

Keep ever in your mind that the professional politician is your implacable enemy. To him an election is not a process for ascertaining the will of the majority but a battle to be won by any strategy whose maneuvers do not end within the walls of a penitentiary. He knows that yours would be an uninfluenceable vote, that you do not loaf on street corners or spend your time in barrooms and he could not "get at" you; therefore he will never consent to your enfranchisement until compelled by the gathering force of public opinion; then, as usual, he will probably undergo a sudden change of heart and be found in the forefront of your line of battle. . . . Do not rely upon wise and eloquent appeals to Legislatures and conventions. It is in the campaigns for the election of the legislative bodies that you should marshal your forces and use to the full the all-sufficient influence with which your antagonists credit you. Secure the election of

men who do not give up to party all that was meant for mankind and your pleas are not so likely to be heard in vain.

The nomination and election of officers, both by secret ballot, were almost unanimous and no change was made. A cordial letter was received from Miss Clara Barton. Fraternal greetings from the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers) were given by Mrs. Mary Bentley Thomas (Md.); from the Supreme Hive of the Ladies of the Maccabees, the largest business organization of women in the world, by Mrs. Emma S. Olds, (O.); and from the Central Socialist Club of Indiana. The report from the Friends' Equal Rights Association, an affiliated society, was made by its president, Mrs. Mariana W. Chapman (N. Y.). In the report for New York by its president, Mrs. Ella Hawley Crosset, she called attention to the completion of the Fourth Volume of the History of Woman Suffrage by Miss Anthony and Mrs. Ida Husted Harper. During the convention word was received that the Territorial Legislature of Arizona had given full suffrage to women but before they had time to rejoice a second telegram announced that the Governor had vetoed it!

The resolutions presented by Mr. Blackwell, chairman of the committee, and adopted, rejoiced over the extension of national suffrage to all the women of the newly federated Australian States; noted the granting to Kansas women of the right to vote on issuing bonds for public improvement and of an equal guardianship law in Massachusetts; protested against "the recent action of the Cincinnati board of health in introducing without legal warrant the European system of sanctioning the social evil . . . the object of a strong and growing opposition wherever it prevails and favored the settlement of all national and international controversies by arbitration and disapproved of war as a relic of barbarism." Mrs. May Wright Sewall (Ind.), president of the International Council of Women, who had come to New Orleans to attend the executive meeting of the National Council of the United States, as chairman of the International Committee on Peace and Arbitration, spoke earnestly in favor of this resolution. Miss Nettie Lovisa White (D. C.) was appointed a delegate to represent the association at the Council meeting.

The Saturday evening public session, with Mrs. Catt presiding,

was opened with prayer by the Rev. R. Wilkinson, in which he said: "Almighty God, Thou hast always been pleased with consecration. We pray Thee to look down upon these people gathered here—the women whose lives have been devoted to a great cause. Send forth Thy light so that they may achieve still more for Thee. In this work, men and women, animated with a noble purpose, are combining their forces to bring about the reign of righteousness and when that comes it will take all that both can do to eradicate the great evils which men have already wrought. . . . God bless this organization and may the realization of its hopes be not far off! God bless the women engaged in this work! God knows that if this city has in any way been lifted up, it has been through the efforts of noble women. God bless them! We want to feel that men and women are actuated by righteousness and are working together to bring about its social and political regeneration."

Dr. Cora Smith Eaton (Minn.) thus began her address, Westward Ho: "The geologists tell us that Louisiana and her sister State Mississippi are built up of the particles of earth brought down by the great river through the Mississippi valley," and after a picturesque description she said: "Coming from the source of this river, travelling 1,500 miles to its mouth, I find myself still on my native soil and I feel at home; so all who have joined me on the way down the valley claim kinship with you of New Orleans." She then paid tribute to the State and its people and closed: "O, men of the South, your saviour is the southern woman! Put into her hand the ballot of full enfranchisement, like that you carry in your own hand on election day. Her interests are identical with your own and she will hold your ideals sacred even more loyally than you do yourselves." Mr. Blackwell gave one of his customary logical and carefully reasoned addresses on Domestic Imperialism.

The Rev. Marie Jenney (Iowa) discussed the question Why Women do Not Vote. She compared them to some wild ducks that were born in a farmyard and as they were stepping timidly about the farmer said: "Them ducks can fly, they can fly miles, but they don't know it." "One reason why women do not vote," she said, "is the entire self-effacement of many, and another is

the kindness of many men. These are lovely traits but they may be misapplied. Women sometimes efface themselves to an extent that is bad for their men as well as themselves, and men out of mistaken kindness shield their women from responsibilities that it would be better for them to have." Mrs. Virginia D. Young (S. C.), owner, manager and editor of a weekly paper in Fairfax, announced her speech From the Most Conservative State, but she did not say, as she might have done, that she had leavened the State with woman suffrage sentiment. Her address was bubbling over with the humor which seems inherent with Southern women.

The Sunday services were held at 4 o'clock in the Athenæum, which was crowded. The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw gave the sermon from the text: "Hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown." The Rev. Kate Hughes and the Rev. Marie Jenney assisted in the services. That morning the latter had preached in the Unitarian church and Mr. and Miss Blackwell had spoken in the handsome Temple Sinai to a cultured Jewish audience by invitation of Rabbi Max Heller. A fine musical service was arranged by Cantor Julius Braunfels. The next day they received from the Council of Jewish Women a large bouquet of bride roses and red carnations. Miss Blackwell spoke on A Righteous Reform and Mr. Blackwell on A Modern Deborah. He paid a splendid tribute to the Jewish race and declared that "the Hebrew history as recorded in the Old Testament has been the principal source of our nobler conception of woman's nature and destiny." He spoke of the prophetess Miriam, of the daughters of Zelophehad, described the great work of Deborah and said: "If, therefore, Divine Providence, for the guidance of mankind, selected a married woman to be the supreme judge, the supreme executive, the commander-in-chief of the army; to lead the chosen people in war and peace, to rescue the nation from enslavement and to rule over it in peace and prosperity for forty years, may we not hope that He will raise up in your race modern Deborahs to cooperate with the men of their race in the redemption of American democracy from political corruption and misrule?"

The interest did not diminish during the eight evening sessions. In his invocation Monday night the Rev. Wallace T. Palmer said:

"O Lord, we account it a high honor and privilege to take part in this grand work. . . . May those who are to speak tonight speak for Thy glory and honor."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Shaw presided Monday and thus introduced the first speaker: "Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch of Chicago is an attorney and the wife of an attorney. The sign on the door is 'McCulloch and McCulloch.' My interest in the firm dates from the time when I performed the ceremony that united them for life." Mrs. McCulloch began her address on Woman's Privileges by saying: "One of the principal reasons why women do not obtain the ballot is because there is rooted in the popular mind the notion that now the laws in all respects are so favorable to women and grant them such great privileges that they would gain nothing more by a vote but instead might lose these privileges. A careful investigation of laws relating to women's property, earnings, rights of action, eligibility to paying positions, selection of family home, guardianship of children and many others where women's interests are involved shows that these so-called privileges usually give women less than men enjoy in the same States and that the vote in their own hands is the only assurance of equal privilege." After referring to the laws in other States Mrs. McCulloch made a thorough analysis of those relating to women in Louisiana, showing them to be archaic and unjust and wholly without special privileges.

The address of M. J. Sanders, president of the Progressive Union, was enthusiastically received as representing the best thought of advanced Southern men. He said in beginning: "I believe my own state of mind on the woman suffrage question when I attended your first public meeting last Thursday evening represented fairly the average male opinion in this city—one of moderate ignorance and considerable indifference. Since listening to the addresses here I have had my ignorance largely dispelled and my indifference dissipated, I hope forever. It has been my lot to attend meetings all over the country but never in my life have I heard such eloquence, such logic and such glorious oratory as in this hall during this convention. A cause that can

<sup>1</sup> Quotations are given from each of the opening prayers because each of them endorsed woman suffrage.

bring forth such talent and devotion must have in it a great truth. . . . I have come now to see that the franchise is not an end but a means to an end; that the object of these women is not merely to escape injustice done to themselves but to be able to take part in the great work of reform which is calling for the best energies of the nation. I have seen sufficient of the women who are working in this fight for suffrage to believe that hand-in-hand with earnest men, as co-workers and equals, in no way subordinate, they can furnish brains and power to remove a vast load of the iniquities and inequalities of life and even in our generation lift this country to a plane of civilization wherein the masses shall have a chance for happiness and freedom."

In explaining the absence of Dr. Julia Holmes Smith of Chicago Dr. Shaw said: "She is detained because of illness of her husband and like a good wife she puts him first and the convention second." Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman (N. Y.) spoke on the Duties of Today, outlining her address by saying: "The strongest feeling of most women is the sense of duty. The reason they do not see the practicability and immediate need of suffrage is because they do not see the duty of it. There is a gradual development of the sense of duty. The first duty that we recognize is that of self-preservation—our duty to ourselves. Then comes duty to our own, to our family, to those dear to us, before which duty to self must and does go down unflinchingly. These two duties to one's self and to one's family are the foundation but they are the beginning of life, not the end of it. Next comes social duty. . . . In America we rank high in personal and family virtues but not in public virtues. Our great need is for the deep and broad civic virtues. . . ."

An interesting symposium took place one afternoon on The Need of Women in Municipal Politics, with the following speakers: Mrs. Marie Louise Graham (La.), City Politics is but a Broader Housekeeping; Mrs. Carrie E. Kent (D. C.), The Home—the Ballot the Only Weapon for its Defence; the Rev. Kate Hughes (Ill.), Justice Dictates, Expediency Confirms; Dr. Sarah M. Siewers (O.), Men's and Women's Votes the Only True Basis of Reform; Miss Laura E. Gregg (Kans.), The Stepping Stone to a Yet Untried System of Government; Mrs.



Lucretia L. Blankenburg (Penn.), *Municipal Corruption under the Present System a National Disgrace*. Each topic was treated in a keen, incisive manner. Miss Gregg described the practical benefit that the women's municipal vote had been to Kansas. Dr. Siewers gave a dramatic illustration of the need of women's votes in her own city of Cincinnati, which applied with equal force to all cities. Mrs. Blankenburg emphasized all that had been said by an account of conditions in Philadelphia, saying:

Franchises worth millions of dollars are given away to the faithful. Contracts are let to those who will divide with high officials; they are granted to the highest "responsive" and not to the lowest "responsible" bidder. Merchants of vice are licensed and protected. The police are ordered to be blind when they should see keenest. Nearly every office has its price. Even school teachers are blackmailed and forced to pay for their appointment and civil service fades before political influence. The assessors' lists are padded by tens of thousands of dollars and majorities are returned to keep the "machine" and the party it represents in power, regardless of the actual vote cast. . . . The cry of the reformer is, "We must waken the better element to save our cities. We must make honesty and morality the supreme question in our politics." Who represents these if not women? . . . Let us for the moment think of a great city where the mothers have a voice in the laws which are designed to protect the children and the interests of the home. Imagine the burdens of city housekeeping being shared with the women who by training are expert housekeepers. Picture a council meeting composed of fathers and mothers discussing ordinances to promote honesty and virtue, prevent vice and extinguish corruption. When this time comes, we shall have less municipal depravity and shall prove to the world that our experiment in democracy is not a failure.

Dr. Augusta Stowe-Gullen, a prominent physician of Toronto and an early suffragist, who had come as a fraternal delegate from the Canadian Association, spoke of the excellent results of the School and Municipal vote in the hands of women. "We have better officials," she said, "and therefore less dishonesty but the greatest gain has been in the educative and broadening effect on women and men. The polls, which used to be even in old stables, are now in the school houses and the general tone of elections has been improved." Later Dr. Stowe-Gullen gave a long and thoughtful address at an evening session on *The Evolution of Government*.

The Memorial Service on March 21 was opened with prayer

by the Rev. Marie Jenney and the singing of "The Lord is my shepherd," by Miss Gordon. Mrs. Catt, who presided, paid eloquent tribute to those who had died during the year, among them Mrs. Esther Morris, to whom the women of Wyoming were principally indebted for the suffrage in 1869; to the Hon. Thomas B. Reed of Maine, one of the most distinguished Speakers of the lower House of Congress and always a staunch supporter of woman suffrage; to Madame Sophie Levovna Friedland, delegate from Russia to the International Woman Suffrage Conference the preceding year, who died soon after returning home; to Dr. Hannah Longshore, the first woman physician in Philadelphia, and told of the bitter opposition she had to overcome, adding: "She gave to the Pennsylvania Association its splendid president, her daughter, Mrs. Blankenburg." Mrs. Catt spoke also of Mrs. Cornelia Collins Hussey of New Jersey and her boundless generosity, saying: "Often and often she sent a hundred dollars to our treasury with a note: 'I have just sold a piece of real estate and I want to give a part of the proceeds to the suffrage cause.'" Miss Blackwell added to the tribute: "A quiet woman of Quaker blood, never seeking office or prominence, she came to the relief of our distressed officers on innumerable occasions. She once told me that there were many who could write and speak for equal suffrage but that the Lord seemed to have given her only one talent, that of making money, and she meant to use it for the cause. . . . She was a great believer in preaching the gospel of reform through the printed page and she and her daughter, Dr. Mary D. Hussey, who was like-minded with her, have sent out probably more equal suffrage literature than any other two women in the United States. She placed the *Woman's Journal* in a great number of college reading-rooms and sent it far and wide. During the thirty-three years that the paper has been published—and published always at a financial loss—she has been one of its most steadfast and generous friends." <sup>1</sup>

"The palm of victory has come this year to Elizabeth Cady Stanton," said Mrs. Catt, "but though she has gone it is still our privilege to have her friend and co-worker, Susan B. Anthony,

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Hussey left a bequest of \$10,000 to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

and I echo the prayer of every heart that she may be here till all women are enfranchised." Miss Anthony was most affectionately greeted and said: "I feel indeed as if a part of my life had gone. Mrs. Stanton always said that when the parting came she wanted me to go first, so that she might write my eulogy. I am not a 'word-artist,' as she was, and I can not give hers in fitting terms." She read from the last volume of the History of Woman Suffrage extracts from her great speeches and related a number of instances showing her characteristics. Dr. Shaw then began a eulogy, which can only be marred in quoting from memory, by saying: "Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony and Lucy Stone held up the standard of truth and when they were urged to lower it in order to suit the ideas of the world they answered: 'We will not lower our standard to the level of your world; bring the world up to the standard.' . . . I shall always be thankful that I lived in the present age and knew these women who never quailed in the face of danger. The side of Mrs. Stanton that I like best to think of is her home life, her family affections and her friendships. I was once a guest for several days in the same house with her and other leaders and she was so vivacious, so fresh, so full of joy of life that it was delightful to be with her. She was so witty that no one wanted to leave the room a minute for fear of losing something she might say. I used to love to see her after she took a nap; though so advanced in years she would always awaken with a look of wonder and pleasure like a child just gazing out upon life."<sup>1</sup>

Tributes also were paid to Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer of Massachusetts; Mrs. Thomas M. Patterson of Colorado; the Hon. Albert H. Horton of Kansas; Mrs. Addie M. Johnson of Missouri; Miss Anna C. Mott of Ohio; the Hon. Lester H. Humphrey and Mrs. Hannah L. Howland of New York; Dr. Marie Zakrzewska of Massachusetts and other workers in the cause. Mrs. Gilman closed the services by reading her beautiful memorial poem, *In Honor*, written for the occasion.

A unique feature of the convention which lightened its serious tone was Dr. Shaw's "question box," into which any one might drop a question and at intervals she would take them out and

<sup>1</sup> For appreciations of Mrs. Stanton see Appendix.

answer them on the spur of the moment to the delight of her audience. "If women voted," was one of them, "would they not have to sit on juries?" "Many women would be glad of a chance to sit on anything," she answered with a smile. "There are women who stand up and wash six days in the week at 75 cents a day who would like to take a vacation and sit on a jury at \$1.50. Some women would like to sit on a jury at the trial of the sharks that live by corrupting boys and girls. It would be easier for a woman to sit on a jury and send to the penitentiary the men who are trying to ruin her boy than to be always watching the boy." Another question was: "Have not men a better right to the suffrage because they have to support the family?" She answered: "It is fallacy to say that the men support the women. The men by their industry provide the raw material and the women by their industry turn it into clothing and nourishment. When my father sent home a barrel of flour my mother did not lead us eight youngsters up to that barrel of raw flour at meal-time and say, 'Children, here is your dinner.' When he bought a bolt of cloth she did not take that bolt of cloth and wind it around us and say, 'Children, here are the clothes your father has sent you.' The woman has always done her full share of supporting the family. In the South under the old régime she bore more than an equal part of the care, for the planter could hire an overseer for the plantation work but the wife could not hire one for the work of the house."

Notwithstanding the utmost care and tact on the part of those who had the convention in charge the "color question" kept cropping out. Finally Dr. Shaw said: "Here is a query that has been dropped in the box again and again and now I am asked if I am afraid to answer it: 'Will not woman suffrage make the black woman the political equal of the white woman and does not political equality mean social equality?' If it does then the men by keeping both white and black women disfranchised have already established social equality!" The question was not asked again.

One of the able addresses during the convention was that of Mrs. Hala Hammond Butt, president of the Mississippi Suffrage Association, entitled, Restricted Suffrage from a Southern Point

of View. After referring to the man's all-mastering desire for liberty from the early history of the race the speaker said: "Did women not share with men this craving for freedom, then would they justly be reckoned as unnatural and unworthy members of the human family, but the same red blood pulses in our veins as in yours, fathers, sons, brothers; we are alive to the same impulses, our souls are kindled by the same aspirations as are yours. Why should this, our ambition, be held in leash by the same bond that holds the ignorant, the illiterate, the vicious, the irresponsible in the human economy? What does the idea of government imply? The crystallized sentiments of an intelligent people? Then do we meet it with but half a truth."

The speaker denounced with much severity the 14th and 15th Amendments and said that by the restrictive educational qualifications now so generally adopted in the southern States the spirit of the amendments had been practically set at naught. "It was born of the instinct of self-preservation," she said, but she deplored the political crimes it made possible and continued: "There is an undercurrent of thought that recognizes in its true proportions the value of an educated suffrage to the South, a restriction based not upon color, race or previous condition of servitude, not upon sex, not upon the question of taxable property, but its sole requirement is the ability to perform worthily the functions of citizenship. This is the only honorable solution of those questions that are vexing not only the body political but the body social of this Southern country."

Mrs. Butt's speech was one of a symposium on the question: Would an educational qualification for all voters tend to the growth of civilization and facilitate good government? Mrs. Hackstaff discussed *The Relation which Government Bears to Civilization*, saying: "The government which will increase social and individual development most is the best. Progress depends on whether the government will give the opportunity for such development. The one that serves the people best is the one that strengthens them by letting them take part in it." Mrs. Eleanor C. Stockman (Iowa) spoke strongly on *Suffrage a Human Right, not a Privilege*; Mrs. Clara B. Arthur (Mich.) on *A Disfranchised Class a Menace to Self Government*; Mrs. Mary Wood

Swift (Calif.) on Abolishment of Illiteracy, Its Ultimate Influence. After calling attention to "the mass of ignorant immigrants who almost go from the steerage to the polls"; to the enfranchisement of the half-civilized Indian; to that of paupers, delinquents and defectives, she said:

All this great mass of ignorance goes into the electoral hopper and the marvel is that no worse quality of grist is turned out. It is true that the chief political schemers are by no means illiterate but it is upon illiteracy in the mass that they must depend to carry out their plans. An ignorant voter may be an honest one but unless he is intelligent enough to study public questions for himself he is an easy prey for the political sharper. It is beyond the power of the pen to portray what a magnificent government would be possible with an educated electorate. The idea can be approximated only when we consider how much we have been able to accomplish even with all the inefficiency, vice and ignorance which are permitted to express their will at the polls.

It is because we have a noble ideal for the future of our government that we make our demand for woman suffrage. We point to the official statistics for proof that there are more white women in the United States than colored men and women together; that there are more American-born women than foreign-born men and women combined; that women form only one-eleventh of the criminals in the jails and penitentiaries; that they compose more than two-thirds of the church membership, and that the percentage of illiteracy is very much less among women than among men. Therefore we urge that this large proportion of patriotism, temperance, morality, religion and intelligence may be allowed to impress itself upon the government through the medium of the ballot-box.

Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer substituted for her own address on Universal Suffrage a Pretence a paper sent by Rudolph Blankenburg, one of Philadelphia's most distinguished citizens, entitled: Not Sex but Intelligence, in which he said:

That universal suffrage—an arrant misnomer—has fallen short of its well-meant original purpose is beyond dispute. We see its baneful effect in municipal, State and national government. The unparalleled political corruption in most of our large cities, the narrowness of public men in State and nation, whose horizon is bounded by the limits of their home districts or their own sordid purposes, regardless of public interests, find their culmination in the highest legislative body of our land. They crowd seats of mental giants and honored statesmen of former days with golden pigmies or political highwaymen of recent growth and can be directly traced to our defective franchise system. It permits the vote of the intelligent, law-

abiding, industrious and public-spirited to be overcome by that of the ignorant, vicious, purchasable, lazy and indifferent. The ranks of the latter are largely reinforced by the "stay-at-homes," who are a permanent menace to good government. . . . Thinking people agree that some qualification should be exacted from all voters. The absurdity of the intelligent, tax paying but disfranchised woman being governed by the vote of the illiterate, shiftless loafer or pauper would be laughable were it not so serious. An educational qualification should be a paramount requisite. . . .

Mr. Blankenburg gave statistics of the illiterates in the United States and said: "An educational qualification, wisely considered, would within a few years entirely obliterate the whole mass of this species of undesirable voters. The right of suffrage can not and should not be taken from those who at present legally enjoy it. All women of legal age with the proposed educational requirements should be enfranchised without delay but laws should be enacted demanding that all citizens, men and women alike, presenting themselves to cast their ballot after 1910 must be able to read and write. If the women suffragists will base their claim to vote upon the broad ground of good government and not demand suffrage for the ignorant woman because it is exercised by the ignorant man, they will make ten friends where they now have one."

The audience had the northern and the southern point of view on Educated Suffrage. Mrs. Gilman, who spoke on whether it would serve the best interests of the laboring classes, was alone in objecting to it. "Will exclusion from the suffrage educate and improve the illiterate masses more quickly than the use of it?" she asked. "We shall educate them sooner if we dread their votes and this is our work in common." A great deal of sentiment was developed in favor of an educational requirement for the suffrage and an informal rising vote showed only five opposed, but most of the officers were absent. This vote was due largely to the southern delegates and to the arguments which had been made for its necessity in this section of the country. The policy of the association had always been and continued to be to ask and work only for the removal of the sex qualification.

One of the most popular speakers was Mrs. Elizabeth M. Gilmer, known far and wide as "Dorothy Dix," whose home was

in New Orleans. Her address, quaintly entitled *The Woman with the Broom*, filled more than four columns of the *Woman's Journal* and an adequate idea of its wise philosophy illuminated with the sparkling wit for which she was renowned cannot be conveyed by quotations. "A few years ago," she said, "a famous poet roused the compassion of the world by portraying the tragedy of hopeless toil by the Man with the Hoe. He might have found nearer home a better illustration of the work that is never done, that has no inspiration to lighten it and looks for no appreciation to glorify it, in the Woman with a Broom." "She is understudy to a perpetual motion machine," was one of her epigrams. She referred to the many successful business and professional women at the convention and said:

But I am not here to speak for the wage-earning woman, she can speak for herself. My plea is not for justice for her but for the domestic woman—the woman who is the mainstay of the world, who is back of every great enterprise and who makes possible the achievements of men—the woman behind the broom, who is the hardest-worked and worst-paid laborer on the face of the earth. . . .

Of the housekeeper we demand a universal genius. We don't expect that our doctor shall be a good lawyer or our lawyer understand medicine; we don't expect a preacher to know about stocks or a stockbroker to have a soul; but we think the woman who is at the head of a family is a rank failure unless she is a pretty good doctor and trained nurse and dressmaker and financier. She must be able to settle disputes among the children with the inflexible impartiality of a Supreme Justice; she must be a Spurgeon in expounding the Bible to simple souls and leading them to heaven; she must be a greater surgeon than Dr. Lorenz, for she must know how to kiss a hurt and make it well; she must be a Russell Sage in petticoats, who can make \$1 do the work of \$2, and when she gets through combining all of these nerve-wrecking professions we don't think that she has done a thing but enjoy herself. It is only when something happens to the housekeeper we realize that she is the kingpin who holds the universe together.

"Every injustice is the prolific mother of wrongs," said Mrs. Gilmer, "and the fact that the woman with the broom is neither sufficiently appreciated nor decently paid brings its own train of evils. It is at the bottom of the distaste girls have for domestic pursuits and the frantic mania of women for seeking some kind of a 'career.'" She thus concluded:



Always, always it is the frantic cry for financial independence, the demand of the worker for her wage; the futile, bitter protest of the woman with the broom against the injustice of taking her work without pay. Men will say that in supporting their wives, in furnishing them with houses and food and clothes, they are giving the women as much money as they could ever hope to earn by any other profession. I grant it; but between the independent wage-earner and the one who is given his keep for his services is the difference between the free-born and the chattel. . . . The present state of affairs brings about a disastrous condition in the woman's world of labor, so that the woman wage-earner must not only compete with the man worker but with the domestic woman who has her home and clothes supplied her and who does things on the side in order to get a little money that she may spend as she pleases. . . . When men grow just enough to abandon the idea that keeping house and doing the family sewing and rearing children is a "snap" and not a profession; when they grow broad enough to realize that the woman with the broom is a laborer just as much worthy of her hire as a typewriter, we shall have fewer women yearning to go out into the world and earn a few dollars of spending money.

Edwin Merrick, the son of a Chief Justice of Louisiana and Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick, its pioneer suffragist, began his address on A Political Anomaly by referring to the distinguished women he had been privileged to meet in his home. He spoke of the constitution drawn up on the Mayflower to give equal liberty to all without the slightest conception of what true liberty really meant, and of the larger conception of it which was imbedded in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. "But," he said, "while the words were there, slavery still existed and the people of the Union were slowly led to see the handwriting on the wall and slavery had to go. Had the great leader of his day, Abraham Lincoln, been preserved to help shape the destinies of this country, what followed would not have happened." He then spoke of the crime of enfranchising "a horde of ignorant negro men when at that time there were nearly 4,000,000 intelligent white women keenly alive to the interests of their country to whom the ballot was denied." He sketched the steady degeneration of national and State politics and exposed the conditions in Louisiana. He showed how the reforms that had been accomplished had been largely aided by women and concluded:

If we concede that women have any moral strength, and it has been conceded from the time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, I now ask the question: Is there any one place in the universe where moral strength and moral character are more needed than in modern politics under a republican form of government? In some of our western States we have already seen what the women can do and the day will come when they will vote with us just as they read with us, talk with us, ride with us and consult with us. The most important object of our Government is education. The most important part of education is the education of the young. The most important factor in education of the young is woman's influence, and when it comes to saying who shall decide upon the proper laws for the education of children, the women of Louisiana or the intelligent wiseacres who have in this State emasculated civil service, massacred the Australian ballot and assaulted with intent to kill each and every measure which looks to the improvement of the State, we give our answer in no uncertain terms.

Miss Mary N. Chase, president of the New Hampshire Suffrage Association, made an earnest plea for the enfranchisement of women, "the natural guardians and protectors of the home. It will strengthen their minds and broaden their intellects and render them more fit for its government," she said, "and until women join with men in exercising the sacred right of the franchise we cannot hope for the dawn of the kingdom of God on the earth." A letter was read from Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch urging that for a year the organization should be used nationally and locally to pursue and punish political corruption. "The women in our association," she said, "are trained to political action; we have had long experience in self-control; defeat has taught us its lessons of poise; devotion to a great principle has given us a faith almost religious in its optimism." The men were taking no concerted action to protect the republic against this menace, she thought, and the task seemed to be left to the women.

The formal address of Dr. Shaw on The Modern Democratic Ideal made a profound impression but no record of it exists except in newspaper clippings. She began by saying: "It is impossible to discuss the woman question without discussing also the man question. What is fundamental to one is fundamental to the other. It is argued by some that on account of the difference in characteristics between men and women it is the man who ought to govern. They are mistaken. It is now recognized that the best

and noblest men and women are those in whom the different characteristics of each sex are most harmoniously blended. The modern democratic ideal illustrates this fact. It is greatly different from the ancient democratic ideal, as neither Plato nor Aristotle nor Dante had a place in their ideals for the common people, but when the French Revolution startled the world with the idea of human rights, of natural rights common to all, there sprang into life the conception of the same ideal among the men of our own country." Dr. Shaw traced the progress of democratic ideals in this country from the early days of the republic when property and not manhood constituted the prerequisite for representation. She spoke in glowing terms of the pure democracy of Thomas Jefferson, who extended its privileges to the great masses of the people. "This ideal has been growing," she said, "it will never stop growing, developing, widening and changing and it must ultimately extend to women citizens the same rights in the government that men have. This is the 20th century idea of democracy."

The address of Miss Belle Kearney, Mississippi's famous orator, was a leading feature of the last evening's program—The South and Woman Suffrage. It began with a comprehensive review of the part the South had had in the development of the nation from its earliest days. "During the seventy-one years reaching from Washington's administration to that of Lincoln," she said, "the United States was practically under the domination of southern thought and leadership." She showed the record southern leaders had made in the wars; she traced the progress of slavery, which began alike in the North and South but proved unnecessary in the former, and told of the enormous struggle for white supremacy which had been placed on the South by the enfranchisement of the negro. "The present suffrage laws in the southern States are only temporary measures for protection," she said. "The enfranchisement of women will have to be effected and an educational and property qualification for the ballot be made to apply without discrimination to both sexes and both races." The address closed as follows:

The enfranchisement of women would insure immediate and durable white supremacy, honestly attained, for upon unquestioned authority it is stated that in every southern State but one there are

more educated women than all the illiterate voters, white and black, native and foreign, combined. As you probably know, of all the women in the South who can read and write, ten out of every eleven are white. When it comes to the proportion of property between the races, that of the white outweighs that of the black immeasurably. The South is slow to grasp the great fact that the enfranchisement of women would settle the race question in politics. The civilization of the North is threatened by the influx of foreigners with their imported customs; by the greed of monopolistic wealth and the unrest among the working classes; by the strength of the liquor traffic and encroachments upon religious belief. Some day the North will be compelled to look to the South for redemption from those evils on account of the purity of its Anglo-Saxon blood, the simplicity of its social and economic structure, the great advance in prohibitory law and the maintenance of the sanctity of its faith, which has been kept inviolate. Just as surely as the North will be forced to turn to the South for the nation's salvation, just so surely will the South be compelled to look to its Anglo-Saxon women as the medium through which to retain the supremacy of the white race over the African.

Miss Kearney's speech was enthusiastically received and at its end Mrs. Catt said she had been getting many letters from persons hesitating to join the association lest it should admit clubs of colored people. "We recognize States' rights," she said, "and Louisiana has the right to regulate the membership of its own association, but it has not the right to regulate that of Massachusetts or vice versa," and she continued: "We are all of us apt to be arrogant on the score of our Anglo-Saxon blood but we must remember that ages ago the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons were regarded as so low and embruted that the Romans refused to have them for slaves. The Anglo-Saxon is the dominant race today but things may change. The race that will be dominant through the ages will be the one that proves itself the most worthy. . . . Miss Kearney is right in saying that the race problem is the problem of the whole country and not that of the South alone. The responsibility for it is partly ours but if the North shipped slaves to the South and sold them, remember that the North has sent some money since then into the South to help undo part of the wrong that it did to you and to them. Let us try to get nearer together and to understand each other's ideas on the race question and solve it together."

Mrs. Maud Wood Park (Mass.), who was introduced to the

audience as "a very unpopular woman with the anti-suffragists," did not prove to be so with her audience, as in her brief address she charmed every one with her beauty and womanliness and convinced by her delicate wit and keen logic. The last address was made by the Rev. Ida C. Hultin (Mass.), an eloquent summing up of the arguments for woman suffrage, given with a dignity of manner and sweetness of words which thoroughly eliminated any unpleasant feelings that might have been created and diffused a spirit of forgiveness and consecration.

At the conclusion of the program, Mrs. Upton came forward and in the name of the officers of the association presented to Miss Kate Gordon a handsome loving cup with the injunction to "handle it carefully as it is filled to the brim with love"; and to Miss Jean Gordon a large bouquet of roses, "in appreciation of the perfect arrangements that had been made for the convention." The *Picayune* said: "The two sisters stood side by side on the stage, a picture of feminine loveliness and grace. They tried to speak but their hearts were too full and Miss Kate could only express in a few words their thanks for these tokens of affection and esteem."

All the expenses of the convention had been met by the citizens and the collections had more than paid the travelling expenses of the officers. Nothing had been left undone for the entertainment of the visitors. The New Orleans Street Railway Company gave a trip of several hours in special cars, taking them to Audubon Park and Horticultural Hall, through the handsome residence sections, to the Esplanade, City Park and famous cemeteries. They visited the Howard and Fisk libraries, the Southern Yacht Club, the Exposition and the antiquarian shops. An unusual experience was the boat trip on the Mississippi, tendered by the Progressive Union. On a fine sunshiny morning the several hundred visitors assembled in the palm garden of the St. Charles Hotel, walked to the rooms of the Union and from there to the steamer Alice. They crossed to Algiers, passed the French quarter with the Ursuline Convent, the Stuyvesant Docks, the historic houses and monuments, and saw the great Naval Docks, the large sugar plantations with their big live oaks and magnolias, the immense sugar and oil refineries and met a fleet of

huge ocean steamers. Lunch was served on board and the occasion was most interesting, especially to the delegates from the North.

Although this was the longest suffrage convention ever held and the sessions were crowded, the people wanted more. The Progressive Union arranged for meetings Thursday night, to be addressed by Mrs. Catt on The Home and the Municipality, and Friday night by Dr. Shaw on The Fate of Republics. The Athenæum Hall, seating 1,200, was overflowing and as many were gathered on the outside. It was a ten days never to be forgotten by the visitors or the residents, and the convention undoubtedly gave a decided impetus to favorable sentiment for woman suffrage in that section of the South.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1904.

The Thirty-sixth annual convention opened the afternoon of Feb. 11, 1904, in National Rifles' Armory Hall, Washington, D. C., and closed the evening of the 17th.<sup>1</sup> There was a good attendance of delegates from thirty States and the audiences were large and appreciative. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the president, was in the chair at the opening session. The delegates were welcomed by Mrs. Carrie E. Kent in behalf of the District Equal Suffrage Association and the response was made by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president-at-large, who began by saying: "If the women here welcome us after we have been coming for thirty years it must be because we deserve it; the men welcome us because in the District they are in the same disfranchised condition as we are." A cordial letter of greeting was read from Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, whose headquarters were in Washington.

Greetings were received from Mrs. Florence Fenwick Miller

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: In our own country the advocates of our cause know no discouragement or disappointment. The seed planted by the pioneers of the woman's rights movement is continuously bearing fruit in the educational, industrial and social opportunities for the women of today; these in turn presage the full harvest—political enfranchisement. Under the stimulus of an educated intelligence and awakened self-respect women daily grow more unwilling that their opinions in government, the fundamental source of civilization, should continue to be uncounted with those of the defective and criminal classes of men.

In the industrial world organized labor is recognizing in the underpaid services of women an enemy to economic prosperity and is making common cause with woman's demand for the ballot with which to protect her right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, avowed to be inalienably hers by the Declaration of Independence. Time, agitation, education and organization cannot fail to ripen these many influences into a general belief in true democratic government of the people, without distinctions in regard to sex.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Honorary President.  
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.  
ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Vice-President.  
KATE M. GORDON, Corresponding Secretary.  
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary.  
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer.  
LAURA CLAY, }  
MARY J. COGGESHALL, } Auditors.

of London, whose letter commenced: "Beloved Friends: As president of the British National Committee of the International Woman Suffrage Committee, I write to send you greetings from English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh fellow-workers in the woman's cause. It seems but a short time since the convention of 1902, which I attended as the delegate appointed by the British United Women's Suffrage Societies and also of the Scottish National Society. The admiration and affection that the ability, the earnestness and sincerity, the sisterliness and the sweetness of temper and manners of the American suffragists then aroused in me, are unabated at this moment." She told of the progress that had been made by the various societies toward uniting in an International Woman Suffrage Alliance, gave a glowing forecast of the ultimate triumph of their common cause and ended: "With admiring and abiding love for America's grand women, the suffrage leaders." The convention sent an official answer. Mrs. Mary Bentley Thomas (Md.) read an interesting paper, *Our Four Friends*, compiled from the answers by the Governors of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho to a letter from Miss Anthony asking for a summary of the results of woman suffrage after a trial of from eight to thirty-five years. A Declaration of Principles, which had been prepared by Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell and Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, was read by Mrs. Harper and adopted by the convention as expressing the sentiment of the association. [See Appendix, chapter IV.] Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery (Penn.) and Dr. Shaw were appointed delegates to the International Suffrage Conference at Berlin in June in addition to the International Suffrage Committee from the United States, Miss Anthony, Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg (Penn.), with three others yet to be selected.

In her report as corresponding secretary Miss Kate M. Gordon (La.) told of the interest which the convention of the preceding year in New Orleans had awakened in the South and of the generous donation of a month of Dr. Shaw's valuable time which she had given to a Southern tour. This included the State Agricultural, State Normal and State Industrial Colleges of Louisiana and various places in Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee. "While it might be said of her addresses, 'She came,



she spoke, she conquered,' " declared Miss Gordon, "it was clearly shown that the South was not ready for organization." Miss Gordon said of attending the National Conference of Charities and Corrections as a State delegate appointed by the Governor of Louisiana: "I found that resolutions of endorsement were contrary to the policy of the conference, yet, except in our own organization, I have never met such a unanimity of opinion upon the justice of woman suffrage as well as upon the expediency of the woman's vote to secure intelligent and preventive legislation as a remedy for the many evils they were seeking to combat."

The program for the first evening included short addresses by the general officers and in opening the meeting Mrs. Catt said: "You will all be disappointed not to have the promised addresses from Miss Anthony and Mrs. Upton. It has been suggested that I might say that Miss Anthony has been unavoidably detained but I can't see why I should not tell the truth. Miss Anthony is out in society tonight. She was invited by President and Mrs. Roosevelt to the Army and Navy reception at the White House and Mrs. Upton is with her.<sup>1</sup> Our vice-president-at-large will speak to you on What Cheer?"

Dr. Shaw said that once when she was travelling about the prairies of Iowa she met a woman who was always referring to her home town "What Cheer," and when she was asked to give a title to her address she could think of nothing better. She continued: "There are no problems so difficult to understand as those of our own time, because of the lack of perspective. The arrogant and insistent and noisy things press to the front and the silent and eternal fall into the rear. But as time passes it is as when we climb a mountain—we gradually rise to where we can see over the foothills and everything appears in its proper place and proportion. Out of the present, its arrogant militarism, its sordid commercialism and worship of gold, is there anything to give us cheer and hope for tomorrow? There never was greater

<sup>1</sup> A ticket was sent with the invitation which took her carriage to the private entrance and enabled her to avoid the crowd. She was constantly surrounded by distinguished people and Miss Alice Roosevelt left a party of friends, saying, "I must speak to Miss Anthony, she is my father's special guest." The next day she told the convention in her inimitable way that when she was presented to Mr. Roosevelt she said: "Now, Mr. President, we don't intend to trouble you during the campaign but after you are elected, then look out for us!"

reason for hope for humanity. Underlying all the tumult and disorder of our time is one grand, golden thought, that of the human brotherhood of the world. There never was a democracy comparable to ours, faulty as it is and hopeless as it appears to some. Though the ideal does not seem to impress itself upon the world, yet in the silence it is there. . . . Today is the best this world has ever seen. Tomorrow will be still better."

Miss Gordon spoke on A Sustaining Faith, showing that from labor, from all forms of social service and from countless sources was converging the demand for the reform which the suffrage association was seeking. Miss Blackwell (Mass.) talked briefly as always but clearly and convincingly on The New Woman. Miss Laura Clay (Ky.) began her address on Dimes: "As an auditor I have been going over our treasurer's books. Usually such books are mere debits and credits but in ours those stiff rows of figures tell many beautiful things—the sacrifices of the poor and the generosity of the rich—but best of all are the 'dimes' because they are the dues paid to the association. They bear the figure of Liberty and they stand for it. . . . These dimes are inspiring, for they represent our membership when we gather here from the four corners of the nation. Therefore I rejoice over these thousands and thousands, each with a human heart behind it."

"No woman has a record of greater faithfulness in this cause," Mrs. Catt said in introducing Mrs. Mary J. Coggeshall, who began her remarks on Precedents by saying: "I come from Iowa where things are very different from those in this beautiful capital. We do not see Senators and Representatives on every hand but we have lent to Washington, Secretary of Agriculture Wilson, Secretary of the Treasury Shaw, Speaker of the House Henderson and also Mrs. Catt to lead the suffrage clans."

The evening closed with Mrs. Catt's presidential address, the full report of which filled eleven columns of the *Woman's Journal*. The subject was the vital necessity of an educational qualification for the use of the ballot in a country which opens its gates to immigration from the whole world. Little idea of its logic and virility can be conveyed by detached quotations. Referring to the necessity for enfranchising women she said: "Despite the

fact that education even yet is not so generally advocated for girls as for boys among our foreign and ignorant classes of society, the census of 1900 reveals that between the ages of ten and twenty-one, representing school years, there are 117,362 more illiterate males than females. If men and women had been entitled to the franchise upon equal terms in 1900, the political parties, which always make their appeals to the young man just turned twenty-one to cast his first vote for 'the party of right and progress,' would of necessity have made the same appeal to young women, but they would have appealed to 20,000 fewer illiterates among the women than the men of from twenty-one to twenty-four. If the same conditions continue for the next twenty years—that is, if there is no restriction in the suffrage for men and women still remain disfranchised, and if the proportionate increase of women over men in the output of our public schools continues, we shall witness the curious spectacle of the illiterate sex governing the literate sex."

Mrs. Catt did not, however, attribute all the evils of universal suffrage to the ignorant vote but said: "It may be that an investigation would reveal the fact that a very important source of difficulty is to be found in the failure of intelligent men to exercise their citizenship. If this proves true it may be found necessary to turn a leaf backward in our history and adopt the plan in vogue in some of the New England colonies which made voting compulsory, and it may be found feasible to demand of every voter who absents himself on election day an excuse for his absence, and when he has absented himself without good excuse for a definite number of elections, he may be made to suffer the punishment of disfranchisement. . . ." She called attention to the record that at the last presidential election more than 7,000,000 men over twenty-one years of age did not vote and asked: "What is to be done about it? Are qualified women citizens to wait in patience until influences now unseen shall sweep away the difficulties and restore the lost enthusiasm for democracy? Or shall they attempt to determine causes, apply remedies and clear the way for their own enfranchisement? That is our problem. For myself, I will say I prefer not to wait. I prefer to do my part, small as it must be, in the great task of the removal of the

obstructions which clog the wheels of the onward movement of popular government."

The convention was especially fortunate in having among its speakers a charming and gifted young woman, Mrs. A. Watson Lister of Melbourne, Australia, a country whose first national Parliament had two years before conferred on women full suffrage and eligibility to all offices. She showed a remarkable knowledge of laws and conditions affecting women and was thoroughly informed on every phase of the suffrage movement. The second evening she spoke on Woman's Vote in Australia to an audience that was not willing to have her stop, saying in part:

Australia does lead the world in democratic government, a government by the whole people, women as well as men, but we realize the great debt that we owe to your brave pioneer women. We are reaping the harvest which they planted. To us the names of Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton are household words. It seems strange to me to be asked to come here to tell you anything about suffrage, for with us the American woman has been supposed to know and have everything.

Australia is as large as the United States and women have national and municipal suffrage and in four of our six States they have State suffrage—South and West Australia, New South Wales and Tasmania. In Victoria and Queensland they do not yet possess it. When the six States became federated it was provided that federal suffrage throughout Australia should be on the same basis as State suffrage where it was the most liberal. South and West Australia had it in full, so the women obtained it throughout Australia in national elections. There was so little opposition or discussion, it was regarded so completely as an accepted fact and foregone conclusion, that most women did not even know the measure had passed. It was not an experiment, as our men had seen its working in South and West Australia for years and also in New Zealand, which is the most democratic and best governed country in the world.

In Australia women are eligible to all offices, even that of Prime Minister. At the last elections five stood for Parliament. Miss Vida Goldstein was a candidate in Victoria. Although both our large newspapers ignored her meetings she got 51,000 votes, while the man highest got about 100,000. Not one of the five women came out at the bottom of the poll. . . .

After we had worked for years with members of Parliament for various reforms without avail because we had no votes, you can not imagine the difference the vote makes. When we held meetings to advocate public measures that women wanted, we used to have to go out into the highways and hedges and compel the members of Parliament to come in; now the difficulty is to keep them out. I

have seen seven Senators at one small meeting. A prominent man who, by an oversight, was not invited to the one held to welcome Miss Goldstein on her return from the United States was decidedly offended. Chivalry has not been destroyed but increased. On the platform at one of our meetings the secretary happened to drop her pencil and I saw the Premier and several members of Parliament scrambling to pick it up. A woman is never allowed to stand in a street car in Australia. . . .

A good deal of light was shed on the inside history of the organized anti-suffrage movement, which if turned on in other countries would disclose a similar situation. "Our Anti-Suffrage Association," she said, "died three months after it was born. It was formed by two of our leading manufacturers, who hid behind their daughters. They had plenty of money, took a large office on a main street, employed several paid secretaries and spent more in three months than we had done in all our years of work. They paid little boys and girls to circulate their petition and got many signatures under false pretences. . . . Much was made of their petition though it was not half as large as ours. The daughters of these manufacturers drove up in their carriages to their fathers' factories at the lunch hour and made the working girls sign their petition."

A scholarly review of Morley's *Life of Gladstone* was given by Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch (Eng.). Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman turned *A New Light on the Woman Question*, saying:

My subject is a scientific theory as to the origin and relation of the eternal duo. It was started by our greatest living sociologist, Lester Ward—the explanation of the order in which the sexes were developed. What is it that this suffrage movement has had to meet, as it has plowed along up hill for fifty years, with its tremendous battery of arguments which it discharges into thin air? What it has to overcome is not an argument but a feeling, which rests at bottom on the idea expressed in the "rib story." As a parable this fairly represents the old belief that man was created first, that he was the race, was "it," and that woman was created, as modern jokers put it, for "Adams Express Company." The poet expressed the same idea when he called woman "God's last, best gift to man." . . . Ward gives the biological facts. In the evolution of species the earliest periods were the longest. During ages of the world's history, while animal life was slowly evolving, the female was the larger, stronger and more representative creature; the male was small, often a parasite, told off for the sole purpose of reproduction. By natural selection, the female choosing always the best male, the male was

gradually developed until he became bigger and stronger than the female. For a time natural selection continued to work, the males competing for the favor of the female. Then the male reduced the female to subjection. It occurred to him that it was easier to fight one little female once and subjugate her than to fight a lot of big males over and over.

The feminine ideal with many is the bee-hive—lots of honey, lots of young ones and nothing else. It was necessary that the male should become dominant for a time if the race was to progress. Now women are ceasing to be subjugated and we are approaching a state of equal rights. It was through a free motherhood and the female's constant selection of the best mate that she brought into the world power and brain enough to enable man to do what he has done. That free motherhood, reinstated, choosing always the best and refusing anything less, will bring us a higher humanity than we have yet known.

The usual Work Conferences were held and the Executive Committee presented the Plan of Work which was adopted. In addition to the usual recommendations it urged that a Memorial Organization Fund be established to perpetuate the memory of pioneers and that a legal adviser for the association be appointed from its women lawyer members. The morning meetings as always were given up to business and reports of officers, chairmen of committees and field workers and the afternoons to State reports. The latter, made for the most part by the presidents, showed faithful work going on in every State and progress in many. Miss Helen Kimber reported that the Legislature of Kansas had added to the School franchise, which the women had possessed ever since the State came into the Union, the right to vote on all public expenditure of money for issuing of bonds, waterworks, sewerage, libraries, etc. Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, office secretary, told of the removal of the national headquarters from New York, where they had first been established, to Warren, O., where they occupied two large rooms on the lower floor of an old vine-covered family residence in the heart of town. From here 35,000 pieces of literature had been sent out and here had been printed 2,000 each of Lucy Stone and Mrs. Stanton birthday souvenirs, a booklet to be used on Miss Anthony's birthday; 10,000 suffrage stamps, Christmas blotters, etc., and 10,000 letters written. The subscription list of *Progress* had been increased from 950 to 4,000 and a weekly headquarters'

letter had been sent to the *Woman's Journal*. Resolutions for woman suffrage had been obtained in international, national and a large number of State conventions.

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, the treasurer, reported the receipts, \$21,117, the largest in the history of the association. It contributed \$3,255 to the New Hampshire campaign. Neither Mrs. Upton nor any of the national officers received a salary (except the secretary, who had a nominal one), and in referring to the immense amount of unpaid work done by them and by women in the different States, she said: "People outside of the association often ask why it is that women can be found who are willing to give their time to a work without recompense. We can not answer such inquiries and yet we ourselves know that, through this devotion to a just and holy cause, we rise to a higher plane, we see with larger eyes, we feel the presence of the real self of our fellow-worker. We can no more explain why this is so than we can analyze 'mother love,' or the love of a daughter for a father but we know it. It is for this reason your treasurer rejoices over the day she was so placed, either by design or chance, and so blessed with perfect health that she was able to serve in the cause of woman's political freedom." Mrs. Upton referred to Mrs. Cornelia C. Hussey's bequest of \$10,000 and that of Mrs. Henrietta M. Banker, from which the association realized \$3,000.

Detailed and valuable reports were made by the chairman of committees on Presidential Suffrage, Federal Suffrage, Congressional Work, Civil Rights, Church Work, Enrollment and others. Mrs. Catt reported for the Committee on Literature. Mrs. Catt with Mrs. Blankenburg (Penn.), Mrs. Lucy Hobart Day (Me.) and Mrs. Minola Graham Sexton (N. J.), presidents of their State associations, presided over Work Conferences. Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, in her report on Libraries and Bibliography, brought to light the lax manner in which many State libraries are conducted. In that of New Jersey no catalogue had been printed for fifty years. In Montana the collection of books was thirty-five years old and had never been catalogued or classified. Various librarians reported no works on woman suffrage and women from those States rose in the audience and said that they had themselves presented the History of Woman Suffrage—

four large volumes. Mrs. Elnora M. Babcock (N. Y.), chairman of the Press Committee, reported 93,600 general articles sent out; 3,665 special articles, much plate matter, many personal sketches, photographs, etc., and a number of new papers added to her list.

Mrs. Maud Nathan read the report of Mrs. Florence Kelley, chairman of the Committee on Industrial Problems Affecting Women and Children. As executive secretary of the National Consumers' League Mrs. Kelley was well qualified to speak and she gave an account of the labor laws in the southern States affecting girls between 16 and 21, who are neither children nor women, which was heartbreaking. Pennsylvania was equally guilty but most of the northern States had improved their laws, Illinois leading; in none, however, were they wholly adequate. She urged the appointment of more women factory inspectors, who were now employed in only eight States, and scored "the default of the prosperous women of the country," saying: "It may be said that women are not morally responsible for this unfortunate state of affairs, since they do not make the laws, but the facts do not altogether justify this excuse. The child-labor legislation which has been achieved through the efforts of women during the past ten years shows that women can do very much even without the ballot in the way of securing legislation on behalf of women and children, and it remains true that women buy the product of the work of women and children far more than do men. . . . It is my hope that this great and influential national suffrage organization may so influence public opinion that a series of beneficent results will soon become visible."

An Evening with the Philanthropists was one of the most enjoyable during the week. The Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, of whom Felix Adler, head of the Ethical Culture Society of New York, was quoted as saying: "She is the only woman with whom I would share my platform," was the first speaker. In considering New Professions in Philanthropic Work for Women, she said: "Charity is old but social science is new and it is the uniting of the two that makes modern philanthropy and that is what opens these new professions. Charity is supposed to come by nature but the knowledge of how to deal with its problems does not.



Society is divided into three groups. First, the reformers—a group never too large, often seemingly too small—who make the way for those that come after. They are often like the artist whose daughter, being asked if her father had been successful, answered that he was ‘successful after he was dead.’ Then comes the great group, the ‘middle-of-the-road’ people, who walk along, slowly developing, supporting the churches and schools, holding today’s standards and ideals—the people who live in today and who make up the fabric of the world. They are sometimes irritating but they hold what has been gained and they gradually grow. Then there is a group behind, what the French call the ‘unfinished’ infants—the defectives, the moral and physical imbeciles, the backward and incompetent. We must study how to reduce this social burden in an intelligent way. This has started a new class of vocations as sacred as the ministry was of old.”

A very convincing address was given by Dr. Samuel J. Barrows (Mass.), secretary of the National Prison Reform Association, on Women and Prison Reform. In referring to the progress of prison reform he said: “In this array of apostles and prophets and expositors of the new penology we find men and women standing side by side.” He described the work in this reform by eminent women in Europe and the United States and concluded: “In the field of penology woman needs the ballot as she needs it in other fields, not as an end but as a means, as an instrument through which she can express her conviction, her conscience, intelligence, sympathy and love. Questions in philanthropy are more and more forcing themselves to the front in legislation. Women are obliged to journey to the Legislature at every session to instruct members and committees at legislative hearings. Some of these days the public will think it absurd that women who are capable of instructing men how to vote should not be allowed to vote themselves. If police and prison records mean anything they mean that, considered as law-abiding citizens, women are ten times as good as men. Why debar the better and enfranchise the worse? In the field of commercial and political competition, woman may demand the ballot as a right but in the field of philanthropy and reform she needs it for the fulfillment of her duties.”

Mrs. Nathan, president of the New York Consumers’ League,

considered the Wage Earner and the Ballot, her handsome presence, fine humor and long experience rendering her an unusually attractive speaker. "The opponents of our cause," she said, "whether they be of the fair sex or the unfair sex, seem to think that we regard the extension of the suffrage to women as a panacea for all evils in this world and the next. No honest suffragist has ever taken that ground. I can not endorse any such general or sweeping statement but I feel that my experience in investigating the condition of women wage-earners warrants the assertion that some of the evils from which they suffer would not exist if the women had the right to place their votes in the ballot-box." She compared the industrial and educational situation where women voted with that of States where they did not and showed how women were excluded from official positions because disfranchised, giving conclusive instances of the discrimination in her own State. "I feel that not only on account of the women wage-earners should women be accorded the ballot," she said, "but also because they are very largely the spenders of all family incomes and as such they have the right to the assurance that what they buy is free from adulteration and has been produced under clean, wholesome and humane conditions. For this right the Consumers' League persistently contends but it can be only partially successful, in my opinion, so long as it depends entirely upon moral suasion, while manufacturers and merchants have the voting power to hold in terror over its administration."

Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, president of the Massachusetts State Suffrage Association and a leader in the movement for peace and arbitration, was on the program to talk of Woman's Work for Peace. "I am not going to speak of any philanthropy," she began, "but of something much more far-reaching and radical, which will make three-fourths of our philanthropy needless." She then made an impassioned plea for a world organization of the forces that would conduce to peace. Representative government was the first step, she said, and the establishment of a World Court was the next. The achievement of an International Advisory Congress might be the third. "A simultaneous effort must be made," she declared, "to arrange arbitration treaties with every nation on earth, referring all questions that cannot be settled by diplo-

macy to the Hague Court. Questions of 'honor' must not be excluded. Carnegie well said in his plea for this plan, 'No word has been so dishonored as the word honor.' Such treaties and the use of the economic boycott upon European enemies would be vastly more efficient than battleships to keep the peace. . . . We need to convert the church. There are many of our Christian ministers who believe they are living under the dispensation of Joshua and not of Jesus."

At the conclusion of Mrs. Mead's address Mrs. Catt said: "Sometimes the cause of peace and arbitration seems to me the greatest of all. To help working women was the motive that determined me to devote my life to obtaining woman suffrage. How hard it is that women must spend so many years just to get the means with which to effect reforms! But we who believe that behind them all is the ballot are chained to the work for that until it is gained."

Religious services were conducted Sunday afternoon by the Rev. Mary A. Safford of Des Moines, assisted by Dr. Shaw and the Rev. Marie Jenney Howe. The subject of the sermon was The Goal of Life and the text: "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God, and, if children, than heirs—heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ." "In the preaching of the Gospel of all nations," she said, "it has been recognized that in Christ there is neither Jew nor Gentile; while in breaking the fetters of millions of slaves it also has been recognized that in Him there is neither bond nor free. The world still awaits the time when it will be proclaimed that in Him there is neither male nor female."<sup>1</sup>

Monday, February 15, was St. Anthony's 84th birthday and it was a coincidence that on the morning of that day the convention should be opened with prayer by the Rev. Edward Everett

<sup>1</sup> Clergymen who opened the various meetings with prayer were Dr. Edward Everett Hale, chaplain of the U. S. Senate; the Rev. J. L. Coudon, chaplain of the House of Representatives; the Reverends A. D. Mayo, D.D.; S. M. Newman, D.D., of the First Congregational Church; U. G. B. Pierce, All Souls Unitarian Church; John Van Schiack, Jr., Universalist Church; Alexander Kent, People's Church; the women ministers at the convention, Anna Howard Shaw, Anna Garlin Spencer, Mary A. Safford, Marie Jenney Howe, and laywomen Laura Clay, Lucy Hobart Day, Mrs. Clinton Smith, president District W. C. T. U. The congregational singing was arranged and led by Miss Etta V. Maddox of Baltimore and the evening musical programs were in charge of Herndon Morsell and his pupils.

Hale, chaplain of the Senate, a life-long opponent of woman suffrage. When he was invited to come he asked definite assurance that it would not be interpreted that he had changed his opinion.<sup>1</sup> The air of the hall was fragrant with the flowers that had been sent in honor of the birthday, and, as the usual tribute of the convention, it made its pledges of money for the expenses of the coming year. Mrs. Upton asked for \$4,000 and nearly \$5,000 were quickly subscribed.<sup>2</sup>

The preceding day Mrs. John B. Henderson had given a 12 o'clock birthday breakfast for Miss Anthony at her handsome home, Boundary Castle, attended by the national officers and a number of invited guests. In the evening a social reunion for the officers, delegates and speakers was held in the banquet room of the Shoreham Hotel, which was the convention headquarters. On the afternoon of the birthday President and Mrs. Roosevelt received the members of the convention with much cordiality. From the White House they went to a reception given by Miss Clara Barton in her interesting home at Glen Echo, near Washington. The nearly five hundred visitors received a warm welcome and enjoyed wandering through the unique house built of lumber left after the Johnstown flood, unplastered and the walls draped with the flags of many nations that had been presented to her by their rulers. At urgent request Miss Barton brought forth the laces, jewels, medals and decorations given to her by the dignitaries and crowned heads of Europe for her distinguished serv-

<sup>1</sup> The *Washington Post* of that date contained an amusing little incident. Miss Anthony came into the morning session while Mrs. Upton was raising the money and the audience rose to their feet waving their handkerchiefs. She was about to sit down on the front seat when Mrs. Upton insisted she should come to the platform. "Must I do that?" she said sotto voce. "I have on my travelling dress." "How we do put on airs as we grow older," said Mrs. Upton jokingly, assisting her to the platform. The applause continuing Miss Anthony smiled, reached out her hand with a deprecating gesture and said: "There now, girls, that's enough."

<sup>2</sup> The *Washington Times* said: "Mrs. Upton is one of the most popular women in the suffrage movement and her energy is a matter of many years' history. If financial support is to be obtained from States, societies or individuals there is no one more capable of extracting generous subscriptions. . . ." The *Star* said: "Mrs. Upton has served as treasurer many years. She is energetic, zealous, tactful, possesses a remarkable insight of human nature and is greatly admired. She is president of the Ohio Suffrage Association and member of the Warren board of education. Before she became so engrossed in suffrage she did a great deal of literary work. Her father, Ezra B. Taylor, succeeded Garfield in Congress and she was with him during his thirteen years in office. Miss Anthony always relied on him for advice and assistance."

ices in behalf of the Red Cross, such a collection, it was said, as no other woman possessed.

The convention was largely in the nature of a Colorado jubilee, as its women ten years before had cast their first vote, having been enfranchised in the autumn of 1893. The program for two evenings was given up to men and women from that State under the heading, Colorado Speaks for Itself, and it was most appropriate that Miss Anthony should preside. In presenting her Mrs. Catt said: "This is Miss Anthony's 84th birthday. We might have had a program filled with tributes to her and no doubt you would all have enjoyed them but instead we have what she will like better, a program to show, not that woman suffrage would be a good thing but that it has been a good thing. When Miss Anthony was born no woman in America could vote; no woman in modern times had been a lawyer. Tonight our ushers are seven women graduates of the Washington Law School, in the cap and gown which used to be forbidden to women. But there is something else going on tonight that is a more noteworthy celebration of her birthday. A measure to grant suffrage to women is pending in Denmark with the backing of the government and the women of that country have arranged a great demonstration in favor of the bill and have fixed the date for today because it is the birthday of Susan B. Anthony. Opponents of woman suffrage pay almost their whole attention to Colorado, so we have asked Colorado to come and talk for itself and it has responded magnificently. All the speakers pay their own expenses and have come this long way for the pleasure of saying a word for woman suffrage."

The Washington *Post* commented, "Miss Anthony received an ovation and it was delightful to see the pride with which she introduced the speakers—a former Governor, a woman State Superintendent of Public Instruction, chairmen of women's political committees and clubs, a woman county superintendent." Mrs. Katharine Cook, president of the Jane Jefferson Club, a Democratic organization of over a thousand women, spoke on *The Ideals We Cherish* and strongly emphasized that politics did not impair true womanliness or lower high ideals. "A nation can be no more free or pure or beautiful than the homes of which it is composed," she said. "Our country is but a greater home and no

mother whose love for her fireside is more than an instinct or a sentiment can fail to see that the welfare of her home and family is vitally connected with an unstained ballot and an honest government. We women who believe in the right of suffrage and exercise it with the utmost wisdom with which we are gifted, use it for the preservation and defense and love of our homes . . . and it is this spirit which is needed at the polls."

An entirely different but equally effective note was struck by Mrs. Ellis Meredith, a prominent journalist of Denver, who said during her address on Colorado Women and Legislation:

If I regarded the ballot merely as a right or a privilege or an end; a divine, far-off event toward which the whole creation moves and which, once attained, obviates its ever having to move afterward, I should say it does not make a bit of difference what we have done with it. If it is a right, who can question it? If it is a privilege, it is beyond question. If it is an end, it is achieved. But I do not regard it as any of these. To my mind the ballot is simply one of our many modern labor-saving inventions. It is the easiest way. . . . In the ten years that women have been voting in Colorado, I believe they have done at least five times as much as all the rest of the non-voting women in the United States together, and I base this modest claim upon the record of our statute books as compared with those of other States. Women stand relatively for the same thing everywhere and their first care is naturally and inevitably for the child. Whatever we have done, other women wish to do. In many States they have tried and failed. The difference is they are using stone-age methods while we have those of the 20th century."

No one who knows anything about our laws will attempt to deny that women have revolutionized the attitude of our State toward the child. Two-thirds of their work has been for the children. . . . These laws mean that in Colorado there are no children under 14 out of school; we have no child beggars nor street musicians and no girls vending anything. We have the best child labor law in the world. We have the strictest laws for the prevention of the abuse, moral, mental or physical of children, of any country, and the best enforced, not merely in our cities but throughout the entire State. We have the strongest compulsory school law and the most enlightened law concerning delinquent children of any, save where our laws have been copied. . . . What we have done has not been for ourselves but for the very least of these. It has been not for our fading today but for the dawning tomorrow. We have gone to our legislators with new ideas and have set a little child in the midst of them, and they have not been unmindful of the heavenly vision.

Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Denver, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and county superintendent of

schools, began her address, *A Message to Garcia*, by referring to the noted pamphlet of that title by Elbert Hubbard, "which," she said, "was translated into fourteen languages and called out a response from the hearts of the civilized world, because it set forth the duty and necessity of doing a thing yourself if you want it well done," and she made the application: "The women of Colorado have learned by experience the advantage of a direct vote over direct influence." She then told in a graphic manner the vast amount of good work the Federation of Clubs had been able to do through the power of the ballot and said: "During the last Legislature a department of the federation had to sit one day each week to confer with the many members who wanted its endorsement for their bills. Clubwomen in non-suffrage States do not have this experience. It is because we can carry the message to Garcia ourselves." "Mrs. Catt helped to win our mountain republic for suffrage," Mrs. Bradford said in conclusion, "and we women of Colorado pledge ourselves to Susan B. Anthony to work until death to help get it in other States."

Mrs. Isabella Churchill of Greeley spoke from the standpoint of the women outside the cities. "To the women in the small towns and country districts," she said, "it is a privilege and a pleasure to go to the polls on election day with the men of their family and vote for the candidates and measures they have had time to consider with care. In such places the question next day is not, 'Did the election go Democratic or Republican?' but 'Was it license or no license?' or else concerning some candidate or issue that they believe of importance to their community." Mrs. Helen Belford, chairman of the Women's State Democratic Committee, devoted her address largely to the development of the young women through the use of the ballot and the study of political questions. Mrs. Ina Thompson, chairman of the Republican Women's State Committee, gave a very interesting account of the way campaigns are conducted by women.

Mrs. Helen Loring Grenfell, as State Superintendent of Education, spoke with high authority and by her dignified and beautiful presence no less than by her ability made a deep impression on all who heard her. She pointed out that Colorado came into the Union in 1876 with School suffrage for women and through

this they had always been able to keep the schools on a non-partisan basis. She showed that it paid more per capita for public schools than any other State, leaving even New York and Massachusetts behind; described its advanced position from kindergartens to training schools and colleges, with especial care in guarding the welfare of children, and continued:

In the East we hear of "the question of coeducation." It is not a question west of the Mississippi River, it never has been, it never will be. The eastern arrangement seems to us merely a curious survival of antiquated ideas, a kind of sex-consciousness which we have lost sight of in our care for the human being. . . . The place of State Superintendent has always been held by a woman since women became eligible. The first superintendent elected was a Republican, the second a Democrat, each holding the place for one term; the third, who is now serving her third term, was nominated as a Silver Republican but has really been elected and twice re-elected without regard to politics—an example of the independence of the vote where school affairs are concerned. There are 59 counties in Colorado and 33 of them, including most of those with the largest population, have women county superintendents. . . .

I have found Colorado women much like their sisters elsewhere save that they have a broader view of public affairs and they take naturally a more active interest in the world's work. They have learned to think and to say what they think simply and freely in gatherings where men and women meet to discuss the vital concerns of life. They have not forgotten that they are women but they have come to know that they are also human beings, and, like Terence, they find nothing that concerns humanity foreign to them. Surely had we not been faithful in the smaller things, we should not have had these large opportunities given to us. . . . I can not help thinking that my sisters elsewhere have lost something rare and precious from their lives through the lack of that complete citizenship which has been bestowed upon the women of Colorado, and I hope the day may be near when those sisters may be made man's equal under the law of the land as they have always been under the law of God.

The Hon. Isaac N. Stevens, a pronounced suffragist, who had the topic After Ten Years, was detained elsewhere. The Hon. Alva Adams, who had twice been Governor of the State, in his strong and comprehensive speeches before the convention and the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, answered for all time the misrepresentations in regard to woman suffrage in Colorado which for years had been persistently made by the anti-suffragists, and he also answered conclusively the many ob-



jections that had been conjured up. In the convention he discussed it From the Colorado Point of View, beginning as follows:

Colorado does not go into mourning when a girl is born. Equal suffrage has not taken Colorado out of the Union. She stands an example of what a sovereign State should be—a model to those self-righteous States that preach equal rights in press, pulpit and forum and deny it in the law. The statue of Justice that crowns her city hall, court house and Capitol is not a lie. For the Capitol in Washington and in 41 States of the Union the figure of St. Paul would be more fitting than that of the Goddess of Liberty. Unfettered by tradition and prejudice Colorado has dared to do right. She has given to woman what Solomon gave to Sheba—"whatsoever she asked"—and has no regrets and no desire to recall the gift. After ten years of experience, equal suffrage needs neither apology nor defense. No harm has come to either woman, man or the State. Justice never harmed any one. If Colorado women were not angels before, the ballot has brought no wings. Suffrage has not elevated them, it has simply placed them where they belonged but it has raised the men who have dared to be just. Woman has not yet conquered iniquity nor has it conquered her. Suffrage is not a revolution, it is but a step and not the end of the journey. . . .

If women have not overthrown the entrenched political machines the failure is due to the so-called respectable Christian men. The women are ready but the men are chained to partisanship. . . . No single disaster, no backward step in politics or family morals can be charged to woman suffrage. It has added nothing to the business of the divorce court, no family has been disrupted, no children neglected; but the prayers of hundreds of homeless children and orphans have invoked a benediction upon the voting women for the home and education that their influence has induced the State to provide. Suffrage has sent no girl astray but it has gathered many wanderers and turned their feet into paths of safety and built for them a model State home. Through the age of consent law many a seducer has ended his career in jail. The most efficient members of the State Board of Charities and Correction are women and this is true of other boards. Their influence has sent rays of light and hope into darkened cells and established reforms in asylums and prisons.

In answer to the continued charges that the people of the State would like to repeal the law he said: "I have too high a regard, too sincere a faith in Colorado manhood to believe that any of the men who voluntarily conferred the ballot upon their wives, sisters and mothers would now repeal that just act. Common sense refutes the statement regarding women themselves. Not 75 per cent., not 10 per cent., not 1 per cent. would today vote to relinquish that which belongs to them. It is not an American

trait to give up rights. . . . I challenge any one to find 100 intelligent women in Colorado who will voluntarily request that the word 'male' be restored in the constitution and statutes of the State. Many women may not go to the polls but the man who would try to take away their right to do so would need a bomb-proof conning tower. There will be no repeal, it stands for all time. There never will be less than four woman suffrage States—there should be forty-five. . . . Since 1876 school affairs have practically been in the hands of women. They have voted at school elections, held the office of superintendent in a majority of the counties and taught most of the schools. In these twenty-eight years neither politics nor scandals have impaired our public school system and in efficiency we challenge comparison with any State in the Union. What the women have done for our schools they can do for our civic government. They have introduced conscience into educational affairs and they will do the same in city and State. That is the fear of those who make politics a profession. . . .”

Henry B. Blackwell was introduced and spoke briefly of having gone to Colorado in 1876 to assist in getting full suffrage for women into the constitution for statehood, but it was left for the voters to decide. Mrs. Catt closed the meeting with references to the successful campaign of 1893, seventeen years later.

A resolution presented by Mrs. Mead was adopted urging Congress to take the initial steps toward inviting the governments of the world to establish an International Advisory Congress, and impressing upon equal suffragists that they should create local public sentiment in favor of arbitration treaties between the United States and all countries with which it has diplomatic relations. On motion of Mrs. Grenfell the convention endorsed the bill before Congress for a national board of child and animal protection. It rejoiced in the voting of 850,000 women in Australia and in the fact that woman suffrage existed throughout 300,000 square miles of United States territory and eight Senators and nine Representatives were sent to Congress by votes of both men and women. Mrs. Mary Church Terrell (D. C.), a highly educated woman, showing little trace of negro blood, said: “A resolution asks you to stand up for children and animals; I

want you to stand up not only for children and animals but also for negroes. You will never get suffrage until the sense of justice has been so developed in men that they will give fair play to the colored race. Much has been said about the purchasability of the negro vote. They never sold their votes till they found that it made no difference how they cast them. Then, being poor and ignorant and human, they began to sell them, but soon after the Civil War I knew many efforts to tempt them to do so which were not successful. My sisters of the dominant race, stand up not only for the oppressed sex but also for the oppressed race!"

Resolutions of regret were adopted for the death of many pioneer suffragists during the year, among them Sarah Knox Goodrich of California; Sarah Burger Stearns of Minnesota; Judge J. W. Kingman of Iowa; Ellen Sully Fray of Ohio; Eliza Sproat Turner and Samuel Pennock of Pennsylvania; Henrietta L. T. Wolcott, Lavina A. Hatch, Alice Gordon Gulick, Richard P. Hallowell and the Hon. Henry S. Washburn of Massachusetts. Telegrams of remembrance were sent to the veteran workers, Mrs. Martha S. Root of Michigan and Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick of Louisiana, and a letter to Mrs. Ellen Powell Thompson of the District. Mrs. Kate Trimble Woolsey of Kentucky, author of *Republics vs. Women*, was introduced to the convention and showed how republics disfranchised half of their citizens.

The Declaration of Principles, prepared by Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw, Miss Blackwell and Mrs. Harper remained a permanent platform of the association.

Dr. Shaw made the delegates smile at one morning session after they had sung "America" by moving that hereafter the line, "Our Father's God to Thee," should be printed on their program, "Our Father, God, to Thee." She said the preachers and poets had a habit of talking so exclusively about "the God of our fathers" that there was danger of forgetting that our mothers had any God! Mrs. Mary Wood Swift (Calif.), its president, brought the greetings of the National Council of Women. The report from the Friends Equal Rights Association, an affiliated society, was made by Mrs. Anne W. Janney (Md). Fraternal greetings were given by Mrs. Olive Pond Amies for the Pennsylvania

W. C. T. U.; by Mrs. Arabella Carter (Penn.) for the Universal Peace Union, and by Mrs. Emma S. Olds (O.) for the Ladies of the Maccabees of the World. Mrs. Catt warmly complimented this last organization for its fine business principles and the high character of its leaders. The association appointed as its legal adviser Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, a prominent lawyer of Chicago, for years the superintendent of legislative work for the Illinois Suffrage Association and part of the time its president. It is needless to say that it was not a salaried position. One morning Mrs. Catt called the "pioneers" to the platform and presented them to the convention, among them Miss Mary S. Anthony, who had attended the first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848, of whom her sister always said: "She has looked after the home and made it possible for me to do my work."

Miss Emily Howland of Sherwood, N. Y., one of the early Abolitionists, said in her few words of reminiscence: "I remember Lucy Stone holding a series of meetings through New York State in my youth. My uncle came home and reported that a young woman was lecturing and putting up her own posters; that she was very bright and he was not sure but that she was right and what she advocated would have to come. As I think of those three great leaders, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, I know what heroism is. . . . We women did not fully realize at first that militarism was our greatest foe. We are always told that women must not vote because they can not fight. I believe they could—I see many women who have more fight in them than many men. . . . Our cause came straight from the anti-slavery cause. All its early advocates were also advocates of freeing the despised race in bondage. Let us not forget them now. Neither a nation nor an individual can be really free till all are free."

It had been known for some months that Mrs. Catt would not accept a re-election to the presidency. For the past nine years she had given her entire time to work for woman suffrage, speaking in many States, attending conventions, serving as chairman of the Committee on Organization for five years and as president for four years. During this time she had had charge of the national headquarters and under the combined strain found her

health breaking. The first measure of relief was the removal of the national headquarters to Warren, Ohio, in May, 1904, where Mrs. Upton took it in charge, but this was not sufficient and she announced her determination to retire from the presidency, much to the regret of the association. The delegates naturally turned to Dr. Shaw and urged the presidency upon her but she was most reluctant to accept. It was an unsalaried position; she was entirely dependent on her lectures and she felt that in the field she could best serve the cause but she finally yielded to Miss Anthony's earnest entreaties. She was almost unanimously elected and Mrs. Catt consented to remain in official position as vice-president-at-large. The convention adopted the following resolution: "We tender to our retiring president our hearty thanks for her years of faithful and efficient labor in behalf of our cause and for her self-sacrificing devotion to its interests. We congratulate ourselves that we shall continue to have her wise counsel and cooperation and we express our earnest hope for her health and prosperity." No other change was made except that Mrs. Coggeshall retired as second auditor and Dr. Cora Smith Eaton again became a member of the board.

The *Evening Star* had this description: "As the afternoon session was about closing Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, retiring national president, who has endeared herself to all by her gracious courtesy, her firm yet gentle sway, presented to the convention its choice for her successor. Miss Shaw was not as clear-eyed as usual when she faced the cheering audience and her voice trembled and choked a little as she declared she had accepted the office only to give Mrs. Catt a rest. As the convention continued to applaud she said, trying to smile: 'Don't do that or I shall surely cry!' The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw is probably the first woman distinguished by having taken both theological and medical degrees. She won her way into and through college by teaching and paid for her theological training by preaching on Sundays. . . . After filling one parish for seven years she found her widest opportunities in the broad parish of the lecture field and is one of the ablest speakers on the public platform."

Detroit sent an invitation for the next convention and Mrs. Richard Williams of Buffalo, N. Y., presented one from that city

with a guarantee from the State Suffrage Association of \$1,000 toward the expenses. While these were appreciated the invitation from Portland, Ore., was the choice. It was presented by Dr. Annice Jeffreys for the association and by the Hon. Jefferson Myers in behalf of the Lewis and Clark Exposition to be held in 1905, which the convention gave a hearty endorsement.

The last evening found the large armory filled to the doors. Mrs. Evelyn H. Belden (Ia.) made a delightful address on The Main Line, which thoroughly disproved the assertion that women have no sense of humor, as the audience testified by frequent laughter and applause. Mrs. L. Annis Pound (Mich.) discussed the Problem of the Individual. "A woman's value to society," she said, "will increase in direct ratio as her value as an individual increases. Woman as the potential mother of the race owes it to posterity to develop the noblest, strongest type of individualism. She must be first a human being, a personality, a member of society." Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, president of the National Women's Republican Association, who had made political speeches from ocean to ocean, told in a most entertaining manner of Campaigning in Free States and paid a glowing tribute to the beneficial effects of woman suffrage in the States where it existed.

Towards the end of the evening Mrs. Catt presented Miss Anthony and as she came forward she brought Miss Barton with her and the audience rose in heartfelt recognition of the two great leaders. "It seemed unable quite fully to express its pleasure," said the *Evening Star*, "and applauded again and again, as Miss Barton bowed and Miss Anthony looked smilingly and benignly out over the enthusiastic crowds." She expressed in words of affection and esteem her pleasure in appearing on that platform with one who had stood by her from the beginning of her work and Miss Barton responded in the same strain, giving then as always her adherence to Miss Anthony and the cause of woman suffrage.

A national suffrage convention never seemed to be properly ended unless Dr. Shaw made a speech at the close and for this one she chose the subject, Woman without a Country, and with her matchless eloquence described the position of women under the flag of a Government in which they had no voice. Mrs. Catt

spoke the president's inspiring farewell words and the convention adjourned to meet next time in the far northwest.

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The usual hearings were granted by the Senate and House Committees on February 16 at 10:30 a.m. Miss Anthony presided at the Senate hearing and the speakers in the Marble Room were Mrs. Watson Lister, Australia; Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, England; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, Pennsylvania; Miss Laura A. Gregg, Nebraska; Miss Harriet May Mills, Miss Emily Howland, Mrs. Maud Nathan, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, New York. In introducing Mrs. Gilman Miss Anthony said quaintly: "This is one of the Beecher tribe," referring to her relationship, and she said of Dr. Shaw, the last speaker, "She will wind us up!" In telling of the first congressional hearing on woman suffrage ever granted—in 1869—she said: "Of all those who spoke here then I am the only one living today and I shall not be able to come much longer." Her words were prophetic, as this was the last hearing she ever attended.

Each speaker considered the question from a different standpoint: Miss Mills showed that the high schools everywhere were graduating more girls than boys and women were increasing in the colleges at a higher ratio than men and said: "If only you would fix an educational qualification for the franchise we might hope to attain it." Mrs. Swift described the great campaign that had been made by California women for the suffrage in 1896 and yet they could not now even vote for school officers and she told of the unjust laws for women. Mrs. Boyer spoke for the millions of women wage-earners and declared that the present form of government was a sex-aristocracy. Mrs. Gilman said that to have intelligent men there must be educated mothers and that America could be made greater but not out of little people. Mrs. Harper reviewed the Senate hearings of the past, the favorable and unfavorable reports and the many times when no reports were made and said: "We represent no vested interests, no constituency: we cannot help or harm you politically; we can only appeal to you in the name of abstract justice."

Mrs. Blatch, American by birth, told of the feelings of women arriving in this country by steamer and seeing the men land from the steerage who would soon have the right of suffrage which was denied to women born in the United States. Mrs. Watson Lister was introduced as representing over 800,000 women voters in Australia and said in part: "It seems very odd to me to come to America to speak on self-government. In Australia woman suffrage is not an experiment but a long experience and one effect has been to disprove all the things that were said against it." Dr. Shaw spoke of the hardships women had endured to make this country what it is and of the injustice of denying them any voice in its government.

Miss Anthony closed by saying that she had appealed to committees of seventeen Congresses and she urged that this one would make a favorable report. Senator Mitchell of Oregon responded: "I introduced this resolution for woman suffrage. I am earnestly in favor of it—have been for many years—and if I live you will get a report. I have been more instructed and interested by the magnificent speeches I have heard today than by any in the Senate of the United States during the twenty-one years I have attended it." Others expressed themselves in the same strain. Senator Mitchell's own personal affairs, however, soon became much involved and no report was made.

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Mrs. Catt conducted the hearing before the Judiciary Committee of the House. Its chairman, Representative John J. Jenkins of Wisconsin, who was presiding, made no secret of his hostility to woman suffrage but some members of the committee were favorable. Colorado had been the storm center of attack and defense for many years while Denver was the only city of considerable size where women could vote. In opening the hearing Mrs. Catt said: "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: Last year when we appeared before the committee to speak in behalf of the bill asking the submission of the 16th Amendment we called attention to the fact that Congress had appointed a great many commissions for investigation of the conditions, political and otherwise, of various classes of people, and



inasmuch as we have come here year after year claiming that woman suffrage had wrought none of the ills which its enemies said it would and that it had brought many benefits, we asked that Congress, through a commission, should investigate it in the western States. You are aware that no such commission resulted from our petition. When Mahomet commanded the mountain to come to him and the mountain did not come he said: 'Then Mahomet will go to the mountain.' We have therefore this year brought Colorado to you and the speakers who will address you this morning are all from that State."

The speeches largely followed the lines of those given before the convention. Mrs. Katherine Cook showed the relation between the women's vote and the home and family welfare. Mrs. Ellis Meredith, introduced as on the editorial staff of the *Rocky Mountain News* of Denver, gave a summary of the excellent legislation that had been effected since women began voting in 1894 and said: "I have read a compilation of the laws in regard to the protection of children in every State and I know that in no other have they such ample protection and in no other are the laws so well enforced. This is partly due to the fact that our Humane Society is a State institution and has the free voluntary services of six hundred men and women acting as agents over this big State of 104,000 square miles." Answering questions she said: "In my district, one of the best, 571 women registered and 570 voted. There are as many men as women in the district but only 235 voted. Men form 55 per cent. of our population and women 45. Women cast over 43 per cent. of the total vote."

Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, extended the account of the remarkable work it had accomplished as described to the convention, a success, she said, due to the fact that it represented a large body of well-informed voters. She ridiculed the danger at the polling places. "Who are the evil creatures we are supposed to meet there on election day? We vote in the precinct in which we live and we meet our husbands, our brothers, our sons. . . . In Colorado the environment in which the supreme right of citizenship is

performed has been improved to harmonize with the improved character of the constituency."

Mrs. Helen Loring Grenfell was introduced by Mrs. Catt as "the State Superintendent of Public Instruction now serving her third term, the only successful candidate on her ticket at the last election." She began by saying: "Gentlemen, this is a very peculiar position for a Colorado woman. It seems just as strange to me as it would be to my husband to be coming here before a body of women and saying: 'We men ask from you equal rights under the Constitution of the United States.'" After showing the interest felt in elections by women she said: "I have been an office-holder, which has involved running for office, and I think it is right for me to tell you a little of my experiences. My campaigns have taken me through almost every county in Colorado, the farming counties, the roughest mining communities, and let me say to you that if there could be any more chivalry in the States where you think it would be unchivalrous to let your women vote, I would like to see it. I have met with the greatest courtesy from men all over the State. I have been treated just as kindly, just as politely by the men when I appeared as a political candidate as by the men with whom I am associated in my school work, in my home and society life. We have come to the time when we must feel that the word chivalry belongs to the past. It is connected with a period when woman's position before the law and in her home was far from a desirable one; and so I believe you will not misunderstand me when I say that if you will give us justice we feel that it will mean a great deal more than chivalry ever did."

There had just been an exposition of fraud at the recent Congressional election where Representative John F. Shafroth had been re-elected and he at once resigned the office in order to disclaim all connection with it. Nearly every speaker was interrogated about it by members of the committee. Mrs. Grenfell answered, as did all of them: "The frauds upon which this election was decided were committed in the city of Denver alone and in the worst precincts in the city. We will admit that they were committed. Is that a reason for considering that woman suffrage is a mistake? I have heard reports from the cities of Philadelphia

and New York by which, if I should judge male suffrage, I should say it was an utter failure in the States of Pennsylvania and New York. We have tens of thousands of women voters in Colorado. We have indictments out against many dishonest voters and with the utmost searching they have found one woman who is charged with 'repeating' in the election. Our State penitentiary has five women prisoners today and 600 men. That surely cannot be used as an argument for woman suffrage having injured the women, whatever it may have done to the men."<sup>1</sup>

The committee were particularly interested in the speech of former Governor Alva Adams, which gave much information on the voting of women and called out many questions from the committee. Representative Littlefield of Maine inquired: "What do you say, Governor, about Miss McCracken's article in the *Outlook*?" and he answered: "I call it infamous, to use the proper term. It was an absolute falsehood. It was based upon no facts, because no decent women in Colorado would make the statements that she quotes. She may have found one woman who would say that they were using philanthropy and charity for political purposes but to admit that the women of the State would do a thing of that kind—would so debase themselves—would be an impeachment of the decency and honesty of woman-kind everywhere. I am not prepared to make that admission and the citizens of Colorado cannot make it. There are 100,000

<sup>1</sup> There was a large amount of unimpeachable testimony that the women had no part in these election frauds. Mr. Shafroth himself said: "The frauds were committed in a bad part of Denver where few women live. To represent them as characteristic of women's election methods in Colorado is an outrage." A prominent Denver lawyer, who was then in Washington, was interviewed on the subject and said: "That 'Exhibit 64' (relating to the alleged frauds by women) was not competent evidence and would have been thrown out by any court. The woman who accused herself and other women of cheating did not stay to be cross-examined; she simply made her affidavit and 'skipped out.' Everything tends to the belief that she was in the employ of the opposite party."

The president of the League for Honest Elections in Denver, when stating that about thirty arrests had been made in connection with the frauds, said: "Of those arrested and bound over, only one is a woman. We believe that she is the least guilty of all and whatever connection she had with the election in her precinct was as the passive instrument of the men in charge of the fraudulent work at that place. Of the persons for whom warrants have been issued but not yet served, only one is a woman. She was a clerk in one of the lower precincts and we understand has left the city. I may say, as a result of my own experience in connection with this League, I find that women have practically nothing to do with fraudulent work."

honest women in the State who are voters and there are not 100 who will subscribe to the sentiments she gave voice to." <sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Catt closed the hearing with an earnest appeal for action, saying in part:

When the constitution of Colorado was first made in 1876 a provision was placed in it that at any time the Legislature might enfranchise the women by a referendum of a law to the voters. That was done in 1893 and it was passed by 6,000 majority. Last year an amendment to the constitution was submitted to the electors, now both men and women, concerning the qualifications for the vote and in it there was included, of course, the recognition of the enfranchisement of women quite as much as that of men, so that it was virtually a woman suffrage amendment. It received a majority of 35,000, showing certainly that after ten years of experience the people were willing to put woman suffrage in the constitution, where it became an integral part of it and permanent.

When the American constitution was formulated it was the first of its kind and this was the first republic of its kind. Man suffrage was an experiment and it was considered universally a very doubtful one. We find overwhelming evidence that the thinkers of the world feared that if this republic should fail to live it would come to its end through the instability of the minds of men and that revolutionary thought would arise to overturn the Government. We find it in George Washington and Benjamin Franklin and all of our statesmen as well as those who were watching the experiment here so anxiously from across the sea. What was the result? The result was they made a constitution just as ironclad as they could, so as to prevent its amendment. They made it as difficult for the fundamental law of the nation to be changed as they knew how to do. . . . Those of us who wish to enter the political life, who believe that we have quite as good a right to express ourselves there as any man—what is our position? Within the last century there has been extension after extension of the suffrage, and every one has put suffrage for women further off. . . .

Do you not see that while in this country there are millions of people who believe in the enfranchisement of women, while there is more sentiment for it than in any other, yet we are restricted by this stone wall of constitutional limitations which was set at a time when a republican form of government was totally untried? Because of this we find ourselves distanced by monarchies and the women enfranchised in other lands are coming to us to express their pity and sympathy. . . . So I ask that you will this time make a report to the

<sup>1</sup> A Miss Elizabeth McCracken had been sent to Colorado by the *Outlook* to prepare an article on woman suffrage, which it published. The statements in it were universally repudiated by the press and the people of that State. Mrs. Grenfell said of it at this convention: "It is as absurd to refute her assertions as to reply to Baron Munchausen or to insist that Alice's Adventures in Wonderland never happened. Such conditions as she describes do not exist in Colorado."

House of Representatives and if you do not believe that we are right, for Heaven's sake make an adverse report. Anything will be more satisfactory than the indifference with which we have been treated for many years. Do at least recognize that we have a cause, that there are women here whose hearts are aching because they see great movements to which they desire to give their help and yet they are chained down to work for the power that is not yet within their hands. . . . If you, Mr. Chairman, feel that you can not offer a favorable report because the majority of the committee is not favorable, then I beg of you, in behalf of the women of the United States, to show where you stand and to give an adverse report.

The Senate Committee presented the National Association with 10,000 and the House Committee with 15,000 copies of these hearings, which they could use as a part of their propaganda literature. There was not, however, enough political influence back of the appeals for the submission of the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage to compel the committees to make reports which would bring the subject before Congress.

## CHAPTER V.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1905.

Until 1905 the national suffrage conventions had never been held further west than Des Moines, Ia. (1897), but this year the innovation was made of going to the Pacific Coast for the Thirty-seventh annual meeting, June 28-July 5,<sup>1</sup> at the invitation of the managers of the Lewis and Clark Exposition held in Portland, Ore. It was a delightful experience from the beginning, as the delegates from the East and Middle West met in Chicago and had three special cars from there. The Chicago Woman's Club gave a large reception in the afternoon of June 23 for Miss Anthony, the officers and delegates. They took the train that night; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt joined them in Iowa and others along the way, as it sped westward. The news-

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: A government of men and women—not by women alone, not by men alone, but a government of men and women by men and women for men and women—this is the aim and ideal of our association.

One hundred years ago Oregon was an untrodden wilderness. The transformation of that primeval territory into prosperous communities enjoying the highest degree of civilization could not have been accomplished without the work of women. No restriction should be placed upon energies and abilities so potent for good. The extension of the right of suffrage would remove a handicap from the efforts of women and give them an opportunity to work for the welfare of the State. We do not claim that woman's voice in the government would at once sound the death knell to all social and political evils but we do believe that a government representing the interests and beliefs of women and men would prove itself, and is proving itself where it now exists, to be a better government than one which represents the interests and beliefs of men alone.

The movement for the enfranchisement of women is based upon the unchanging and unchangeable principles of human liberty, in accordance with which successive classes of men have won the right of self-government. On such a foundation ultimate victory is assured and in truth is conceded even by those who oppose. The day is ever drawing nearer when the nation will apply to women the principles which are the very foundation of its existence; when on every election day there will be re-affirmed the immortal truths of our Declaration of American Independence. Then will this indeed be a just government, "deriving its powers from the consent of the governed."

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Honorary President.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, Vice-President.

KATE M. GORDON, Corresponding Secretary.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer.

LAURA CLAY,  
CORA SMITH EATON, } Auditors.

papers had given it wide publicity and they were greeted by suffragists at many places. The Political Equality Club of Boone, Ia., brought large bouquets for Miss Anthony, Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt, who made brief speeches from the rear platform. The colored porter listened attentively and said: "Well, that settles me; I am for woman suffrage," and afterwards diligently circulated copies of the *Woman's Journal* on the train. Another ovation awaited them at Council Bluffs. The train waited half an hour at Omaha and the women of the Political Equality Club, the W. C. T. U. and the Woman's Club united in a demonstration. A platform had been improvised and their presidents expressed a welcome to which responses were made by Miss Anthony, Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw, the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Miss Laura Clay and Mr. and Miss Blackwell, editors of the *Woman's Journal*, while reporters were busy getting interviews. They returned to the train laden with flowers, which they distributed, sending buttonhole bouquets to the engineer, fireman and all the crew.

The train was delayed two hours at Cheyenne and former U. S. Senator Joseph M. Carey and his wife, staunch suffragists and old friends of Miss Anthony, took her for a drive while the officers and delegates walked about the pleasant little city and went to see the handsome State House. Miss Blackwell wrote of the occasion: "Everything in Wyoming was surrounded by a sort of halo. The sky seemed of a more vivid blue, the grass of a brighter emerald than in the States where women do not enjoy equal rights. The leaves of the many cottonwood trees twinkled pleasantly in the clear sunlight, the air was fresh and bracing and the snow mountains looked down upon the city like a visible realization of ideals." The presence of the visitors soon became known and an impromptu reception was held in the large waiting room of the station, which was beautified by potted ferns and palms.

Sunday services were held on the train and during the week days business meetings in the stateroom of Miss Anthony and Dr. Shaw. As the journey neared the end the porter confided to Lucy E. Anthony, the railroad secretary, who arranged the trip: "I ain't never travelled with such a bunch of women be-

fore—they don't fuss with me and they don't scrap with each other!" Monday morning they entered the magnificent scenery along the Columbia River and at The Dalles were met by Mrs. Duniway and a party of friends. By noon they had reached the City of Roses and were comfortably settled in the Portland Hotel and the hospitable homes of the city.

The convention, held in the First Congregational Church, was planned for a very full program of ten days instead of the usual week. Notwithstanding the Exposition was in progress and conventions were a matter of daily occurrence, none of the national suffrage conventions ever had fuller or more satisfactory reports. *Journal, Telegram* and *Oregonian* vied with each other and the Associated Press sent out whatever was requested of it. The *Oregonian* said of the first executive session: "Room 618 in the Portland Hotel was the scene of a notable gathering yesterday afternoon. Lawyers, doctors, ministers of the gospel, lecturers of renown and expert auditors were in close conference, mapping out a plan of campaign by which they will fight for their rights in this land of the free and home of the brave. That they have not had the rights accorded by the Declaration of Independence to all American citizens they attribute to the fact that they are women and it is to convince unseeing mankind that women who are intelligent enough to obey laws are capable of helping frame them, that the most profound and representative women of the country are gathered here in the interests of equal suffrage." Miss Blackwell presented this interesting picture in her letter to the *Woman's Journal*.

The convention has opened magnificently, with glorious sunshine, great audiences, full and friendly press reports and the suffragists of the Pacific Coast outdoing themselves in cordial hospitality. The beautiful city of Portland is so full of flowers at this season that the whole city might be thought to have decorated in honor of the coming of the national convention. As the yellow-ribboned delegates go through the streets they constantly utter exclamations of delight over the enormous roses, the curtains of dark blue clematis draping the verandas, the luxuriant masses of ivy and the majestic trees rising above the velvet lawns and casting their shade upon the many handsome residences. . . . Hospitable Oregonians send in presents to the officers of huge red and yellow apples and baskets of mammoth cherries nestling in their green leaves. . . .



The large gray stone church has its auditorium hung with American flags and bunting of the suffrage color; portraits of Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony stand back of the pulpit and along its front runs the word "progress" in large letters made of flowers. . . . A splendid bouquet of white lilies has just been sent to the convention as a greeting from the Oregon State Federation of Women's Clubs and another of rich red roses from the Portland Woman's Club, and the platform is imbedded in carnations from local florists. All sorts of organizations seem to vie with each other in welcoming their happy guests.

The convention was opened with prayer by the Rev. Elwin L. House, pastor of the church. The president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, was in the chair and greetings were given from the Oregon Suffrage Association by its president, Mrs. Henry Waldo Coe; the National Council of Women by the president, Mrs. Mary Wood Swift (Calif.), who called attention to the fact that it was organized by suffragists; the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union by Mrs. Lucia Faxon Additon; the National Grange by Mrs. Clara H. Waldo, who said: "The basic principle of the Grange is equal rights for men and women and it practices what it preaches, all the offices being open to women." Greetings from the National Federation of Labor were offered by Mrs. F. Ross; the Ladies of the Maccabees by Mrs. Nellie H. Lambson; the Federation of Women's Clubs by Mrs. Sarah A. Evans; the Forestry Association by Mrs. Arthur H. Breyman; the Women's Henry George League by Dr. Mary H. Thompson, the pioneer woman physician of Oregon. The National Conference of Charities and Corrections, then in session in Portland, sent greetings by Mrs. Lillie R. Trumbull, who said: "If woman suffrage means anything it means the protection of children, therefore we march under the same banner."

Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, the pioneer suffragist of the northwest, presented to Dr. Shaw a gavel from the Oregon Historical Society with a letter from its secretary, Dr. George H. Himes, describing the six kinds of wood out of which it was made, each of important historical value. It was accepted with thanks and used by her to preside over the convention. A Centennial Ode, composed by Mrs. Duniway, was finely read by Mrs. Sylvia W. McGuire. The response to all these greetings was made by Miss Anthony, of whom the *Oregonian* said: "The

appearance of Susan B. Anthony was the signal for a wild ovation. The large audience rose to its feet and cheered the pioneer who has done so much for the cause of equal suffrage and who is still the life of a great work. At the close of the session men and women rushed forward, eager to clasp her hand and pay homage to her. There are many famous delegates present at this convention, women whose names are known in every civilized nation on the globe, but none shines with the luster which surrounds Miss Anthony." She began by recalling her visit in 1871, when Mrs. Duniway and she made a speaking tour of six weeks in the State; the long stage rides over the corduroy roads, the prejudice encountered but personal friendliness and large audiences everywhere, and continued:

I am delighted to see and hear in this church today the women representatives of so many organizations and it is in a measure compensation for the half-century of toil which it has been my duty and privilege to give to this our common cause. The sessions of this convention will be treated by the press of America exactly as it would treat any national gathering which was representative in character and had an object worthy of serious attention. The time of universal scorn for woman suffrage has passed and today we have strong and courageous champions among that sex the members of which fifty years ago regarded our proposals as part of an iconoclasm which threatened the very foundation of the social fabric. . . . Elizabeth Cady Stanton and I made our first fight for recognition of the right of women to speak in public and have organizations among themselves. You who are younger cannot realize the intensity of the opposition we encountered. To maintain our position we were compelled to attack and defy the deep-seated and ingrained prejudices bred into the very natures of men, and to some of them we were actually committing a sin against God and violating His laws. Gradually, however, the opposition has weakened until today we meet far less hostility to equal suffrage itself than then was manifested toward giving women the right of speaking in public and organizing for mutual advantage.

The opening exercises closed with an address by the Rev. Thomas L. Eliot, a Unitarian minister, who with his wife had encouraged Miss Anthony during that visit of 1871. He said his mother's great-aunt, Abigail Adams, had probably uttered the first declaration for woman suffrage on American soil, and paid a warm tribute to Mrs. Duniway's long and earnest labors

for this cause as he had seen them during his thirty-seven years in Oregon.

At the insistence of Dr. Shaw Miss Anthony presided at the first evening session. It was said that she had wielded the gavel at more conventions than any other woman and she had presided over national suffrage conventions for nearly forty years, but this proved to be the last at which she filled that honored position. A press report said: "Her voice is more vigorous than that of many a woman half her age and she speaks with fluency and ease." The *Oregonian* thus described her appearance on this occasion: "A rare picture she made in the high-backed oaken chair, her snowy hair puffed over her ears in old-time fashion and the collar of rose point lace, which seems to belong to dignified old age, forming a frame for her gentle but determined face. When she rose to call the meeting to order she was deluged with many beautiful floral tributes and drolly peering over the heap of flowers she said: "Well, this is rather different from the receptions I used to get fifty years ago. They threw things at me then—but they were not roses—and there were not epithets enough in Webster's Unabridged to fit my case. I am thankful for this change of spirit which has come over the American people."

Governor George E. Chamberlain gave the welcome of the State, declaring himself unequivocally and emphatically in favor of woman suffrage and expressing the hope that Oregon was now ready to grant it. T. C. Devlin extended the welcome of the city as proxy for the Mayor, who addressed the convention later. The Hon. Jefferson Myers, president of the State Commission for the Exposition, paid eloquent tribute to Miss Anthony and her co-workers and said:

I hope that you may yet live to see many victories for the principles which you have so nobly advocated in behalf of the women of our land. These principles are not new to the American people. There are many differences of opinion, but, after all the argument for and against, it hardly seems possible that any one who is entitled to the privilege which you request can afford to deny that privilege to his mother. There is no question but that the women of our land bear today as great, if not greater, burdens in the affairs of a good and honorable government than our men. The raising of the children, their education and protection from the vices of the

world, are cares that mothers have which no man's responsibility equals. . . .

You are today among a citizenship on this coast that is very fair, broad-minded and ready to assist your cause whenever convinced that it will be an advantage and a betterment to our present government. If it is fairly placed before the voters of this commonwealth with a reasonable argument in its favor, there is no doubt in my mind of its success. We are the only State that has adopted the broad principle of government which permits the citizens of the commonwealth to prepare and vote its own legislation, by its own people, without aid or consent of any other power. I refer to the Initiative and Referendum. . . . I sometimes doubt whether this great western country would ever have had the Stars and Stripes without the influence of the American mother. Therefore my sympathies are with you in your cause and all others supported by the mothers of our government for the liberties of themselves and families.

Mrs. Duniway spoke on The Pioneers of the Northwest as one of them, introduced by Miss Anthony as "the woman with whom I went gipsying thirty-four years ago," and the audience grew enthusiastic at the sight of these two brave veterans, the one 85 and the other 71. The press commented: "Mrs. Duniway's talk will be remembered as one of the best of the session. She said she had been electrified by the Governor's speech and her own fairly scintillated with the result of the shock. Her anecdotes were capital and her reminiscences of the cabbage and rotten-egg days convulsed the audience." Mrs. Catt, vice-president-at-large, responded to the greetings and expressed the pleasure of the delegates at being in "this most beautiful city of the United States and of the world." She spoke in highest praise of the free, independent spirit of the West, quoting the man who said: "Out here we don't ask who your grandfather was but everybody stands on his own hypotenuse!"

Dr. Shaw was so impressed with the responsibility of her new office that for the first time she wrote her president's address and it was published in twelve columns of the *Woman's Journal*. A Portland paper thus prepared the audience: "The event of the evening will be the address of the president, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw. She is easily the best and foremost woman speaker in the world and in her appearance Portland will enjoy a rare treat. Her eloquence is seldom equalled and she is a

woman of deep learning, a cogent reasoner and a brilliant thinker. . . . She has wonderful magnetism and a rare voice of round, rich tones and great carrying capacity. An unusual combination of dignity and wit is hers and many brilliant remarks intersperse the numbers on the program, keeping the audience in fine humor and constant interest." After a glowing word-picture of the natural beauty of Portland and Oregon Dr. Shaw turned her attention to Sacajawea, the young Indian woman who guided Lewis and Clark through thousands of miles of trackless wilderness on their expedition to the great northwest.

Others will speak of that brave band of immortals whose achievements your great Exposition commemorates, while we pay our tribute of honor and gratitude to the modest, unselfish, enduring little Shoshone squaw, who uncomplainingly traileed, canoed, climbed, slaved and starved with the men of the party, enduring all that they endured, with the addition of a helpless baby on her back. At a time in the weary march when the hearts of the leaders had well nigh fainted within them, when success or failure hung a mere chance in the balance, this woman came to their deliverance and pointed out to the captain the great Pass which led from the forks of the Three Rivers over the mountains. Then silently strapping her papoose upon her back she led the way, interpreting and making friendly overtures to powerful tribes of Indians, who but for her might at any moment have annihilated that brave band of intrepid souls. . . . The Pass through which she led the expedition has long borne the name of a French explorer who had not seen it until many years after Sacajawea had been gathered to her rest, but tardy acknowledgements of this heroine's services have at last been partially made. The U. S. Geological Survey has recently named one of the finest peaks in the Bridge range in Montana "Sacajawea Peak." . . .

Forerunner of civilization, great leader of men, patient and motherly woman, we bow our hearts to do you honor! Your tribe is fast disappearing from the land of your fathers. May we, the daughters of an alien race who slew your people and usurped your country, learn the lessons of calm endurance, of patient persistence and unfaltering courage exemplified in your life, in our efforts to lead men through the Pass of justice, which goes over the mountains of prejudice and conservatism to the broad land of the perfect freedom of a true republic; one in which men and women together shall in perfect equality solve the problems of a nation that knows no caste, no race, no sex in opportunity, in responsibility or in justice! May "the eternal womanly" ever lead us on! . . .

Referring to the convention and the delegates Dr. Shaw said :

What does our coming mean to us, who gather in this 37th annual convention where sits the woman whose chair has never been vacant

in all these years of hope deferred; whose heart has continually glowed with perennial youth; whose soul has burned with a vivid flame of love and freedom; whose brain has been the inspirer of herculean service; whose industry has never flagged; whose quenchless hope for humanity has carried us from victory to victory? May her spirit of devotion to freedom ever lead us on!

It means fifty-seven years nearer to victory than when the first invincible band of pioneers of universal freedom met in that little church in Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848. It means that in this body are women from four States of our Union already crowned with full citizenship; that delegates from more than two-score States have crossed the borderland of freedom, and that representatives from nearly every State and Territory are banded together in an unflinching purpose to become politically free. It also means that more has been accomplished for the betterment of the condition of women, for their physical, economic, intellectual and religious emancipation, by these fifty-seven years of evolutionary progress, than by all the revolutions the world has known; and it means that in every civilized nation of the earth, more and more the most patriotic, the most law-abiding, the most intelligent and the most industrious people are coming to see the justice of our claim, that in a representative government "the people who bear the burdens and responsibilities should share its privileges also—not excepting women." . . .

The recent attacks of Cardinal Gibbons and former President Cleveland, who had protested against women taking part in the Government lest it interfere with the home, she answered with keen analysis, saying in part:

The great fear that the participation of women in public affairs will impair the quality and character of home service is irrational and contrary to the tests of experience. Does an intelligent interest in the education of a child render a woman less a mother? Does the housekeeping instinct of woman, manifested in a desire for clean streets, pure water and unadulterated food, destroy her efficiency as a home-maker? Does a desire for an environment of moral and civic purity show neglect of the highest good of the family? It is the "men must fight and women must weep" theory of life which makes men fear that the larger service of women will impair the high ideal of home. The newer ideal that men must cease fighting and thus remove one prolific cause for women's weeping, and that they shall together build up a more perfect home and a more ideal government, is infinitely more sane and desirable. Participation in the larger and broader concerns of the State will increase instead of decrease the efficiency of government and tend to develop that self-control, that more perfect judgment which are wanting in much of the home training of today.

A comprehensive review was made of the great events in the world's history during the past year and the work of the National American Suffrage Association was described. "Whatever others may say or do," she declared, "our association must not accept any compromises. We must guard against the reactionary spirit which marks the present time and stand unflinching for the principle of perfect equality of rights and opportunities for all. . . . Never was there a time when heroic service was more needed—not the spectacular heroism marching with flying banners and weapons of destruction but the quiet, earnest heroism of men and women standing steadfastly by that which seems right and rigidly adhering in daily intercourse to that sterling honesty of purpose which ennobles character and develops the best in a nation's life." This inspiring address, all of which was on the same high level as the portions quoted, thus concluded:

We are told that to assume that women will help purify political life and develop a more ideal government but proves us to be dreamers of dreams. Yes, we are in a goodly company of dreamers, of Confucius, of Buddha, of Jesus, of the English Commons fighting for the Magna Charta, of the Pilgrims, of the American Revolutionists, of the Anti-slavery men and women. The seers and leaders of all times have been dreamers. Every step of progress the world has made is the crystallization of a dream into reality. To look forward to a time when men shall be just, when "fair play and a square deal for all" will include women, when our republic shall in truth become what its dreamers have hoped it would be, a government "of the people, by the people and for the people,"—this is a dream but it is a dream which we are helping to make real, and the result will come not alone because a vision has been revealed but by following it steadfastly to its fruition. The idealists dream and the dream is told, and the practical men listen and ponder and bring back the truth and apply it to human life, and progress and growth and higher human ideals come into being and so the world moves ever on.

During the several business sessions the following action was taken: It was directed that a letter be sent to the President-elect, Theodore Roosevelt, asking him to recommend the submission of a 16th Amendment in his message to Congress; that as many organizations of women as possible be secured to unite in urging him to do so, following the methods employed by the Protest Committee (a committee appointed to wait upon him to

present this request); that the Banker, Starr, Underwood and Green bequests amounting to \$3,801 be appropriated for campaign work in Oregon and the Territories. Miss Clay announced that Miss Laura Bruce had bequeathed \$5,000 to her in trust for the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The work conferences established by Mrs. Catt during her administration were held with the following among the questions discussed: Must we supplement our present form of organization to achieve our "argument of numbers"? How can we best spread our ideas in other organizations? The field in 1904 and 1905. Our request in 1904 for a plank in the national platforms. These conferences, which had been a feature of the conventions for eight years, were dropped after this one but many of the practical subjects formerly discussed in such conferences were placed on the regular program. Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch presided at the conference on How can we nationalize our request for a 16th Amendment? At its conclusion it was voted to refer to the Business Committee the idea of asking the suffragists of the four free States to instruct their Senators and Representatives in Congress to move for the submission of a 16th Amendment. It was her thought that all the State suffrage associations should send petitions to their respective Congressmen asking for a 16th Amendment to the National Constitution enfranchising women; that earnest efforts should be made to have other organizations take similar action and every means employed to bring the question before them.

The reports of the standing and special committees and those from the various State presidents, which occupied the morning and afternoon sessions, were excellent and valuable as usual. Miss Kate M. Gordon (La.) in her corresponding secretary's report called attention to the conspicuous triumph for woman suffrage when the great International Council of Women, whose delegates represented practically the whole civilized world, at its meeting in Berlin the preceding year unanimously endorsed woman suffrage and appointed a standing committee on Citizenship and Equal Rights, with Dr. Shaw as its chairman. She read letters from the Governors of the four equal suffrage States



regretting their inability to be present for Woman's Day at the Exposition and giving the strongest possible endorsement of the practical working of woman suffrage.

The report of Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, headquarters secretary, of the first year's work in its new home at Warren, O., was most interesting. The letters sent out numbered 14,000 and included three during the year to the president of every local club, giving information, plans of work and encouragement. The bureau had over 1,200 individual correspondents. Nearly 44,000 copies of *Progress* went to newspapers, public men, delegates to the political conventions and subscribers. About 65,000 pieces of literature exclusive of *Progress* were distributed, going to every State and Territory, to Canada, England, Holland and Australia. In addition thousands of booklets, political equality leaflets and souvenirs of various kinds were sent forth as propaganda. The report of Mrs. Catt, chairman of the Committee on Literature, showed that it had provided 62,000 of these pieces and had printed about 100,000 during the year. Miss Anthony had presented to the association ten sets of the History of Woman Suffrage and eighty copies of the new Volume IV to be sold, Miss Hauser said. Headquarters were maintained at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. The work inaugurated by Miss Anthony of securing resolutions for woman suffrage from conventions of various kinds was successfully continued. Fraternal delegates were sent to national conventions and the U. S. National Council of Women had created a Committee on Political Equality. Nineteen State organizations adopted resolutions endorsing woman suffrage; fraternal delegates from suffrage associations were sent to eighteen other State gatherings and the question was given a hearing at six Territorial conventions; greetings were sent to three, literature distributed in four and woman suffrage day observed in three State gatherings. Add to these the 283 societies (not suffrage) which reported adopting resolutions on the Statehood Protest and there is positive knowledge that the question was before and received favorable action from 339 societies in 1904. A full report was given of the effort to obtain woman

suffrage planks in the platforms of the political parties, delegates from the association being sent to all. [See Chapter XXIII.]

An outstanding feature of the year's achievements was what was known as the Statehood Protest. At the beginning of the 58th Congress a bill passed the Lower House providing for the admission to Statehood of Oklahoma, Indian, Arizona and New Mexico Territories under the names of Oklahoma and Arizona. It contained a clause saying that "the right of suffrage should never be abridged except on account of illiteracy, minority, *sex*, conviction of felony or mental condition." The association's legal adviser, Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch of Chicago, was consulted by Mrs. Upton and Miss Hauser the preceding June as to how the word "sex" could be eliminated. She took the matter under consideration and laid her plan before the Business Committee in September. It called for a nationwide protest from women's organizations and individuals. The committee approved but did not feel able to make a sufficient appropriation. The report continued:

When the result was communicated to Mrs. McCulloch by letter she answered post-haste: "We dare not let this work go undone. I will raise the money for it myself." The headquarters undertook to do the work. We appealed to the president or the corresponding secretary for directories of associations and as fast as names were secured copies of the circular letter of the **Woman's Protest Committee**, written by Miss Blackwell, were sent out. This letter was signed by twenty-six women, among them presidents of the following national organizations: Council of Women, Council of Jewish Women, Woman Suffrage Association, Teachers' Federation, Catholic Women's League, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, Lutheran Women's League, Congress of Mothers, etc., and 34,000 were sent out with 28,000 leaflets, "Why Women Should Protest." Perhaps no more spontaneous response was ever given to anything than to this letter. All sorts of societies, not of women only but of men and of men and women, protested. More than 400 reported their action to headquarters. The number of individuals who reported that they had written to Senator Albert J. Beveridge (Ind.), chairman of the Committee on Territories, and to their own Senators was so great that we could not keep a record. Newspapers the country over commented on the matter, hundreds of clippings on the subject sometimes being received in one mail.

What was the result? Under date of Dec. 16, 1904, Senator Beveridge notified headquarters that the Senate Committee had

unanimously voted to strike out the objectionable word "in accordance with your very reasonable request." It was a great victory and more than paid for the labor. Mrs. McCulloch was as good as her word and raised the money to defray all the expenses, giving \$100 herself and securing from her friend and ours, Mrs. Elmina Springer of Chicago, \$500; Mrs. Mary Wood Swift of California, president of the National Council of Women, contributed \$50; our own president, Miss Shaw, gave \$25 and there were some small contributions. The work was most economically done, the printing and envelopes costing \$118, the postage over \$300 and a balance was left.<sup>1</sup>

The report of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, national treasurer, showed receipts for the year to be \$14,662, including bequests of \$4,237 from Mrs. Henrietta L. Banker of New York and \$500 from Mrs. Armilla J. Starr of Michigan; \$2,000 from Mrs. Charlotte A. Cleveland of New York and \$100 each from Mrs. Jonas Green of Virginia and Mrs. Helen J. Underwood of California. The disbursements were \$12,437. Miss Hauser asked for the money for the next year's work and \$4,614 were quickly subscribed. A large number of \$50 life memberships were taken. One hundred one-dollar pledges were made in memory of Sacajawea. Mrs. Catt guaranteed that Mrs. Upton and herself would raise \$3,000 for the Oregon campaign.

Henry B. Blackwell, chairman of the Presidential Suffrage Committee, gave the welcome information that the U. S. Supreme Court through Chief Justice Fuller had rendered a decision that "the power of every State Legislature in the appointment of presidential electors is plenary, exclusive and final." The report of Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, chairman of the Libraries Committee, was read by Mrs. Blankenburg and showed that thus far a bibliography of 823 books, pamphlets, etc., on woman suffrage had been compiled. One book bore the date of 1627. Another had the title "No Female Suffrage; Theology, Logic, Anatomy, Physiology and Philology United to Establish the Truism that Woman is No Human Being." Mrs. Blankenburg went as fraternal delegate to the convention of the National Libraries Association meeting in Portland at this time and gave

<sup>1</sup> If this request was so "reasonable" why was the word "sex" included in the first place? Although it was omitted from the Act of Congress which admitted these Territories to Statehood under the names of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma, each one adopted a constitution whose suffrage clause absolutely barred women and those constitutions were approved by Congress. (See their special chapters.)

part of this report, which was received with much interest and cooperation was promised.

The report of Mrs. Elnora M. Babcock, chairman of the Press Committee, was as complete and valuable as usual. It said that 80,000 general suffrage articles had been sent out and 6,000 papers supplied by the chairman and committee since the last convention. Each paper in Portland had been furnished with personal sketches of every officer and speaker connected with the convention and copies of all the reports and speeches that could be obtained, as was customary wherever a convention was held. In referring to special articles she said that 5,000 copies from members of the association and residents of Colorado had been sent out in answer to the charges that woman suffrage was responsible for the recent election frauds in that State, which seemed to be made by every opponent who could wield a pen. Answers were widely distributed to the report of the Mosely Educational Commission sent here from Great Britain, and the Male Teachers' Association of New York, to the effect that women should not be employed to teach boys over ten years of age and that teaching was interfering with the marriage of many women and keeping them from their proper place in the world. The article of former President Grover Cleveland in the *Ladies' Home Journal* denouncing women's clubs and particularly suffrage clubs had been almost universally commented on by the press and required extensive attention. A reply to Cardinal Gibbons's address to the women graduates of Trinity College, Washington, by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper was sent to eighty metropolitan papers and hundreds of shorter ones were scattered broadcast. The excellent work of the various State press chairman was described.

One afternoon was devoted to a conference on How Can We Best Utilize the Press? Mrs. Harper presided and nearly twenty speakers took part. One of the Portland papers commented: "If the great political organs of the United States knew how well these women have the tricks of the trade at their fingers' ends they would employ special detectives to watch for suffrage literature in disguise." Mr. Lathrop, editor of the *Portland Journal*, said: "A newspaper man in his official capacity is not an edu-

cator but a seller of news. One who would treat a suffrage convention as a negligible quantity would lose his job. The question is not how you can get matter about women into the papers but how you can keep it out." Mrs. Florence Kelley added: "We all know to our sorrow that women cannot keep out of the papers but the question is how to get our subject in them in a way to promote it. I can recommend the following method: Write something in editorial style just about as you want it to appear and send it to the editor with a deprecatory note to the effect that it is only raw material but perhaps it could be whipped into an editorial by his able pen. The chances are that the first time he is hard up for one he will use it—probably beheaded or with the end off or the middle amputated to show that the editor is editing, but it will be published."

Miss Anthony was asked for reminiscences of her famous paper, the *Revolution*, published in New York in 1868-70. Mrs. Duniway gave an interesting account of her paper, the *New Northwest*, begun in 1871 in Portland and continued for a number of years with the help of her five young sons. She expressed her love for the *Woman's Journal*, "the dear, reliable, old paper started by Lucy Stone and kept going by the heroic efforts of her husband and daughter," and many joined in this expression. Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby (D. C.), editor of the *Woman's Tribune*, told of the press conference at the International Council of Women. Mrs. Julia B. Nelson (Minn.) and Miss Amanda Way (Ind.) were among the veteran writers who spoke. Miss Blackwell gave experienced advice and a number of younger women made brief but clever suggestions.

An interesting part of the convention was Woman's Day at the Exposition on June 30 and this day had been chosen for the dedication of the statue of Sacajawea, the Indian woman who led the Lewis and Clark Expedition thousands of miles through the wilderness unknown to white men. It was thus described: "The statue, a beautiful creation in bronze, was the work of Miss Alice Cooper of Denver, a pupil of Lorado Taft, the figure full of buoyancy and animation, a shapely arm suggestive of strength pointing to the distant sea, the face radiant, the head thrown back, the eyes full of daring." The exercises

were in charge of the Order of Red Men and the Women's Sacajawea Association, Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, president, and on the platform facing the statue prominent members of the convention sat with President Goode, of the Exposition, Mayor Lane and other dignitaries. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Duniway spoke during the unveiling and presentation ceremonies and Dr. Shaw pronounced the benediction. [See Oregon chapter.]

The afternoon session of the convention was held in Festival Hall on the grounds and greetings were offered for organizations, including the Young Woman's Christian Association by Mrs. L. E. Rockwell and Women's Medical Association by Dr. Esther C. Pohl. Dr. Sarah A. Kendall of Washington responded. The Los Angeles Suffrage Club sent a greeting and Mrs. Helen Secor Tonjes brought one from the New York City Equal Suffrage League. Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman gave an original poem. Mrs. Mabel Craft Deering, a graduate of California State University and the Hastings Law School of San Francisco, read an able paper on Coeducation. Its sentiments were strongly endorsed by Professor William S. Giltner, president of Eminence College, Kentucky, one of the earliest women's colleges, from its beginning in 1858 to its close in 1894. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, under the title, *Sowing the Seed*, gave an interesting account of the early trials of her mother and two aunts, the pioneer doctors, Elizabeth and Emily Blackwell. The Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, an aunt by marriage, the pioneer woman minister, who was on the platform, said: "Ever since I made my first suffrage speech in 1848 I have believed that the cause of woman suffrage was the cause of religion and vice versa." Mrs. Maud Wood Park read the eloquent address of Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead on *The Organization of the World*.

Mrs. May Arkwright Hutton (Idaho), who spoke for the equal suffrage States, gave this unique reminiscence of her early life in Ohio when William McKinley, a young lawyer, after speaking in the town hall, was a guest of her grandfather. She said in part: "Mr. McKinley carried the lantern, leading me by the hand, while I led grandfather, we little dreaming that the kindly young man guiding a child and an old, blind man through the wintry night would some day guide the destiny of

the nation. On reaching home, I brought cider, apples and doughnuts from the cellar that we might have what grandfather called a 'schold check' before going to bed. The fire roared in the wide chimney place; grandfather sat in his armchair, Mr. McKinley opposite and I on a low stool between them. They talked of the late war, reconstruction and woman's rights. Then it was that I learned that women were denied rights enjoyed by men. Mr. McKinley deplored the fact and contended that woman was the intellectual equal of man and should be his political equal. Patting my head he said: 'I believe when this lassie grows up she will be a voter.'"

At the close of the session a reception for Miss Anthony and the officers, speakers and delegates was given in the Oregon building by its hostess, Dr. Annice Jeffreys (Mrs. Jefferson) Myers, assisted by Mrs. Coe, the State president. The big reception hall and the parlors were filled with visitors from all parts of the country. The *Oregonian* said: "When Miss Anthony, the honored guest, reached the Oregon building the band played Auld Lang Syne and the crowds became so dense that it was with difficulty Dr. Myers could escort her to the parlors. Here she stood in line for more than an hour, women and men pressing around her wanting just a word and they got it! She declared that it did not make her nearly so tired as she used to feel when nobody wanted to take her hand." In a letter to the *Woman's Journal* Miss Blackwell said: "Both in the convention and at all the social functions Miss Anthony has been the central figure, the object of general admiration and affection. It is the strongest possible contrast to the unpopularity and persecution of her early days. All these attentions were most gratifying to the members of the convention, who appreciated her courage and devotion in making this long journey at the age of 85, and afterwards they were remembered with especial pleasure because it was the last in which she was able to take an active part."

The social courtesies during the convention were unbounded. The Woman's Club gave a large evening reception in the rooms of the Commercial Club and Mrs. Arthur H. Breyman, its president, opened her handsome residence for an afternoon tea. Mrs. Coe gave a dinner party of about thirty, her lovely home

decorated in yellow flowers, the suffrage color. Mrs. Hutton had a handsome dinner of thirty covers at the Portland Hotel and the Ode which she had written and dedicated to the convention was sung by Mrs. Alice Mason Barnett of San Francisco here and at the convention. Private dinners and teas were of daily occurrence and the drives around this beautiful city and its environs were a never failing delight.

At one evening session C. E. S. Wood (Ore.) spoke on The Injustice of Majority Rule in a cynical strain, believing that woman suffrage was right but fearing it would not do as much good as its advocates hoped for. Now suffrage meant "little stuffed men going to a little stuffed ballot box" and he was afraid "women would take their place on the chess board to be moved in the game by some power they did not see." After he had finished Dr. Shaw observed: "I would rather be a little stuffed woman having my own say than to be ruled by a little stuffed man without my consent, and the only way we will cease to have little stuffed men is for them to be born of free mothers."

Dr. Harriet B. Jones of Wheeling, W. Va., told of the unsuccessful campaign to have Municipal suffrage for women included in its new charter. "The anti-suffrage women of New York and Massachusetts," she said, "flooded the newspapers with literature and the heaviest opposing vote came from the lowest and most ignorant sections of the city." In answer to the request of the Wheeling women the National Association had sent Miss Hauser to take charge of the campaign and appropriated funds for it. A telegram to Dr. Shaw from Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, was read, saying: "Kindly convey fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates of your convention and the earnest expression of our hope for the enfranchisement and disenthralment of women." A telegram of greeting was received from Mrs. Frederick Schoff, president of the National Congress of Mothers. One came from the National Suffrage Association of Denmark.

Mrs. Harper gave an address under the subject Facing the Situation, showing the satire of the disfranchisement of one-half the citizens in a Government boasting of being founded on individual representation. In closing she said: "Eastward the



star of woman's empire takes its way. She does not look for the star in the East but for the star in the West. Her sun of political freedom rose not in the East but in the West. It is to the strong, courageous and progressive men of the western States that the women of this whole country are looking for deliverance from the bondage of disfranchisement. It is these men who must start this movement and give it such momentum that it will roll irresistibly on to the very shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Today the eyes of the whole country are on this beautiful and progressive State. This magnificent Exposition has been a revelation of its splendid powers. It is an anomaly, a contradiction, a reproach indeed that in the midst of these wonderful achievements one-half of its citizens should be in absolute political subjection, without voice or share in affairs of State. Are you not ready now to wipe out that paltry 2,000 majority which five years ago voted to continue this unjust condition? Would it not add the crowning glory to this greatest period in your history if the free men of Oregon should decree that this shall be, henceforth and forever, the land also of free women?" The Rev. J. Burgette Short expressed regret that his church, the Methodist Episcopal, had refused to ordain Dr. Shaw and said it was much poorer in consequence. "You represent the brains of the world," he said to the delegates, "and you have my hearty interest and support in your work."

A noteworthy address was made by the Hon. W. S. U'Ren, known as "the father of the Initiative and Referendum," which was then in its early stages but had been adopted by Oregon and some other States. The convention was much impressed by this innovation, as the suffragists had long struggled against the refusal of Legislatures to submit their question to the voters, and Mrs. Catt offered a resolution that "the convention affirms its belief in the Initiative and Referendum as a needed reform and a potent factor in the progress of true democracy." It was enthusiastically received and later adopted by the convention, contrary to the habit of the association to consider only subjects relating directly to women and children.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In later years woman suffrage amendments were submitted to the voters through the Initiative and Referendum after the Legislature had refused to do it and were carried

Under the pen name of Lucas Malet, Mrs. Mary St. Leger Harrison, a daughter of Charles Kingsley who was a strong believer in woman suffrage, had published an article in the London *Fortnightly Review* attacking it and quoting President Roosevelt as an opponent. A long resolution giving his favorable record for the past twenty-five years on questions relating to women was presented and adopted, against the judgment of many delegates. A committee was appointed to ask him for a more definite expression on woman suffrage.<sup>2</sup>

Telegrams of greeting were sent to veterans in the cause—Mrs. Laura de Force Gordon, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, Mrs. Ellen Clark Sargent of California; Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick of Louisiana; Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Col. T. W. Higginson, Mrs. Judith W. Smith of Massachusetts; Mrs. Armenia S. White of New Hampshire; Miss Laura Moore of Vermont; Mrs. Margaret W. Campbell of Iowa.

The Committee on Legislation for Civil Rights, Mrs. Blankenburg, chairman, reported that among measures the suffragists had worked for, the child labor laws had been strengthened in New York, Pennsylvania and California; the "age of consent" had been raised in Illinois and Oregon; laws had been passed in several States requiring that women should be appointed to public boards and women physicians to public institutions, Cali-

in Oregon and Arizona and defeated in Nebraska and Missouri. Still later by this method the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in Ohio by the Legislature was sent to the voters after they had defeated the ratification of the Prohibition Amendment. This was attempted in several other States and both prohibitionists and suffragists were in great distress, which was relieved by a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that this action was unconstitutional. They learned, however, that the Initiative and Referendum has its harmful as well as its beneficial side.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Anthony and Mrs. Upton went to Washington in November, where Mrs. Harper joined them, and on the 15th President Roosevelt received them cordially and granted them a long interview. Miss Anthony was the principal spokesman and made these requests: 1. To mention woman suffrage in his speeches when practicable. 2. To put experienced women on boards and commissions relating to such matters as they would be competent to pass upon. 3. To recommend to Congress a special committee to investigate the practical working of woman suffrage where it exists. 4. To see that Congress should not discriminate against the women of the Philippines as it had done against those of Hawaii. 5. To say something that would help the approaching suffrage campaign in Oregon. 6. To speak to the national suffrage convention in Baltimore in February, as he did to the Mothers' Congress. 7. To recommend to Congress a Federal Suffrage Amendment before he left the presidency.

These requests were given to him in typewritten form but President Roosevelt did not comply with one of them and did not communicate further with the committee who called upon him. For full account of this occurrence see *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, page 1375.

fornia leading. In Massachusetts a petition that women might take part in nominating candidates for the school board, for which they were allowed to vote, signed by 100,000 women, was refused by the Legislature. School suffrage was granted to women in the first class cities of Oklahoma.

Mrs. Mead, chairman of the Committee on Peace and Arbitration seems to outshine the preceding one but last night's was the one in Portland; of the series of articles published in preparation for the International Peace Congress in Boston in 1904 and the work she had done in connection with it; of the many lectures given to universities and clubs and of the arrangements to have the public schools observe the anniversary of the first Hague Conference.

The *Oregonian* said: "Each program given by the convention seems to outshine the preceding one but last night's was the best thus far." The speakers were Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, former president of the Illinois Suffrage Association; the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell (N. J.); Mrs. Mary J. Coggeshall (Ia.); Miss Gail Laughlin (N. Y.); Judge Stephen A. Lowell, one of Oregon's leading jurists. Judge Lowell reviewed the political situation, the evils that had crept into the Government and the remedies that had been tried and failed and he summed up his conclusion by saying: "The reforms of the last century have come from women. Man has few to his credit because he could not measure them by the only standard he had mastered, that of the dollar. Witness the movement for female education led by Mary Lyon, the birth of the Red Cross in the work of Florence Nightingale, the institution of modern prison methods under the inspiration of Elizabeth Fry and the campaigns for temperance and social purity under the leadership of Frances Willard. The electorate needs the inspiring influence of women at the ballot box and the full mission of this republic to the world will never be met until she is admitted there. Not color or creed or sex but patriotic honesty must be the test of citizenship if the republic lives."

Mrs. Stewart took up the objections made by many of the clergy to woman suffrage and applied these to the ministers

themselves. "They should not vote," she said with fine sarcasm, "because like women they are exempt from jury duty. They seldom go to war—some of them are too old, others too delicate, some too near-sighted, some too far-sighted. Ministers as a rule are not heavy tax-payers. Many of them do not want to vote and do not use the vote they have. A preacher has not time to vote. It might lead him to neglect his pastoral duties. Political feeling often runs high and if he voted it might make quarrels in the church. The minister has a potent indirect influence. He would be contaminated by the corruption of politics. He is represented by his male relations; they are not as good and pure as he is and are probably immune from contamination by politics."

Mrs. Catt, who presided, in presenting the Rev. Mrs. Blackwell, one of the first to make the fight for the right of women to speak in public, said: "The combination of her sweet personality and her invincible soul has won friends for woman suffrage wherever she has gone." Her address on Suffrage and Education showed the evolution in woman's work. "My grandmother taught me to spin," she said, "but the men have relieved womankind from that task and as they have taken so many industrial burdens off of our hands it is our duty to relieve them of some of their burdens of State." Introducing Mrs. Coggeshall of Iowa Mrs. Catt said: "When I get discouraged I think of her and for many a year she has been one of my strongest inspirations." A Portland paper commented: "Her snow-white hair and demure face give no indication of the brilliant repartee and sharp argument of which she is capable." In her Word from the Middle West she said: "Its women are determined to have the ballot if they have to bear and raise the sons to give it to them. This scheme is in active operation. I myself have raised three—eighteen feet for woman suffrage—and others have done better. No bugle can ever sound retreat for the women of the Middle West." The *Oregonian* said of Miss Laughlin's address:

Her arguments are the straight, convincing kind that leave nothing for the other fellow to say. She comes to Oregon a lawyer of New York who is proudly boasted of, and justly, by her fellow workers as the woman who carried off the oratorical honors of Cornell and won

for that institution the championship in intercollegiate debating contests. . . . In asking for a "Square Deal" Miss Laughlin said:

"'A square deal for every man.' These words of President Roosevelt were more discussed during our last presidential campaign than was any party platform plank. The growing prominence of the doctrine of a square deal is of vital significance to us who stand for equal suffrage, as we ask only for this. It has been invoked chiefly against 'trusts.' We invoke the doctrine of a square deal against the greatest 'trust' in the world—the political trust—which is the most absolute monopoly because entrenched in law itself and because it is a monopoly of the greatest thing in the world, of liberty itself. The exclusion of women from participation in governmental affairs means the going to waste of a vast force, which, if utilized, would be a great power in the advance of civilization. . . . But there depends on the success of the equal suffrage movement something more valuable even than national prosperity and that is the preservation of human liberty. Now, as in 1860, 'the nation cannot remain half slave and half free,' and either women must be made free or men will lose the liberty which they enjoy."

Sunday services were conducted at 4:30 in the First Congregational church by the Rev. Eleanor Gordon, pastor of the First Unitarian church of Des Moines, Ia., assisted by Dr. Shaw and the Rev. Eliza Tupper Wilkes of Los Angeles, with a special musical program. Miss Gordon had filled the Unitarian pulpit in the morning, giving an eloquent sermon on Revelations of God. Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman had preached in the Congregational church in the morning and the Rev. Mrs. Blackwell in the evening. Miss Laura Clay gave a Bible reading and exposition in the Taylor Street Methodist Episcopal church in the evening. The Rev. J. Whitcomb Brougher, pastor of the White Temple, the large Baptist church, invited Miss Anthony to occupy its pulpit and expound "any doctrine she had at heart." The *Oregonian* said: "She took him at his word and got in some of the best words for suffrage that have been put before the Portland public. There was such enthusiasm over the venerable founder and leader of the suffrage movement that when she appeared on the rostrum the applause was as vigorous as though it had not been Sunday and the place a church. There was not room in the big Temple for another person to squeeze past the doors." The papers quoted liberally from the sermons of all and the *Portland Journal* said: "Each preached to a congregation that taxed the capacity of the church. . . . The

welcome accorded the women by the Portland pastors was sharply in contrast with the hostility shown by the clergy when equal suffrage conventions began in the middle of the last century.<sup>1</sup>

The Monday evening session was opened by Willis Duniway, who gave a glowing appreciation of the work of the National American Suffrage Association and said in the course of a strong speech that he wanted to see woman suffrage because it was right and because he wanted the brave pioneer women who had worked for it so long to get it before they passed away. "I want my mother to vote," he declared amid applause.<sup>2</sup> "The basis of safe and sane government is justice, which has its roots in constitutional liberty and means equal rights and opportunities. . . . I claim no right or privilege for myself that I would not give to my mother, wife and sister and to every law-abiding citizen." When he had finished his mother rose and said dryly: "That, dear women from the north, east, south and west, is one of Mrs. Duniway's poor, neglected children!"

Miss Mary N. Chase, president of the New Hampshire Association, spoke convincingly on *The Vital Question*, taking as the keynote: "A republic based on equal rights for all is not the dream of a fanatic but the only sane form of government." I. N. Fleischner, who had just been elected to the school board largely by the votes of women, assured the convention of his approval and support of the measures it advocated and said he hoped to see the women enjoying the full right of suffrage in Oregon in the very near future.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, executive secretary of the National Consumers' League, spoke with deeper understanding than would be possible for any other woman of *The Young Bread-winner's Need*. "We have in this country," she said, "2,000,000 children under the age of sixteen who are earning their bread. They vary in age from six and seven in the cotton mills of Georgia, eight, nine and ten in the coal-breakers of Pennsylvania and

<sup>1</sup> Different sessions were opened with prayer by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Father Black and the Reverends Elwin L. House, H. M. Barden, E. S. Muckley, J. Burgette Short, J. Whitcomb Brougher, E. Nelson Allen, Edgar P. Hill, W. S. Gilbert, A. A. Morrison, T. L. Eliot, Asa Sleeth, J. F. Ghormley, George Creswell Cressey, representing various denominations. Nearly all of them pledged their support to the suffrage movement. The fine musical programs throughout the convention were in charge of Mrs. M. A. Dalton.

<sup>2</sup> Oregon gave suffrage to women in 1912 and Mrs. Duniway received full recognition. See Oregon chapter.

fourteen, fifteen and sixteen in more enlightened States. . . . In some of the States children from six to thirteen may legally be compelled to work the whole night of twelve hours," and she described the heart-breaking conditions under which they toil. She urged the need of woman's votes to destroy the great evil of child labor and said: "We can enlist the workingmen on behalf of our enfranchisement just in proportion as we strive with them to free the children."

In introducing Mr. Blackwell, Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, who was presiding, said: "As we came across the continent what impressed me most was the mountains. First came the foothills, then the high mountains and then the grand, snow clad peaks. Some of us are like the foothills, just raised a little above the women who have all the rights they want; then come those on a higher level of public spirit and service, who are like the mountains; and then the pioneers rising above all like the snow covered peaks." Taking the ground that "the perpetuity of republican institutions depends on the speedy extension of the suffrage to women," Mr. Blackwell said in his sound, logical address: "How can we reach the common sense of the plain people, without whose approval success is impossible? . . . A purely masculine government does not fully represent the people, the feminine qualities are lacking. It is a maxim among political thinkers that 'every class that votes makes itself felt in the government.' Women as a class differ more widely from men than any one class of men differs from another. To give the ballot to merchants and lawyers and deny it to farmers would be class legislation, which is always unwise and unjust, but there is no class legislation so complete as an aristocracy of sex. Men have qualities in which they are superior to women; women have qualities in which they are superior to men, both are needed. Women are less belligerent than men, more peaceable, temperate, chaste, economical and law-abiding, with a higher standard of morals and a deeper sense of religious obligation, and these are the very qualities we need to add to the aggressive and impulsive qualities of men."

The *Journal* in commenting on this address said: "A venerable and historical figure is that of Henry B. Blackwell, who in

company with his daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell, is in attendance upon the national suffrage convention. This snowy-haired, white-bearded patriarch embodies in his voice, his presence, his interest in every passing event, in his appreciation of every beauty of earth and sky, in the shifting panorama of nature, the loyal spirit of freedom, the true spirit of manhood that has dominated his passing years." <sup>1</sup>

A valuable report on Industrial Problems Relating to Women and Children was made by Mrs. Kelley, chairman of the committee, which she began by saying that during 1905 eleven States had improved their Child Labor Laws or adopted new ones and in every State suffragists had helped secure these laws. She said that wherever woman suffrage was voted on its weakness proved to be among the wage-earners of the cities and she urged that the association submit to the labor organizations its bill in behalf of wage-earning women and children with a view to close cooperation. To the workingmen woman suffrage meant chiefly "prohibition" and an effort should be made to convince them that it includes assistance in their own legislative measures. Mrs. Kate S. Hilliard (Utah) answered the question, Will the Ballot Solve the Industrial Problem? Wallace Nash spoke on the work of the Christian Cooperative Federation. The leading address of the afternoon was made by Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago on The Educational Problem. "It is a strange anomaly in American public life," he said, "that we have given our schools largely into the hands of women who must teach history and patriotism but are not considered competent to vote. I plead for the same education for boys and girls and I urge you to take a deep interest in the public schools." He gave testimony to the excellent legislative work women had done along many lines and declared that "women pay taxes and do public service and hold up before men the standard of righteousness and they ought to have a vote," and closed by saying: "We need appeals to

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Blackwell, then 80 years old, used to rise early in the morning and take a trolley ride of thirty or forty miles in various directions to enjoy the beauties of nature. "Feeling unwilling to return east without bathing in the Pacific," he said in one of his letters, "and wishing to visit Astoria, the ancient American fur-post so charmingly immortalized by Washington Irving, I left Portland after the convention closed and had a beautiful voyage of nine hours down the river to where it meets the ocean. . . . After an early morning plunge into the big waves we chartered an auto and sped over the hard sands to the fir-crowned cliffs."



the heart and conscience in our schools and a revival of conscience. We need a standard of character and conscience and women can bring it into the schools much better than men can. The woman, because she is a woman, is less easily corrupted than the man who has forgotten that he had a mother. If we must disfranchise somebody, it would better be many of the men than the women."

At one meeting Judge Roger S. Greene, who was Chief Justice of the Territory of Washington when the majority of the Supreme Court gave a decision which took away the suffrage from women and who loyally tried to preserve it for them, was invited to the platform and received an ovation. At another time Judge William Galloway, a veteran suffragist, was called before the convention, and after referring to his journey to Oregon by ox-team in 1852 told of his conversion by Mrs. Duniway when he was a member of the Legislature at the age of 21. National conventions were of daily occurrence during the Exposition and a number of them called for addresses by Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw and other suffrage speakers. At the evening session preceding the last Miss Mary S. Anthony, 78 years old, read in a clear, strong voice the Declaration of Sentiments adopted at the famous first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848, which she had signed. The rest of the evening of July 4 was given to what the *Woman's Journal* spoke of as "Mrs. Catt's noble address," *The New Time*, beginning:

This is a glorious Fourth of July. In a hundred years the United States has grown into a mighty nation. This last has been a century of wonderful material development, but we celebrate not for this. July 4 commemorates the birth of a great idea. All over the world, wherever there is a band of revolutionists or of evolutionists, today they celebrate our Fourth. The idea existed in the world before but it was never expressed in clear, succinct, intelligible language until the American republic came into being. . . . Taxation without representation is tyranny, it always was tyranny, it always will be tyranny, and it makes no difference whether it be the taxation of black or white, rich or poor, high or low, man or woman. . . . The United States has lost its place as the leading exponent of democracy. Australia and New Zealand have out-Americanized America. Let us not forget that progress does not cease with the 20th century. We say our institutions are liberal and just. They may be liberal but they are not just for they are not derived from the consent of the

governed. What is your own mental attitude toward progress? If you should meet a new idea in the dark, would you shy? Robespierre said that the only way to regenerate a nation was over a heap of dead bodies but in a republic the way to do it is over a heap of pure, white ballots.

"Mrs. Catt was awarded the Chautauqua salute when she appeared on the platform," said the *Oregonian*, "and it was some minutes before the former president of the association could proceed. She spoke eloquently and at considerable length and in this assemblage of remarkably bright women it was plain to be seen that she was a star of the first magnitude." It was hard for the convention to accede to Mrs. Catt's determination to retire from even the vice-presidency of the association because of her continued ill health but they yielded because this was so evident. Mrs. Florence Kelley was the choice for this office and in accepting she said: "I was born into this cause. My great-aunt, Sarah Pugh of Philadelphia, attended the meeting in London which led to the first suffrage convention in 1848. My father, William D. Kelley, spoke at the early Washington conventions for years." Dr. Eaton was again obliged to give up the office of second auditor on account of her professional duties and Dr. Annice Jeffreys Myers, who had so successfully planned and managed the convention, was almost unanimously elected. No other change was made in the board.

Among the excellent resolutions presented by the chairman of the committee, Mr. Blackwell, were the following:

Whereas, the children of today are the republic of the future; and whereas two million children today are bread-winners; and whereas the suffrage movement is deeply interested in the welfare of these children and suffragists are actively engaged in securing protection for them; and whereas working-men voters are also vitally interested in protection for the young bread-winners; therefore,

Resolved, That it is desirable that our bills for civil rights and political rights, together with the bills for effective compulsory education and the proposal for prohibiting night work and establishing the eight-hour day for minors under eighteen years of age, be submitted to the organizations of labor and their cooperation secured.

The frightful slaughter in the Far East shows the imperative need of enlisting in government the mother element now lacking; therefore we ask women to use their utmost efforts to secure the creation of courts of international arbitration which will make future warfare forever afterwards unnecessary.

We protest against all attempts to deal with the social evil by applying to women of bad life any such penalties, restrictions or compulsory medical measures as are not applied equally to men of bad life; and we protest especially against any municipal action giving vice legal sanction and a practical license. . . . We recommend one moral standard for men and women.

The list of Memorial Resolutions was long and included many prominent advocates of woman suffrage. Among those of California were Mrs. Leland Stanford, Judge E. V. Spencer and the veteran workers, Mrs. E. O. Smith and Sarah Burger Stearns, the latter formerly of Minnesota; Jas. P. McKinney and Jas. B. Callanan of Iowa; Helen Coffin Beedy of Maine. Twenty-two names were recorded from Massachusetts, among them the Hon. George S. Boutwell, President Elmer H. Capen, of Tufts College; the Hon. William Claflin, the Rev. George C. Lorimer, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney; Mrs. Martha E. Root, a Michigan pioneer; Grace Espey Patton Cowles, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Montana. The Rev. Augusta Chapin, D.D., Dr. Phoebe J. B. Waite, Bishop Huntington, James W. Clarke, Dr. Cordelia A. Greene, were among the ten from New York; Mayor Samuel M. Jones, among seven from Ohio. Five pioneers of Pennsylvania had passed away, John K. Wildman, Richard P. White, Mrs. Mary E. Haggart, Miss Matilda Hindman, Miss Anna Hallowell. Cyrus W. Wyman of Vermont and Orra Langhorne of Virginia were other deceased pioneers; also Mrs. Rebecca Moore and Mrs. Margaret Preston Tanner, who were among the earliest workers in Great Britain.

Special resolutions were adopted for Mrs. Mary A. Livermore and U. S. Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts; Col. Daniel R. Anthony of Kansas; Mrs. Louisa Southworth of Ohio. The eloquent resolutions prepared by Mr. Blackwell ended: "Never before in a single year have we had to record the loss of so many faithful suffragists. Let the pioneers who still survive close up their ranks and rejoice in the accession of so many young and vigorous advocates, who will carry on the work to a glorious consummation." The California delegation presented the following resolution, which was enthusiastically adopted: "Resolved, That we remember with the deepest gratitude the one man who has stood steadfast at the helm, notwithstanding

constant ridicule and belittlement on the part of the press during the early years of the work, unselfishly and unceasingly devoting his life to the self-imposed task year after year, never faltering, never seeking office or honors but always a worker; one who has grown gray in the service—Henry B. Blackwell.”

Invitations were received to hold the next convention in Washington, Chicago and Baltimore. The by-law requiring that every alternate convention must be held in Washington during the first session of Congress was amended to read “may be held.” The *Woman's Journal* said: “Miss Anthony favored the change and Mr. Blackwell opposed it—an amusing fact to those who remember how strongly he used to advocate a movable annual convention and Miss Anthony a stationary one in Washington. Evidently neither of them is so fossilized as to be unable to see new light.” The invitation of the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association was accepted.

The dominant interest of the convention had been in a prospective campaign for a woman suffrage amendment to the constitution of Oregon. The Legislature had refused to submit it but under the Initiative and Referendum law this could be done by petition. Public sentiment throughout the State seemed to indicate that it was now ready to enfranchise women and officials from the Governor down believed an amendment could be carried. All the officers of the State Suffrage Association had joined in the invitation to the National Association to hold its convention of 1905 in Portland and inaugurate the campaign and to assist it in every possible way. After the report of the State vice-president, Dr. Annice Jeffreys Myers, had been read to the convention of 1904 a resolution had been moved by Mrs. Catt, seconded by Miss Anthony and unanimously adopted, that the association accept this invitation and a pledge of \$3,000 had been made. Throughout the present convention the speeches of public officials and the pledges made on every hand encouraged the members to feel that the association should give all possible help in money and workers.<sup>1</sup>

The public was much impressed at the last session by the appearance on the platform of four prominent politicians of the

<sup>1</sup> For results the following year see Oregon chapter.

State representing the different parties and this was generally regarded as the opening of the campaign for woman suffrage. They were introduced by State Senator Henry Waldo Coe, M.D., who spoke in highest praise of homes and housekeepers as he had seen them in his practice and said: "The woman who takes an interest in the affairs of her country has the highest interest in her home, and the suffrage will not lessen her fitness as wife and mother." He introduced Mayor Harry Lane as the Democrat who carried a Republican city and who was the best mayor Portland ever had. Mr. Lane declared that women were as much entitled to the suffrage as men and that the enfranchisement of women would tend to purify politics. Dr. Andrew C. Smith, a Republican, was introduced as "the man who presented the names of thirteen women physicians to the State Medical Association and got them admitted." The press report said: "The prospective women voters were informed that they saw before them the next Governor of Oregon." Dr. Smith declared that he had been for woman suffrage twenty-five years and that "the United States was guilty of a national sin in not giving women equal rights." Thomas Burns, State Secretary of the Socialist party, asserted that it was the only one which had a plank for woman suffrage in its platform and the Socialists had fought for it all over the world. "Men have made a failure of government," he said, "now let the women try it." O. M. Jami-son, of the Citizens' movement, said: "We have found women the strongest factor in our work for reform and I think 99 per cent. of us are for woman suffrage." B. Lee Paget, who spoke for the Prohibitionists, declared himself an old convert to woman suffrage and said: "I think intelligent women far better fitted to vote on public measures than the majority of men who take part in campaigns and are wholly ignorant of the issues."

L. F. Wilbur of Vermont told of its improved laws for women and advancing public sentiment for woman suffrage and paid a glowing tribute to the early work in that State of Lucy Stone, Mr. Blackwell and Julia Ward Howe. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, president of the Massachusetts College Women's Suffrage League, gave a scholarly address on The Civic Responsibility of Women, which she began by saying that the first "new woman" was from

Boston—Anne Hutchinson. Dr. Marie D. Equi, candidate for inspector of markets, spoke briefly on the need of market inspection for which women were especially fitted. Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman (N. Y.) in discussing *Woman's World* said in part: "Ex-President Cleveland, after warning women against the clubs which are leading them straight to the abyss of suffrage, told us that 'the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world.' . . . Is it true? The Indian woman rocks the cradle; does she rule the world? The Chinese woman—the woman of the harem—do they rule it? An amiable old gentleman in opening a suffrage debate said: 'My wife rules me and if a woman can rule a man, why should she care to rule the country?' He seemed to think he was equal to the whole United States! Women have been taught that the home was their sphere and men have claimed everything else for themselves. The fact that women in the home have shut themselves away from the thought and life of the world has done much to retard progress. We fill the world with the children of 20th century A. D. fathers and 20th century B. C. mothers."

Miss Blackwell lightened the proceedings with some of her clever anecdotes with a suffrage moral, and Mrs. Gilman with several of her brilliant poems. Mrs. Catt gave a concise review of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, formed at Berlin in 1904, and told of the progress of woman suffrage in other countries. Greetings to all of them were sent by the convention. Dr. Shaw gave an impressive peroration to this interesting session by pointing out the responsibility resting on the men and women of Oregon to carry to success the campaign which they had now begun, and Miss Anthony closed the convention with a fervent appeal to all to work for victory.

The delegates and visitors greatly enjoyed the Exposition, which had such a setting as none ever had before, looking out on the dazzling beauty of the snowclad peaks of Mt. Hood and the Olympic Range, and now they had to select from the many opportunities for travel and sight-seeing. The Rev. Mrs. Blackwell, Emily Howland, Mrs. Cartwright of Portland and others from seventy to eighty years of age, took a steamer for Alaska. Mr. and Miss Blackwell and others went to Seattle,

Vancouver and home through the magnificent scenery of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Mrs. Catt and another party returned east by way of the Yellowstone Park. Dr. Cora Smith Eaton with a few daring spirits went for a climb of Mt. Hood. Miss Anthony with a group of friends started southward, stopping at Chico, California, for her to dedicate a park of 2,000 acres, which Mrs. Annic K. Bidwell had presented to the village. They went on to San Francisco where they were joined by Dr. Shaw, who had remained in Portland for the Medical Convention and spoken at several places en route. Here they were beautifully entertained in the homes of the suffrage leaders, Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, Mrs. Ellen Clark Sargent, Mrs. Mary S. Sperry, Mrs. Emma Shafter Howard and others, and mass meetings crowded to the doors were held in San Francisco and Oakland. From here they went to Los Angeles for other meetings, except Dr. Shaw, who started eastward for her round of Chautauqua engagements.

## CHAPTER VI.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1906.

The Thirty-eighth annual convention held in Baltimore Feb. 7-13, 1906, was notable in several respects. It had gone into the very heart of conservatism and a larger number of eminent men and women took part in its proceedings than had ever before been represented on a single program.<sup>1</sup> There were university presidents and professors, men and women; office holders, men and women; representatives of other large movements, men and women, and more distinguished women than had ever before assembled in one convention. It was especially memorable because of the presence on the platform together for the first and only time of the three great pioneers, Susan B. Anthony, Clara Barton and Julia Ward Howe, and never to be forgotten by suffragists as the last ever attended by Miss Anthony. Here was sung the Battle Hymn of the Republic in the presence of

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: Never have we had so much cause to issue a thanksgiving proclamation. Never has it been so easy to love our enemies, for they have combined to fight for us in their courses.

The inevitable logic of events is with us. All over the world intelligent women are interested in securing better protection for their homes and their children. . . . They are called upon to take part in civic affairs, and social and economic conditions force them into the world's broad field of battle where there is no place for non-combatants. The time has gone by for subterfuge and indirection. . . . The American Republic settles its questions in the light of day at the ballot box. No one, man or woman, has ever lost influence by the possession of power. We do not ask the ballot simply as a right, though if it be a right it cannot be rightfully denied us; we do not ask it as a privilege, though if it be a privilege it must be ours unless we admit the existence of a privileged class. We demand it because it is a duty and one which no good citizen has a right to shirk.

If you are indifferent come and be convinced. What we ask is not revolutionary but is the reasonable and just demand of every being living under a democratic form of government. If you are opposed, come and let us reason together, consider our points of agreement and waive for a moment those of difference. . . . Let us have the truth for authority and we shall not need authority for truth. . . .

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Honorary President.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.

FLORENCE KELLEY, Vice-President-at-Large.

KATE M. GORDON, Corresponding Secretary.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer.

LAURA CLAY,

ANNICE JEFFREYS MYERS, } Auditors.



the woman who wrote it, Mrs. Howe; and the Star Spangled Banner in the home of its author, Francis Scott Key.

The meetings were held in the beautifully decorated Lyric Theater with appreciative and enthusiastic audiences. The arrangements had been made by the Maryland Suffrage Association and its president, Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck. Ministers of nearly all denominations asked blessings on the various sessions and the best musical talent in the city gave its services. The papers were most generous with space and fair and friendly in their reports. Through the influence and efforts of Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, the remarkable representation of Women's Colleges was secured. Baltimore's most prominent woman, Miss Mary E. Garrett, was largely responsible for the social prestige which is especially necessary to success in a southern city. It was a convention long to be remembered by those who were so fortunate as to be a part of it.

The convention opened on the afternoon of February 7 with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the association, in the chair and was welcomed by Mrs. Funck, who said in a graceful speech: "You have come to the conservative South. Conservative—what a sweet-sounding word, what an ark for the timid soul! So you must expect to find a good many folks who mean well but who have not discarded their silver buckles and ruffles, but nothing will more clearly indicate the development of our people from provincialism and bigotry than their generosity of spirit and kindly intent towards the gathering of our clans in this convention. Most people have come to realize that to be a great nation we must have that catholicity of spirit which embraces all ologies and all isms. . . . From the suffrage pioneers we have learned the lessons of fair play and equal rights."

Fraternal greetings were offered by Mrs. Albert L. Sioussat, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Hattie Hull Troupe, president of the Women's Twentieth Century Club of Baltimore; Mrs. Rosa H. Goldenberg, president of the Maryland section Jewish Council of Women, and Mrs. Mary R. Haslup, president of the Baltimore Woman's Christian Temperance Union. As the vice-president of the association, Dr. Annice

Jeffreys Myers of Oregon, who was to respond, had been delayed en route. Dr. Shaw took her place, saying in answer to certain of the greetings: "In all my experience I have observed that those people are most likely to have their prayers answered who do everything they can to help God answer them; so while we may try by prayer to bring about the highest good not only in the State but in education and philanthropy, we hope to add to our prayers the citizen's power of the ballot. . . . We have never had a more generous welcome or a warmer hospitality offered to us and we thank you with all our heart. Whatever may happen while we are here, nothing can take away from us the beauty of the sunshine and the kindliness of your welcome."

The first evening session was opened with prayer by the Rev. John B. Van Meter, dean of the Woman's College, Baltimore, and music by a chorus of two hundred voices under the direction of William R. Hall. Governor Edwin Warfield made an eloquent address in which he said: "A man who would not extend a welcome to such a body of women would not be worthy the name of Maryland, which we consider a synonym of hospitality. Our doors are always wide open to friends and strangers, especially strangers. We are delighted to have you here. While I may not agree with all your teachings, I recognize one fact, that there never has been assembled in Baltimore a convention composed of women who have been more useful in this country and who have done more for the uplift of humanity. It was proper for you to come to Maryland, a State that was named for a woman, whose capital was named for a woman and whose motto is 'Manly deeds and womanly words.'" He paid glowing compliments to the splendid public service of Maryland women and said he would not have been elected Governor but for their kindly influence. He declared that he had been almost persuaded by the charming words of Mrs. Howe and said his wife was a "convert" and he "had been voting as a proxy for some time." He believed "the final solution of the question would be a referendum to the women themselves."

Dr. Shaw could not resist saying when she rose to introduce the next speaker: "So many have told us, as the Governor has, about being proxy-voters, that we think it is time they should be

relieved of that rôle and have an opportunity to do their own voting while we women attend to ours." Mayor Timanus was indisposed and the welcome for the city was given by the Hon. William F. Stone, Collector of the Port. He vied with the Governor in the warmth of his greeting and his splendid tributes to women and acknowledged his indebtedness for "all that he was or expected to be to his sainted mother and beloved wife," but, like the Governor, he could not give his full sanction to woman suffrage. When he had finished Dr. Shaw said with her winning smile and melodious voice: "We have the testimony of Governor Warfield and of Collector Stone that the best each has been able to accomplish has been due to the influence of good women. Now if a good woman can develop the best in an individual man, may not all the good women together develop the best in a whole State? I am glad of this strong point in favor of enfranchising women."

Miss Anthony was to have presided at this meeting and in referring to her absence on account of illness Dr. Shaw said: "I am not taking Miss Anthony's place this evening—there is only one Susan B. Anthony, but it is also true that there is only one Clara Barton and but one Julia Ward Howe and these grand women we have with us." Miss Barton, who, in her soft plum-colored satin with fichu of white lace, her dark hair parted smoothly over her forehead, did not seem over sixty although she was eighty-four, was enthusiastically received and said in part: "What greater honor and what greater embarrassment than to be asked to take ever so small a step on a platform that Susan B. Anthony had expected to tread. As I stand here tonight my thoughts go back to the time when Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Anthony were pioneers struggling for this righteous cause. I think the greatest reforms, the greatest progress ever made for any reforms in our country have been along the lines on which they worked. Miss Anthony's has been a long life. She has trod the thorny way, has walked through briars with bleeding feet, but it is through a sweet and lovely way now and the hearts of the whole country are with her. A few days ago some one said to me that every woman should stand with bared head before Susan B. Anthony. 'Yes,' I answered, 'and every man as well.'

I would not retract these words. I believe that man has benefited by her work as much as woman. For ages he has been trying to carry the burden of life's responsibilities alone and when he has the efficient help of woman he will be grateful. Just now it is new and strange and men cannot comprehend what it would mean but the change is not far away. The nation is soon to have woman suffrage and it will be a glad and proud day when it comes."

Mrs. Howe in the dignity of her eighty-seven years made a lovely picture in a gown of mauve satin with a creamy lace scarf draped about her head and shoulders. She was escorted to the front of the platform by the Governor and said in her brief response: "Madam president and you dear suffrage friends, and the rest of you who are going to become suffrage friends before we leave this city, I give you thanks for this friendly greeting. I am very, very glad to meet you all. I am not going to preach a sermon but I have a text from the New Testament, a question that the Lord asked when the crowd came to see him, 'What came ye out to see? A reed shaken with the wind?' No, it was a prophet that they came to see and hear. When you come to these suffrage meetings you do not come to see reeds shaken by the wind. We do not any of us claim to be prophets but you do come to hear a prophecy, a very glad prophecy which some of us have believed in and followed for years, and all the way of that following has been joyous and bright though it has not been popular. I remember many years ago going with Mrs. Livermore and Lucy Stone to a meeting in New England and the report was sent out that 'three old crows were coming to disturb the town with their croakings.' I can never forget that evening. When Mary Livermore looked the audience over in her calm and dignified manner they quieted down as if by magic. When reasonable measures are proposed in a reasonable way there are always some people who will respond and be convinced. We have no desire to put out of sight the difficulties of government. When we talk about woman suffrage people begin to remember how unsatisfactory manhood suffrage is, but I should like to see what men would do if there was an attempt to take it away. We might much improve it by bringing to it the feminine mind, which in

a way complements the masculine. I frankly believe that we have half the intelligence and good sense of humanity and that it is quite time we should express not only our sentiments but our determined will to set our faces toward justice and right and to follow these through the thorny wilderness if necessary—follow them straight, not to the 'bitter end,' for it will not be bitter but very sweet and I hope it will come before my end comes."

For the second time Dr. Shaw had written her president's address but although it was a statesmanlike document the audience missed the spontaneity, the sparkle of wit, the flashes of eloquence that distinguished her oratory above that of all others, and there was a general demand that hereafter she should give them the spoken instead of the written word. She complied and while it was a gain to the audiences of her day and generation it was a great loss to posterity. Even extended quotations can give little idea of this address which filled over ten columns of the *Woman's Journal*.

For the first time in the history of our association we meet to protest against the disenfranchisement of women in a State in which the first public demand for a part in the conduct of our government was made by a woman. It was in an impassioned appeal to your Assembly, that in 1647 Mistress Margaret Brent demanded "a part and voyce" as representative of the estate of her kinsman, Lord Baltimore, whose name your city bears. Here Mary Catherine Goddard published Baltimore's only newspaper through all the severe struggle of the Revolutionary War, and it is stated upon good authority that when Congress, then in session in Baltimore, sent out the official Declaration of Independence, with the names of the signers attached, it was published by official order in Miss Goddard's paper; that her name was on the sheet which was officially circulated throughout the country; but, although a memorial sheet was afterwards placed in the Court House, Miss Goddard's name was not left on it. This omission is but one of many evidences that in the compilation of the world's historic events it has been customary to overlook the part performed by women.

Dr. Shaw took up the section on Labor in President Roosevelt's recent message to Congress in which he recommended a thorough investigation of the condition of women in industry, saying: "There is an almost complete dearth of data on which to base any trustworthy conclusions," and then drawing this one:

"The introduction of women into industry is working change and disturbance in the domestic and social life of the nation; the decrease in marriage and especially in the birth-rate have been coincident with it." Dr. Shaw's comment was in part:

This is unquestionably true but it is also true that this has been coincident with the wider discovery of gold and the application of steam and electricity to mechanics . . . and to draw sweeping and universal conclusions in regard to a matter upon which there is an "almost complete dearth of data" is never wise. Is it true that there is a lower birth-rate among working women than among those of the wealthy class? Are not the effects of over-work and long hours in the household as great as are those of the factory or the office? Is the birth-rate less among women who are engaged in the occupations unknown to women of the past? Or is the decline alike marked among those who are pursuing the ancient occupations but under different conditions? . . . If conditions surrounding their employment are such as to make it a "social question of the first importance" it is unfortunate the President had not seen that women should constitute at least a part of any commission authorized to investigate it.

One can not but wish that with his expressed desire for "fair play" and his policy of "a square deal" it had occurred to the President that, if five million American women are employed in gainful occupations, every principle of justice would demand that they should be enfranchised to enable them to secure legislation for their own protection. In all governments a subject class is always at a disadvantage and at the mercy of the ruling class. It matters not whether its name be Empire, Kingdom or Republic, whether the rulers are one or many; and in a democracy there is no way known for any class to protect its interests or to be secure in its most sacred rights except through the power of the ballot. . . .

There had been about this time in high places an outburst of attacks on woman suffrage and predictions as to its dangerous possibilities. Dr. Shaw referred to their authors as Oracles and said: "The great difficulty is that when one Oracle claiming to be divinely inspired has laid down a specific line of conduct which if implicitly followed would lead to the proper development of woman, the happiness of man, the good of the family and the well-being of the State, another Oracle also divinely enlightened lays out a different path by which these ends may be secured, and then another and another until poor women if they should try to follow these self-appointed divine revealers would not only have

to be hydra-headed to see these devious paths but hydra-footed to walk in them." Referring to Cardinal Gibbons, she said:

The Oracle of Baltimore tells us that the education and culture of women are good up to a certain point, no further, but he sagely fails to define the point, simply declaring that "too much education of the head is apt to cool the heart; the cultivation of the soul is too much neglected in the higher education; the head and the heart and the body should all be educated together; then they develop equally." There certainly can be no disagreement among us as to the latter statement but why is it more applicable to women than to men? The Oracle does not leave us in doubt as to his view, for in response to the question, "What do you think of the societies and club organizations which attract women so largely just now?" he replies: "A society like the Daughters of the American Revolution I heartily approve of, for it tends to foster patriotism and keep it alive, but other clubs of all kinds for women I strictly disapprove of."

The Oracle of Princeton, ex-President Cleveland, who has gained the most notoriety for his heavy diatribes against women's clubs, also admits that there are a few societies which it might be well for women to encourage and keep alive—religious organizations and those which administer to the needs of the heathen in a foreign land. The Oracle of Brooklyn, Dr. Lyman Abbott, adds a few more to the list and includes philanthropic, reform and social clubs. Would it be unwomanly to ask why there should have been such wide divergence in the Divine Illumination which each Oracle received?

Dr. Shaw quoted from Mr. Roosevelt: "The President of the United States does not absent himself from the country during the term of his presidency, it is his domain. So should it be with woman; she is queen of her empire and that empire is the home," and after reminding him that the President's term lasts but four or eight years she asked: "What do men mean by saying that women should remain contentedly in their homes? They do not intend us to understand that we are never to leave them, for they are frequently calling us forth when conditions become so intolerable that even men can no longer endure them. Then they call upon women to come out from the seclusion and protection of their homes and aid them to 'save the city and the State.'" She pointed out the difference between the time when the home was "a protective and industrial center" and now when "the results of electricity and steam have scattered the households," but in picturing the advance that women had made in their own domain she said: "There never was a time when

there was as large a number of good housekeepers and homemakers; when there was as much intelligence shown in the scientific preparation of food; such knowledge of household sanitation; such reverence for individual life; such painstaking study of the needs and rights of childhood; when there was so much thought given to the development of the finer and more permanent qualities of character; when such good comradeship existed between children and their parents; when marriage had so deep a spiritual and human meaning as at the present time. The home ideal of today is the best the world has yet known and it will continue to develop as larger freedom and broader culture come to all who share in its life. . . .”

The manner in which politics enters the modern home was pointed out and the contempt which was shown for the political opinions of women and then in a rousing appeal to women the speaker said: “A few days since I was asked by a compiler of other people’s thoughts to express for him my opinion of the greatest need of American women and I replied, ‘self-respect.’ . . . The assumption that woman have neither discernment nor judgment and that any man is superior in all the qualities that make for strength, stability and sanity to any woman, simply because he is a man and she is a woman, is still altogether too common. The time has come when women must question themselves to learn how far they are personally responsible for this almost universal disrespect and then set about changing it.”

Dr. Shaw told of the organization of the College Women’s Equal Suffrage League and asked: “Who can compute the loss sustained by our country every year by the addition of unrestricted, ignorant and often criminal male voters and the exclusion of the vast number of college and high-school graduates through the disfranchisement of women? If the stability of a government depends upon the morality and intelligence of its voting citizens, how long can the foundations of ours remain secure if we continue to enfranchise ignorance and vice and disfranchise intelligence and virtue?” The action of Legislatures in past years was depicted as “playing shuttlecock and battledore with the amendment, passing it in one House to defeat it in another, in a hypocritical desire to appear favorable and inspire



us with hope in order to retain the small amount of influence they think we possess, and yet compelling us to begin the work all over again." After reviewing the long struggle of American women for political freedom she ended with an impassioned peroration of which only a portion can be quoted :

No class of men in any nation have ever been compelled to wage such an arduous and difficult struggle for their political freedom. Through the influence of the Democratic party, without an effort on their own behalf, white working men were enfranchised; and by an Act of Congress under Republican leadership the newly emancipated men slaves were protected in their right of suitrage. The same Act placed in the Constitution of the United States for the first time the word "male," which robbed women of the protection guaranteed to every other class of citizens in the most sacred right of citizenship—the right to a voice in the Government.

Such is the boasted chivalry of the Land of Freedom, which has left its women to strive against tradition, prejudice, conservatism, self-interest, political power and in addition all the forces of corruption combined, to secure the privilege which was conferred upon vast numbers of men who never even demanded it and many of whom knew nothing of its significance after it was granted. I claim, and fear no contradiction, that the women of this land are better qualified to exercise the suffrage with intelligence, honesty and patriotism than were any other class of citizens in the world at the time when it was conferred upon them.

Must women, unaided, continue the struggle for forty years longer until they have rounded out a century, assailing the bulwarks of prohibitive constitutions in the forty-one States yet to be won? Or will not some brave, consistent and freedom-loving President, recognizing the duty the Government owes to the disfranchised millions of patriotic women, recommend to Congress to submit an amendment to the Federal Constitution forbidding disfranchisement on account of sex? And will not the time speedily come when Congress, recognizing the great injustice which was inflicted upon the women of the land when by enfranchising a race of slave men they riveted the fetters of disfranchisement upon educated and patriotic women, redeem the nation from this stigma? It was the most ungrateful and unjust act ever perpetrated by a republic upon a class of citizens who had worked and sacrificed and suffered as did the women of this nation in the struggle of the Civil War only to be rewarded at its close by such unspeakable degradation as to be reduced to the plane of subjects to enfranchised slaves. . . .

I stand here tonight to say that we have never known defeat; we have never been vanquished. We have not always reached the goal toward which we have striven, but in the hour of our greatest disappointment we could always point to our battlefield and say: "There we fought our good fight, there we defended the principles for which

our ancestors and yours laid down their lives; there is our battlefield for justice, equality and freedom. Where is yours?"

While the eminent speakers attracted the largest audiences that ever had attended the conventions of the association, according to the opinions of the older suffragists, the delegates themselves were equally interested in the morning meetings devoted to the reports and other business. The corresponding secretary, Miss Kate M. Gordon, a keen student of politics and organization, in speaking of factors in success, said: "There is great necessity for a personal acquaintance between the leaders in our suffrage work in the States and the prominent politicians in the States; the personal acquaintance also of the editors and managers of our great public-opinion-forming newspapers; a pleasant working relation in women's clubs and all movements for better social conditions in our respective communities; a more intimate acquaintance with the educational influences, the teachers in our public schools and the college life of our communities."

Miss Gordon made a special plea for cooperation in the efforts for Child Labor legislation and she ended by saying: "But means and methods for the future of our work pale into insignificance in the need of the hour, which is Oregon. Funds for this campaign must be a matter of conscience with every believer. In proportion to the gratitude you feel for the comfortable position which women occupy today, measure your contribution; no sacrifice can be too great at this crucial moment in our onward history." Throughout the convention the work in Oregon, where an amendment to the State constitution would be voted on in November, was the uppermost thought. The treasurer made a special appeal for funds; the chairman of the Press Committee told of it; it was discussed and planned for in the business meetings and different speakers referred in hopeful words to its probable success.

An amendment to the constitution abolishing proxies empowered to cast the full vote to which the State was entitled and providing that delegates present should cast only their own vote caused a spirited discussion, with Mrs. Catt and eastern delegates in favor and Dr. Shaw and western delegates opposed and was lost by a vote of 68 to 11. No change of officers was made at

this convention. Reports of Committees on Libraries, Literature, Enrollment, Presidential Suffrage, etc., were presented by their chairmen. A lively discussion on the use of the union label on literature, stationery, etc., resulted in an almost unanimous decision to retain it. Very interesting reports of work in the States were made by their respective presidents. Invitations for the next convention were received from the Chamber of Commerce of Wheeling, W. Va., the Chamber of Commerce, Bar Association and Suffrage Club of Oklahoma City and the Commission for celebrating the founding of Jamestown, Va.

Miss Antoinette Knowles (Cal.), chairman of the Committee on Church Work, said that by standing for temperance many churches could be obtained for meetings that would not be opened for those purely on suffrage. She gave a list of orthodox churches which had been thus secured; told of successful addresses she had made on the relation between woman suffrage and temperance and urged the appointment of a church committee in every State. The report of Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, head-quarter's secretary, told of the usual large amount of work, which included the distribution of 62,000 copies of the quarterly publication, *Progress*; 106,753 pieces of literature and many thousands of suffrage stamps, picture postals and souvenirs. Speakers and fraternal delegates had been sent to a large number of national conventions throughout the country and cordially received. Many of these had adopted resolutions for woman suffrage including the American Federation of Labor, National Association of Letter Carriers, National Grange, National Council of Jewish Women, Supreme Commandery Knights of Temperance, National Associations of Universalists and of Spiritualists. The State conventions of various kinds that had endorsed it were almost without number and excellent work had been done at county fairs, granges, farmers' institutes, summer assemblies and educational and religious societies. It was voted to make *Progress* the official organ of the association and issue it monthly. The national headquarters in Warren, O., had been removed to a spacious room on the ground floor of the county court house, formerly used for a public library.

The chairman of the Press Committee, Mrs. Elnora M. Bab-

cock, made her last report, as the press work was henceforth to be done at the national headquarters with its excellent staff and facilities. For twelve years Mrs. Babcock had carried on this work, which in her capable hands had reached an immense volume and become a leading feature of the National Association. She reported that over 5,000 papers were now using the material sent out from the press bureau and that it was very difficult to respond to all the calls for it. In answer to the second broadside of former President Cleveland in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which refused to publish anything from anybody on the other side, 2,000 copies of articles by different persons and 1,000 of the excellent refutation by Representative John F. Shafroth of Colorado had been distributed. The report stated that Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, the efficient chairman of Pennsylvania, had been sent by the National Association to supervise the press work of the Oregon campaign. It urged that grateful recognition should be shown to papers that favor woman suffrage saying: "Editors are called upon for help and are not thanked for the kindness and good they do nearly as much as they should be." The convention gave Mrs. Babcock a rising vote of thanks for her long and faithful work.

The Executive Committee recommended in its Plan of Work that the States work for a uniform resolution in favor of a Sixteenth Amendment; that they endeavor to secure Initiative and Referendum laws; that in each Legislature measures be introduced for full suffrage or for some form of suffrage; that efforts be continued to obtain equalization of property and intestate laws, also co-guardianship of children; that the working forces of the association be concentrated where there are State campaigns for suffrage; that each club organize one new one and each individual member secure one more; that all present lines of work be continued and extended; that there be a more systematic and liberal distribution of literature; that hearings be obtained before all kinds of organizations. It was voted that "the Board of Officers consider the propriety of recommending all the States to make a concerted effort to secure Presidential suffrage for women in the election of 1908." But one work conference was held, that on Press, Miss Hauser presiding. One of the most important conferences of the week was that of State presidents, at which

each told of the most effective work within the year, and the discussion which followed gave much practical and helpful information.

At the second afternoon session Dr. Shaw read a number of letters from Governors of the equal suffrage and other States answering favorably an appeal from the California Suffrage Association that they would appoint one or more women to the national commission soon to meet to consider uniform marriage and divorce laws. She had emphasized this necessity in her president's address. The report of Mrs. Florence Kelley, chairman of the Committee on Industrial Problems Affecting Women and Children, was heard with deep interest and feeling. As executive secretary of the National Consumers' League for many years and a close student of labor conditions, she spoke with accurate knowledge when she told of the employment of children. A Baltimore woman in her welcome to the convention had said that Maryland women were satisfied with what they could secure by petition without the ballot, and Mrs. Kelley, referring with fine sarcasm to the "sadly modest results of their petitions," said:

Last night while we slept after our evening meeting there were in Maryland many hundred boys, only nominally fourteen years old, working all night in the glass-works; and here in Baltimore the smallest messenger boys I have ever seen in any city were perfectly free to work all night. No law was broken in either case, for the women of Maryland have not yet by their right of petition brought to the children of the State protection from working all night. Here in this city children must go to school until they are nominally twelve years old but outside of Baltimore and three other counties there is no limit whatever to the work of any child. Moreover, here in Baltimore where the law nominally applies children are free to work at any age if they have a dependent relative or if they are liable to become dependent themselves!

It is five years since the first delegation of women went to Atlanta to ask for legislation on behalf of the working children of Georgia, carrying petitions with them, and they have gone in vain every year since. Each year the number of women joining in the protest has been greater and, alas, the number of little girls under ten years old, who work in Georgia cotton mills all night, has also been greater. The number of working children grows faster than the number of petitioning women. . . . In New York, where women can vote on school questions in the country only, not in the city, children five, six, seven and eight years old, who ought to be in the kindergarten

and public schools, are working in cellars and garrets, under the sweating system, sewing on buttons and making artificial flowers. So many such children are not in the schools that no city administration in the last ten years has dared to make a school census; and we are striving in vain, (all the philanthropic bodies), to induce the present Tammany administration just to count the children of school age but they dare not reveal the extent to which they are failing to provide for them. . . .

We Americans do not rank among the enlightened nations when we are graded according to our care of our children. We have, according to the last census, 580,000 who cannot read or write, between the ages of ten and fourteen years, not immigrant but native-born children, and 570,000 of them are in States where the women do not even use their right of petition. We do not rank with England, Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland or the Scandinavian countries when we are measured by our care of our children, we rank with Russia. The same thing is true of our children at work. We have two millions of them earning their living under the age of sixteen years. Legislation of the States south of Maryland for the children is like the legislation of England in 1844. . . . Surely it behooves us to do something at once or what sort of citizens shall we have?

Miss Gertrude Barnum, secretary of the Women's National Trade Union League, followed with an earnest address on Women as Wage Earners. She began by saying that although this would be called a representative audience, wage-earning women were not present. "A speaker should have been chosen from their ranks," she said. "We have been preaching to them, teaching them, 'rescuing' them, doing almost everything for them except knowing them and working with them for the good of our common country. These women of the trade unions, who have already learned to think and vote in them, would be a great addition, a great strength to this movement. The working women have much more need of the ballot than we of the so-called leisure class. We suffer from the insult of its refusal; we are denied the privilege of performing our obligations and we have as results things which we smart under. The working women have not only these insults and privations but they have also the knowledge that they are being destroyed, literally destroyed, body and soul, by conditions which they cannot touch by law. . . ." Miss Barnum discussed "strikes," the "closed shop," conditions under which factory women work, the domestic problem, the

trade unions, and said: "I hope that this body, which represents women from all over the country, will take this matter back to their respective States and cities and try to make the acquaintance of this great half of our population, the working people. You must bring them to your conferences and conventions and let them speak on your platform. They will speak much better for themselves than you can get any one to speak for them. . . ."

An animated discussion took place, many of the delegates asking sympathetic questions. Mrs. Ella S. Stewart (Ill.) followed with a delightfully caustic address on *Some Fallacies; Our Privileges*. The reporters were so carried away by her "sweetness and beauty" that they almost forgot to make notes of her speech, of which one of them said: "She picked up Grover Cleveland, Lyman Abbott and other anti-suffragists from the time of Samuel Johnson and figuratively spun them around her finger, to the joy of the audience." In paying her tribute to chivalry she said: "Of what benefit was the chivalry of the knights toward their ladies of high degree to the thousands of peasant women and wives of serfs hitched up with animals and working in the fields? Of no more value now is the protection given to the wives and daughters of the rich by men who are grinding down and taking advantage of those of the poor. In Chicago women have no vote except once in four years for a trustee of the State university, yet every day if we try to take a street car we are overrun and trampled down by men who get on the cars before they stop, and when we finally limp in we see them comfortably seated reading the papers while we dangle from the straps. We are crowded in stores and smoked in restaurants; in fact the only place of late where I was not crowded was at the polls when I went to cast my vote!"

Mrs. Mary E. Craigie (N. Y.) closed the session with a serious, impressive address on *Our Real Opposition; Ignorance and Vice, the Silent Foe*. She pointed out the "indirect alliance between the anti-suffragists and the vicious elements, opponents of all reform, fearful that if women vote good will prevail over evil." "The chief foes of woman suffrage," she said, "are the saloon keepers, scum of society, barred from fraternal organizations, social clubs and even from some of the insurance societies."

The Biography of Miss Anthony contains this paragraph.<sup>1</sup>

When Miss Anthony had visited President M. Carey Thomas, of Bryn Mawr College, and Miss Mary E. Garrett the last November she had talked of the approaching convention, expressed some anxiety as to its reception in so conservative a city and urged them to do what they could to make it creditable to the National Association and to Baltimore. They showed much interest, asked in what way they could be of most assistance and talked over various plans. Both belonged to old and prominent families in that city, Miss Garrett had the prestige of great wealth also, and Dr. Thomas of her position as president of one of the most eminent of Women's Colleges. Miss Anthony was desirous of having the program in some way illustrate distinctly the new type of womanhood—the College Woman—and eventually Dr. Thomas took entire charge of one evening devoted to this purpose, which will ever be memorable in the history of these conventions. A day or two after Miss Anthony's visit she received a letter from Miss Garrett saying: "I have decided—really I did so while we were talking about the convention at luncheon yesterday—that I must open my house in Baltimore for that week in order to have the great pleasure of entertaining you and Miss Shaw under my own roof and to do whatever I can to help you make the meeting a success."

At a good-bye reception given for Miss Anthony in Rochester the evening before she left home for Baltimore she took cold and immediately after reaching Miss Garrett's she became very ill and was under the care of physicians and trained nurses. On the second night, however, the College Evening for which elaborate preparations had been made, she summoned the will power for which she had always been noted, rose from her bed, put on a beautiful gown and went to the convention hall. Quoting again from the Biography: "When she appeared on the stage and the great audience realized that she actually was with them their enthusiasm was unbounded. She was so white and frail as to seem almost spiritual but on her sweet face was an expression of ineffable happiness; and it was indeed one of the happiest moments of her life for it typified the intellectual triumph of her cause."

The Baltimore *American* thus began its account: "With the great pioneer suffrage worker, Susan B. Anthony, on the platform, surrounded by women noted in the college world for their brilliant attainments, as well as those famed for social work and

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, by Ida Husted Harper, Volume III, page 1383.



in other professions, and with a large audience, the session of the woman suffrage convention opened last evening in the Lyric Theater. If the veteran suffragist thought of more than the pleasure of the event it must have been the contrast of this occasion with the times past, when, unhonored and unsung, she fought what must have often seemed a losing fight for principles for which the presence of these women proclaimed victory. . . . It had been announced as 'Colloge evening' but it might just as well have been called 'Susan B. Anthony evening,' for, while the addresses dealt with various phases of the woman question, all evolved into one strong tribute to Miss Anthony."

The following remarkable program was carried out:

#### COLLEGE EVENING

February 8, 1906

#### *Presiding Officer*

Ira Remsen, Ph.D., LL.D., *President of Johns Hopkins University.*

#### *Ushers*

Students of the Woman's College of Baltimore in Academic Dress.

#### *Addresses*

Mary E. Woolley, A.M., Litt.D., L.H.D., *President of Mount Holyoke College.*

Lucy M. Salmon, A.M., *Professor of History, Vassar College.*

Mary A. Jordan, A.M., *Professor of English, Smith College.*

Mary W. Calkins, A.M., *Professor of Philosophy and Psychology, Wellesley College.*

Eva Perry Moore, A.B., *Trustee Vassar College; President of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (over three thousand college women).*

Maud Wood Park, A.B. (*Radcliffe College*), *President of the Boston Branch of the Equal Suffrage League in Women's Colleges and Founder of the League.*

M. Carey Thomas, Ph.D., LL.D., *President of Bryn Mawr College.*

A tribute of gratitude from representatives of Women's Colleges.

What has been accomplished for the higher education of women by Susan B. Anthony and other woman suffragists.

The statement is sometimes questioned that all of the advantages which women enjoy today had their inception in the efforts of the pioneers suffragists. The addresses made on this occasion

by some of the most distinguished women educators of the country certainly should sustain this claim so far as the higher education is concerned. It seems a sacrilege to use only brief quotations from these important contributions to the literature of the movement for woman suffrage.

PRESIDENT WOOLLEY: It will not be possible in the limited time given to the representatives of colleges for women to do more than suggest what has been accomplished for the higher education of women by Miss Anthony and other suffragists, but it is a pleasure to have this opportunity to add our tribute of appreciation. . . .

At a meeting called in 1851 at Seneca Falls, N. Y., to consider founding a People's College, Miss Anthony, Lucy Stone and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton were determined that the constitution and by-laws should be framed so as to admit women on the same terms as men and finally carried their point. The college, however, before it was fairly started was merged in Cornell University. Five years later Miss Anthony's lecture on "Co-education" brought that subject most forcibly to the attention of the public. . . . It was no part of Miss Anthony's plan to have work given to women for which they were not fitted but rather that they should be prepared to do well whatever they attempted. There were not to be two standards of efficiency, one for the man and another for the woman. "Think your best thoughts, speak your best words, do your best work, looking to your own conscience for approval," was her charge to women forty years ago. . . . The higher education of women should be added to the list of causes for which she and other women struggled. She has lived to see the work of her hands established in the gaining of educational and social rights for women which might well be called revolutionary, so momentous have been the changes. . . .

It seems almost inexplicable that changes surely as radical as giving to women the opportunity to vote should be accepted today as perfectly natural while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance. . . . The time will come when some of us will look back upon the arguments against the granting of the suffrage to women with as much incredulity as that with which we now read those against their education. Then shall it be said of the woman, who with gentleness and strength, courage and patience, has been unswerving in her allegiance to the aim which she had set before her, "Give her of the fruit of her hands and let her own works praise her in the gates."

PROFESSOR SALMON: The personal experience will perhaps be pardoned if it is considered representative of the possibly changing attitude of other college women toward the subject. The natural stages in the development seem to have been, opposition, due to ignorance; rejection, due to conscientious disapproval; indifference, due to preoccupation in other lines of work; acceptance, due to ap-

preciation of what the work for equal suffrage has accomplished. It has been a work positive rather than negative, active rather than destructive, and thus it is coming to appeal to the judgment and reason of college women. They are coming to realize that they have been taught by these pioneers, both by precept and example, to look at the essential things of life and to ignore the unessential and for this they are grateful. . . .

The college woman is beginning to wonder whether it is worth while to reckon the mint, anise and cummin while the weightier matters of the law are forgotten. For a larger outlook on life we are all indebted to Miss Anthony, to Mrs. Howe and to their colleagues. We are indebted to them in large measure for the educational opportunities of today. We are indebted to them for the theory, and in some places for the reality, of equal pay for men and women when the work performed is the same. We are indebted to them for making it possible for us to spend our lives in fruitful work rather than in idle tears. We are indebted to these pioneer women for the substitution of a positive creed for inertia and indifference. From them we also inherit the weighty responsibility of passing on to others, in degree if not in kind, all that we have received from them.

Professor Jordan, after considering the woman's college, said: "The suffragists lent us Maria Mitchell and they felt severely the loss they sustained in her increasing absorption in the class room and in the requirements of modern scientific work. When we had taken Maria Mitchell they turned to us in friendship, Mrs. Livermore, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Miss Anthony, Miss Elizabeth Peabody, Mrs. Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Mrs. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Lois Anna Green, Mary Dame—and never failed to stir our minds with their urgent appeals for our thoughtful consideration of the causes they presented and the interest they took for granted. The last was their strong point. They simply implicated us in whatever was good and true. Their enthusiasm was infectious and we 'caught' it—to our own lasting spiritual benefit. . . . I do not believe that I was over-fanciful when I used to feel that Lucy Stone and you, Miss Anthony, looked at us as if you would say, 'Make the best of your freedom for we have bought it with a great price.' "

PROFESSOR CALKINS: I wish to indicate this evening the definite form in which I think the gratitude of all college women might be expressed to Miss Anthony and to the other leaders of the equal suffrage movement for their service to the cause of women's education. In other words, I wish to ask what have these veteran equal suffrage leaders a right to expect from university and college students, and

in particular from the students and graduates of our women's colleges? . . . Equal suffragists, if I may serve as interpreter, demand just this, that women trained to scientific method shall make equal suffrage an object of scientific analysis and logic and ask of college women that they cease being ignorant or indifferent on the question; that they adopt, if not an attitude of active leadership or of loyal support, at least a position of reasoned opposition or of intelligent hesitation between opposing arguments. To ask less than this really is an insult to a thinking person, man or woman. . . . The student trained to reach decisions in the light of logic and of history will be disposed to recognize that, in a democratic country governed as this is by the suffrage of its citizens and given over as this is to the principle and practice of educating women, a distinction based on difference of sex is artificial and illogical, and thus suspicious. . . . For myself, I believe that the probabilities favor woman suffrage.

MRS. MOORE: The women of today may well feel that it is Miss Anthony who has made life possible to them; she has trodden the rough paths and by unwearied devotion has opened to them the professions and higher applied industries. Through her life's work they enjoy a hundred privileges denied them fifty years ago; from her devotion has grown a new order; her hand has helped to open every line of business to women. She has spoken at times to thousands of girls on the public duties of women. . . . Her life story must epitomize the victorious struggle of women for larger intellectual freedom in the last century. . . . The world does move. Those who are aware of the great and beneficent changes made in the laws relating to the rights of property, in the civil and industrial laws pertaining to women and children, may estimate the good accomplished by these pioneers.

MRS. PARK: I suppose it is true that all through history individual women have been able, sometimes by cajolery, sometimes by personal charm, sometimes by force of character, to get for themselves privileges far greater than any that the most radical advocates of woman's rights have yet demanded. But in the case of Miss Anthony and the other early suffragists all that force of character was turned not to individual ends, not to getting large things for themselves, but to getting little gains, step by step, for the great mass of other women; not for the service of themselves but for the service of the sex and so of the whole human race. . . . The object of the College Women's League is to bring the question of equal suffrage to college women, to help them realize their debt to the women who have worked so hard for them and to make them understand that one of the ways to pay that debt is to fight the battle in the quarter of the field in which it is still unwon; in short, to make them feel the obligation of opportunity.

PRESIDENT THOMAS: In the year 1903 there were in the United States 6,474 women studying in women's colleges and 24,863 women studying in co-educational colleges. If the annual rate of increase

has continued the same, as it undoubtedly has, during the past three years, there are in college at the present time 38,268 women students. Although there are in the United States nearly 1,800,000 less women than men, women already constitute considerably over one-third of the entire student body and are steadily gaining on men. This means that in another generation or two one-half of all the people who have been to college in the United States will be women; and, just as surely as the seasons of the year succeed one another or the law of gravitation works, just so surely will this great body of educated women wish to use their trained intelligence in making the towns, cities and States of their country better places for themselves and their children to live in; just so surely will the men with whom they have worked side by side in college classes claim and receive their aid in political as well as home life. The logic of events does not lie. It is unthinkable that women who have learned to act for themselves in college and have become awakened there to civic duties should not care for the ballot to enforce their wishes.

The same is true of every woman's club and every individual woman who tries to obtain laws to save little children from working cruel hours in cotton mills or to open summer gardens for homeless little waifs on the streets of a great city. These women, too, are being irresistibly driven to desire equal suffrage for the sake of the wrongs they try to right. . . . It seems to me in the highest degree ungenerous for women like these in this audience, who are cared for and protected in every way, not to desire equal suffrage for the sake of other less fortunate women, and it is not only ungenerous but short-sighted of such women not to desire it for their own sakes. There is nothing dearer to women than the respect and reverence of their children and of the men they love. Yet every son who has grown up reverencing his mother's opinion must realize, when he reaches the age of twenty-one, with a shock from which he can never wholly recover, that in the most important civic and national affairs her opinion is not considered equal to his own. . . .

I confidently believe that equal suffrage is coming far more swiftly than most of us suspect. Educated, public-spirited women will soon refuse to be subjected to such humiliating conditions. Educated men will recoil in their turn from the sheer unreason of the position that the opinions and wishes of their wives and mothers are to be consulted upon every other question except the laws and government under which they and their husbands and children must live and die. Equal suffrage thus seems to me to be an inevitable and logical consequence of the higher education of women. And the higher education of women is, if possible, a still more inevitable result of the agitation of the early woman suffragists. . . .

We who are guiding this educational movement today owe the profoundest debt of gratitude to those early pioneers—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe and, above and beyond all, to Susan B. Anthony. Other women reformers, like other men reformers, have given part of their time and energy. She has given



PIONEERS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.  
Born, 1815.

LUCY STONE.  
Born, 1818.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.  
Born, 1820.

LUCRETIA MOTT.  
Born, 1793.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT  
Born, 1846.

to the cause of women every year, every month, every day, every hour and every moment of her whole life and every dollar she could beg or earn, and she has earned thousands and begged thousands more.

Turning to the honored guest of the evening Dr. Thomas said :

To most women it is given to have returned to them in double measure the love of the children they have nurtured. To you, Miss Anthony, belongs by right, as to no other woman in the world's history, the love and gratitude of all women in every country of the globe. We, your daughters in the spirit, rise up today and call you blessed.

In those far-off days when our mothers' mothers sat contented in the darkness, you, our champion, sprang forth to battle for us, equipped and shining, inspired by a prophetic vision of the future like that of the apostles and martyrs, and the heat of your battle has lasted more than fifty years. Two generations of men lie between the time when, in the early fifties, you and Mrs. Stanton sat together in New York State, writing over the cradles of her babies those trumpet calls to freedom that began and carried forward the emancipation of women—and the day eighteen months ago when that great audience in Berlin rose to do you honor, thousands of women from every country in the civilized world, silent, with full eyes and lumps in their throats, because of what they owed to you. Of such as you were the lines of the poet Yeats written :

“They shall be remembered forever,  
They shall be alive forever,  
They shall be speaking forever,  
The people shall hear them forever.”

Miss Anthony was profoundly moved. This wonderful scene—the magnificent audience in one of the oldest and most conservative of cities; this group of the most distinguished women educators; the president of one of the leading universities of the world in the chair; the large number of college women in the audience, free, independent, equipped for life's highest work—represented the culmination of what she had striven for during half a century. Her Biography gives this account: “After the applause had ended there was a moment of intense silence and then, as Miss Anthony came forward, the entire audience rose and greeted her with waving handkerchiefs, while tears rolled down the cheeks of many who felt that she would never be present at another convention. ‘If any proof were needed of the progress of the cause for which I have worked,’ she said, in clear, even tones, distinctly heard by

all, 'it is here tonight. The presence on the stage of these college women, and in the audience of all those college girls who will some day be the nation's greatest strength, will tell their own story to the world. They give the highest joy and encouragement to me. I am not going to make a long speech but only to say thank you and good night.' It was all she had the strength to say but she never would publicly confess it."

Interesting State reports, conferences and addresses filled the mornings, afternoons and evenings of this unparalleled week. The Initiative and Referendum was presented by an acknowledged authority, George H. Shibley of Washington, director of the department of representative government in the bureau of economic research. He congratulated the association on having endorsed the new experiment that would rapidly further the woman suffrage cause, in which he had long believed. The system of questioning candidates and publishing their replies, developed by the Anti-Saloon League, was now being used with great success, he said, by many organizations. He described the carefully worked-out system in detail and declared that this, with the Initiative and Referendum, would terminate "machine" rule in politics, and whatever did this would promote the advance of woman suffrage. The address called forth an animated discussion in which it was shown that when women questioned a candidate they had no constituency back of them to influence his answers.

A valuable conference was opened with a comprehensive paper by Mrs. Mary Kenney O'Sullivan (Mass.), prominently identified with the women's trade unions, on the best methods of securing from Congress the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The question, if each State should secure an endorsement from its Legislature of a uniform resolution calling for this submission would it not influence Congress and also compel favorable recommendation in the national platforms of the dominant political parties, was unanimously answered in the affirmative.

Miss Hauser, the new chairman, presided over the press conference, which was opened with a paper by Miss Jane Campbell, a veteran suffragist, president of the Philadelphia County Suffrage Club of 600 members, on *The Unbiased Editor*, which bristled with the humorous sarcasm in which she was unsur-



passed. She said in the course of it: "As the result of close observation I may state that the calm, judicial mind of the unbiased editor is never more in evidence than when he bends his energies to a consideration of the woman question—that is, the woman question in reference to politics. Then he is on sure ground and he always is actuated by a desire to serve the best interests of women. Does it come under his ken that a woman has the temerity to suggest even in faint tones the advisability and feasibility, the common sense and justice of being allowed to cast a ballot, then the opportunity of the unbiased editor has come and the rash claimant is admonished in fatherly, protecting tones to 'Remember that only in the Home'—he always spells home with a capital in this connection—'should a woman be in evidence.' He almost weeps when he pictures the dire consequences that would inevitably result should women enter the uncleanly pool of politics. Chivalry would become extinct—chivalry being the guiding principle, according to the unbiased editor, on which men act—and then would tired men no longer give up their seats in trolley cars to masculine women and no longer would they accord equal pay for equal work, as they chivalrously do now!"

Turning her shafts on Mr. Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and ex-President Cleveland's articles in it, Miss Campbell evoked so much laughter and applause that Miss Hauser became anxious as to the effect on the representatives of the press who were there and called on Mrs. Upton to calm the tempestuous waters, who offered some "golden precepts" for dealing with editors, among them the following: "Keep the paper fully informed of all suffrage news. If there is something unpleasant in it and the reporter tells you that the editor and not himself is responsible for it, smile and believe him. Take the reporter into your confidence and let him absorb the impression that you trust him implicitly. The result will be that you and your cause will get the best of it. In a word, treat the newspaper reporter as you would any other gentleman and in the long run you will profit by it. If you are the press representative of your local organization try to have from time to time items of news pertaining to matters other than that of woman suffrage. Use the telephone lavishly and let

your home be a sort of stopping place for the reporter in his routine work. When you present such an attitude toward the press the editors cannot find it in their hearts to refuse if you want a little space for yourself and your cause." The *Baltimore Evening Herald* commented: "From the foregoing it will be observed that in the dark and devious avocation of working the unsophisticated editor, Mrs. Upton is truly a past mistress, entitled to wear the regalia and jewels of the superlative degree."

Mrs. May Arkwright Hutton of Idaho told of the excellent results of woman suffrage on the politics of that State. Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, chairman of the Committee on Peace and Arbitration, gave her usual able report describing her extensive work during the past year, which neither in this or any other year was exceeded by that of any one individual. After her return from the International Peace Congress in London she succeeded in having the presidents of the suffrage associations in fifteen States appoint supervisors of peace work and others were about to do so. The educational authorities in every State had been requested to arrange celebrations for May 18, the anniversary of the first Hague Conference, and she should notify the suffrage clubs to do this. Equal suffragists will aid the cause of justice for themselves in the nation by working also for justice between the nations. The abolition of war will do more than anything else to make women respected and influential. It will substitute moral force for brute force, reason for passion and will forever remove one of the most popular arguments against giving political power to those who are incapable of military service."

Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows (Mass.), the well known writer on social and economic subjects, took part in the symposium that followed. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell presided over the conference on What the Home Needs for its Protection—Women on Health Boards, School Boards and in the Police Department, and these subjects were considered by Mrs. Susan S. Fessenden (Mass.), Mrs. Upton and Mrs. Barrows. It closed with a paper by the Rev. Marie Jenney Howe on Woman's Municipal Vote.

One of the most important evening sessions was devoted to the question of Municipal Government, with Dr. William H. Welch, Professor of Pathology in Johns Hopkins University, presiding.

A leading feature was the address of the Hon. Frederick C. Howe of Cleveland, O., *The City for the People*. He reviewed the mismanagement and political corruption of the large cities, "controlled by great financial interests and yet filled with eager, energetic people, struggling to organize a good democratic movement of humanity focused on a democratic ideal." In voicing the hope for the future he said:

There is an upward movement in all our cities. We are endeavoring to work out democracy and are doing amazingly well. When it is possible to organize the ideals of this new democratic movement it will be a city not for men alone but for men and women. It is business which has made our cities take the illogical position that women should not participate in municipal affairs as the chief corrective of the evils which underlie most of our municipal problems. I believe in woman suffrage not for women alone, not for men alone, but for the advantage of both men and women. Any community, any society, any State that excludes half of its members from participating in it is only half a State, only half a city, only half a community. So, you see, woman suffrage does not interest me so much because woman is a taxpayer or because of justice as because of democracy; because I believe in the fullest, freest, most responsible democracy that it is possible to create. The city of the people will be a man and woman city. It will elect its officials for other than party reasons and will keep men and women in office who give good service.

The Hon. Rudolph Blankenburg, Philadelphia's noted reformer, who was to speak on *Municipal Regeneration*, was detained at home and his wife, Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg, president of the Pennsylvania Suffrage Association, told of the big campaign of the preceding autumn for better government in that city and the important part women had in it and said: "The men claimed that the women helped them a great deal but when the day came for the jubilation after the election, not a woman was invited to sit on the platform or to take part in the jubilee, except in the audience. In one of our suburbs the successful people gave a banquet and they did condescend to invite the women who had helped them win the election to sit in the gallery after the banquet and hear the speeches. . . . We are to have an election very soon and when I left home to come to this convention our city party was holding meetings in churches and halls and parlors and the chairman of the committee chided me for deserting my 'home

work.' I told her that it was a greater work to try to get the right to vote and increase my influence."

The Hon. William Dudley Foulke, president of the National Civil Service Commission, spoke informally on An Object Lesson in Municipal Politics, describing the revolution of the citizens against the corrupt government of his home city, Richmond, Ind., and the valuable assistance rendered by the women, and, as always, demanding the suffrage for them.

It was at this meeting that Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago, made the address on The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women, which was thenceforth a part of the standard suffrage literature. Quotations are wholly inadequate.

It has been well said that the modern city is a stronghold of industrialism quite as the feudal city was a stronghold of militarism, but the modern cities fear no enemies and rivals from without and their problems of government are solely internal. Affairs for the most part are going badly in these great new centres, in which the quickly-congregated population has not yet learned to arrange its affairs satisfactorily. Unsanitary housing, poisonous sewage, contaminated water, infant mortality, the spread of contagion, adulterated food, impure milk, smoke-laden air, ill-ventilated factories, dangerous occupations, juvenile crime, unwholesome crowding, prostitution and drunkenness are the enemies which the modern cities must face and overcome, would they survive. Logically their electorate should be made up of those who can bear a valiant part in this arduous contest, those who in the past have at least attempted to care for children, to clean houses, to prepare foods, to isolate the family from moral dangers; those who have traditionally taken care of that side of life which inevitably becomes the subject of municipal consideration and control as soon as the population is congested. To test the elector's fitness to deal with this situation by his ability to bear arms is absurd. These problems must be solved, if they are solved at all, not from the military point of view, not even from the industrial point of view, but from a third, which is rapidly developing in all the great cities of the world—the human-welfare point of view. . . .

City housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities. The men have been carelessly indifferent to much of this civic housekeeping, as they have always been indifferent to the details of the household. . . . The very multifariousness and complexity of a city government demand the help of minds accustomed to detail and variety of work, to a sense of obligation for the health and welfare of young children and to a responsibility for the cleanliness and comfort of other people. Because all these

things have traditionally been in the hands of women, if they take no part in them now they are not only missing the education which the natural participation in civic life would bring to them but they are losing what they have always had.

The Sunday afternoon service was held in the Lyric Theater, whose capacity was taxed with an audience "representing every class of society, every creed and no creed," according to the Baltimore papers. It was preceded by a half-hour musical program by Edwin M. Shonert, pianist, and Earl J. Pfonts, violinist. The Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell made the opening prayer; the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw read the Scripture lesson and gave the day's text: "Be strong and very courageous; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed, for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest." The Battle Hymn of the Republic was beautifully read by the Rev. Olympia Brown and sung by Miss Etta Maddox, the audience joining in the chorus. Mrs. Maud Balington Booth gave the principal address on the work of the Volunteers of America for the men and women in prisons and after they are discharged. At its beginning she said: "I have never before stood on the platform with these leaders in the struggle for woman suffrage but I sympathize with any movement whose motive is, like theirs, the uplifting of humanity." Her beauty, her sweet voice and her rare eloquence made a deep impression on the audience, who responded with a generous collection for her Hope Halls. The meeting closed with the congregational singing of America and the benediction by the Rev. Marie Jenney Howe. All of the women ministers occupied the pulpits of various churches in the morning or evening, and, according to the reporter for the *News*, "astonished the large congregations which assembled to do them honor with their facility of expression and the soundness of their logic!"<sup>1</sup>

The resolutions offered by Henry B. Blackwell, chairman of the committee, covered a wide and rather unusual range of sub-

<sup>1</sup> The clergymen of the city gave cordial assistance to the convention and among those who opened different sessions with prayer were the Reverends Dr. Van Meter of the Woman's College; George Scholl, D.D., Lutheran Church; Lloyd Coblenz, St. Paul's Reformed Church; John Y. Dobbins, Grace M. E. Church; E. L. Watson, Harlem Park M. E. Church; Alfred R. Hussey, First Independent Church; Peter Ainslee, Christian Temple; Oliver Huckel, Associate Congregational Church; Rabbi Adolf Guttmacher, Madison Avenue Temple; Marshall V. McDuffie, North Avenue Baptist Church; Ezra K. Bell, First English Lutheran Church; Edward W. Wroth, All Saints' Episcopal Church.

jects, showing the broad scope of the work of the association and expressing its pleasure at the world-wide indications of progress. Deep regret was expressed for the death of the friends of the cause during the year, among them George W. Catt of New York, husband of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt; Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell of New York; Mrs. Jane H. Spofford of Maine; Mrs. Caroline Hallowell Miller of Maryland; Mrs. Sarah M. Perkins of Ohio; John K. Wildman of Pennsylvania, and Speaker Frederick S. Nixon of the New York Legislature.

Fraternal greetings were brought from the Ladies of the Maccabees by Mrs. Melva J. Caswell, State Commander of the District of Columbia, Maryland and Delaware; from the National W. C. T. U., by Miss Marie C. Brehm, president for Illinois, and from the American Purity Alliance by its president, Dr. O. Edward Janney of Baltimore. A letter was read by Mrs. Mary Bentley Thomas (Md.), from Governor Warfield expressing his thanks for the opportunity of meeting so many distinguished women and his enjoyment of the convention. Letters and telegrams were read. A letter of greeting was sent to Mrs. Ellen Clark Sargent, a veteran suffragist of San Francisco, and letters to Miss Laura Clay and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, regretting their absence. A special vote of appreciation was given to Dr. and Mrs. William Funck and a letter of thanks was sent to Dr. Thomas and Miss Garrett for their part in the unsurpassed success of the convention.

A comprehensive report of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, organized in Berlin in 1904, was given by its president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, showing that "the agitation throughout Europe for a broader democracy has naturally opened the way for the discussion of woman suffrage and the subject is being considered as never before in Europe." [See Chapter on the Alliance.] The Evening with Women in History was opened by Mrs. Catt, who said: "One idea is the mainspring of the opposition to woman suffrage—that women are by nature of the inferior sex. Even Darwin, so scientific that he tried to see all things fairly, entertained this unjust view. When women have had the same inspiration and opportunity as men their work has been equal in merit."

The program assuredly showed no inferiority of mental power. Mrs. Belle de Rivera (N. Y.) depicted Women of Genius, quoting Sappho, Margaret of Navarre, Vittoria Colonna, Angelica Kauffman and others eminent in the annals of history. A newspaper report said of Mrs. Oreola Williams Haskell (N. Y.): "The thoroughness of her address gave the lie to any intimation of frivolity made by her youth and beauty, the pink crêpe de chine dress and the giddy pink bow in her fluffy brown hair." In discussing Women in Politics she said that, "even though debarred from Parliaments and Congresses women will take part in politics because political situations and public events vitally affect their lives" and concluded:

The student, remembering the laws that strove to make women nonentities, the tremendous force of adverse public opinion, the lack of training and preparation, must repudiate forever the usual query of the scoffer, "Why have there not been more eminent women?" and in amazement ask himself, "How does it happen that there have been any?" To those women who would do great things, who sigh for the old days, when the political queen ruled from the salon or the throne, we may say that today woman stands on the threshold of a broader and more real political life than she has ever known. In the future there may be no Sarah Jennings or Mme. de Maintenons, but when to the million-and-a-quarter of the women of our time, who in the United States, in Australia and in New Zealand are exercising the mighty power of the ballot as fully and freely as their brothers, we shall be able to add other enfranchised women of the world, we will have a mighty political sisterhood, free to realize their patriotic dreams and powerful to bring about better conditions for humanity.

Miss Campbell described in an able and interesting manner Women Scholars of the Middle Ages. Miss Brehm pictured Heroes and Heroines. Mrs. Maud Nathan, who had as a subject Women Warriors, according to the reporter, "remarked as she took off her long white kids that she could not handle it with gloves." Declaring that she did not approve of war, she said that nevertheless whenever there was a fight for municipal reform in New York she was in the thick of it. After showing how women had led wars and fallen in battles she concluded:

In the middle ages, when the electors were called upon to defend their cities at the point of the bayonet, we can understand why men considered that women should be debarred from the privilege of

citizenship; but today our cities are not walled, our foes are not without the gates trying to scale the walls. The enemies are within, often found sitting in high places. Today citizens are called upon to fight, not warriors, but vice and corruption and low standards. Are not our mothers quite as capable as our fathers to wage warfare against these, the enemies in our midst?

When I was in The Hague last summer I visited the only kind of battleground which any intelligent, progressive, self-respecting nation ought to show with pride. . . . There in the peaceful little House in the Wood national disputes are settled, not by sacrificing the lives of thousands of innocent, helpless young men, not by creating thousands of widows and orphans, but by threshing out all matters relating to the dispute in a rational, calm, judicial and honorable way. . . . It seemed to me that this 20th century battleground, this quiet, peaceful House in the Wood, augured well for a new era, one in which our swords will indeed be turned into ploughshares and our spears into pruning hooks, and the angels of peace and righteousness will hover over us.

The social features of the convention were of an unusually interesting character. The Garrett family mansion had been closed for the winter but Miss Garrett opened it completely, invited as home guests Miss Anthony, Mrs. Howe, Miss Addams, Dr. Thomas and other distinguished visitors and gave a series of entertainments that conferred on the convention a prestige which added much to its influence in that conservative city. In order that its representative men and women might meet the officers and delegates Miss Garrett had a luncheon and dinner every day, the formal invitations reading: "To meet Miss Susan B. Anthony and Governor and Mrs. Warfield"; "To meet Miss Anthony and the speakers of the College Evening," etc.,—on each invitation Miss Anthony's name preceding those of the other guests of honor. All of the speakers on the College Women's evening were her house guests and after the meeting she gave a large reception. To quote again from the Biography: "No one present will ever forget the picture of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Howe sitting side by side on a divan in the large bay window, with a background of ferns and flowers. At their right stood Miss Garrett and Dr. Thomas, at their left Dr. Shaw and the line of eminent college women, with a beautiful perspective of conservatory and art gallery. . . . There was nothing in the closing years of Miss Anthony's life that offered such encourage-



ment and hope as to see women possessing the power of high intellectual ability, wealth and social position taking up the cause which she had carried with patient toil through poverty and obscurity to this plane of recognition."

While Miss Anthony was a guest in the home of Miss Garrett she and Dr. Thomas asked her what was the greatest service they could render to advance the movement for woman suffrage. She answered that the strongest desire of her later years had been to raise a large fund for the work, which was constantly impeded for the lack of money, but her impaired health had prevented it. This need was frequently discussed during the week, and before the convention closed they promised her that they would try to find a number of women who, like themselves, were unable to take an active part in working for woman suffrage but sincerely believed in it, who would be willing to join together in contributing \$12,000 a year for the next five years to help support the work and to show in this practical way their gratitude to Miss Anthony and her associates and their faith in the cause.<sup>1</sup>

The officers, speakers and delegates accepted invitations of President Remsen to visit Johns Hopkins University and received every possible attention; to a special exhibit at the Maryland Historical Art Gallery; to a handsome afternoon tea at the Arundel Club, welcomed by its president, Mrs. William M. Ellicott; to a large reception by the Baltimore Woman Suffrage Club and to other pleasant functions.

The report of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton called attention to the receipts of \$2,000 for 1893 and \$12,150 during the past year, a period of thirteen years during which she had been treasurer. "The fact that nowadays the association always has funds," she said, "gives us a standing with the bankers and business men which works largely to our credit." She spoke of the bequests,

<sup>1</sup> Although Miss Anthony lived only one month longer every day was made happy by the thought that those who would carry on the work would have the great assistance of this fund. A committee was formed the following summer with Miss Garrett as chairman and Dr. Thomas as treasurer and the work of securing subscriptions was begun on Miss Anthony's birthday the next year, 1907. By May 1 the \$60,000 had been subscribed and put at the disposal of the national board of officers. The sum was completed by a subscription of \$20,000 from "a friend" and not until after the death of Mrs. Russell Sage, who had headed the list with \$5,000, was it known that she was the donor. Mrs. Sage had made generous subscriptions at other times. The full list of donors will be found in Miss Anthony's Biography, page 1401.

which had been put at interest, and told of persons who refused to contribute a dollar while they remained unspent. It was the hope of the officers, she said, that they could be used for campaigns and other emergencies and that contributions should pay the running expenses, which was now nearly accomplished. The disbursements during the year, including money advanced for the Oregon campaign, had been \$16,565, the amount above receipts being taken from the bequests.

The College Women's meeting took place on Thursday and Miss Anthony was unable to attend the convention the next day. "At the Saturday morning session," the Biography relates, "Dr. Shaw expressed the great regret of all at her enforced absence and their gratitude for the excellent care she was receiving at the home of Miss Garrett; but when the afternoon session opened, in she walked! She had learned that the money was to be raised at this time and she knew she could help, so she conquered her pain and came. When contributions were called for she was first to respond and holding out a little purse she said: 'I want to begin by giving you my purse. Just before I left Rochester my friends gave me a birthday party and made me a present of eighty-six dollars. I suppose they wanted me to do as I liked with the money and I wish to send it to Oregon.'" Under this inspiration the pledges soon reached \$4,000. Afterwards Miss Anthony's seventeen five dollar gold pieces were sold for \$10 each, and later some of them for \$25.

Miss Anthony was not able to leave the house for the next two days, to her great sorrow. The leading feature of the Monday evening session was to be an address by Mrs. Howe but she also was too ill to appear, and realizing the intense disappointment this would be to the audience Miss Anthony made another heroic effort and took her place on the platform. The Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow came from Cincinnati to give an address on *The Power of an Idea*, in which he said: "If the world were never again to get another new idea, progress would be at an end. . . . The birth and growth and struggle and triumph of one great idea after another—this is the story of human progress. For more than half a century the men and women who championed the idea of woman suffrage were made the butt of ridicule, yet in the light

of history how ridiculous are the enemies of this idea. Fifty years ago no American college but Oberlin was open to women. Now a third of the college students in the United States are women." Mrs. Fessenden of Boston spoke eloquently on The Mount of Aspiration, and Mrs. Lydia A. Coonley Ward of Chicago represented the strong, practical side in her address on The Nearest Duty. Miss Alice Henry of Melbourne gave an interesting account of woman suffrage in Australia, where women now possessed the complete franchise, which had been followed by very advanced laws.

It was not supposed that Miss Anthony would be able to speak, but, stimulated by the occasion and longing no doubt to say what she felt might be her last words, she came forward near the close of the meeting. A report of the occasion in the *New York Evening Post* said:

The entire house arose and the applause and cheers seemed to last for ten minutes. Miss Anthony looked at the splendid audience of men and women, many of them distinguished in their generation, with calm and dignified sadness. "This is a magnificent sight before me," she said slowly, "and these have been wonderful addresses and speeches I have listened to during the past week. Yet I have looked on many such audiences and in my lifetime I have listened to many such speakers, all testifying to the righteousness, the justice and the worthiness of the cause of woman suffrage. I never saw that great woman, Mary Wollstonecraft, but I have read her eloquent and unanswerable arguments in behalf of the liberty of womankind. I have met and known most of the progressive women who came after her—Lucretia Mott, the Grimké sisters, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone—a long galaxy of great women. I have heard them speak, saying in only slightly different phrases exactly what I heard these newer advocates of the cause say at these meetings. Those older women have gone on and most of those who worked with me in the early years have gone. I am here for a little time only and then my place will be filled as theirs was filled. The fight must not cease; you must see that it does not stop."

There were indeed Miss Anthony's last words to a woman suffrage convention and they expressed the dominant thought which had directed her own life—the fight must not stop!

The address of Mrs. Howe was read at a later session by her daughter, Mrs. Florence Howe Hall, who expressed her mother's extreme disappointment at not being able to be present in person

and said: "She regarded this convention as probably the last she should attend and she hoped to clasp hands with many whom she has known in former years and with many whom she has not known. She has heard with joy of its success and sends you her affectionate greeting and glad congratulations." In the course of this scholarly address Mrs. Howe said:

I can well recall the years in which I felt myself averse to the participation of women in political life. The feminine type appeared to me so precious, so indispensable to humanity, that I dreaded any enlargement of its functions lest something of its charm and real power should therein be lost. I have often felt as if some sudden and unlooked for revelation had been vouchsafed to me, for at my first real contact with the suffragists of, say, forty years ago, I was made to feel that womanhood is not only static but also much more dynamic, a power to move as well as a power to stay. True womanliness must grow and not diminish, in its larger and freer exercise. Whom did I see at that first suffrage meeting, first in my experience? Lucy Stone, sweet faced and silver voiced, the very embodiment of Goethe's "eternal feminine"; William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, noble advocates of human freedom; Lucretia Mott, eloquent and beautiful in her holy old age. What did I hear? Doctrine which harmonized with my dearest aspirations, extending as it did the hope which I had supposed was for an elect and superior few to all the motherhood of the human race. The new teaching seemed to me to throw the door open for all women to come up higher, to live upon a higher plane of thought and to exercise in larger and more varied fields the talents, wonderful indeed, to which such limited scope had hitherto been allowed. I felt, too, that the new freedom brought with it an identity of interest which formed a bond of sisterhood and that the great force of cooperation would wonderfully aid the promotion of objects dear to all true women alike. . . .

I have sat in the little chapel in Bethlehem in which tradition places the birth of the Saviour. It seems fitting that it should be adorned with offerings of beautiful things but while I mused there a voice seemed to say to me, "Look abroad! This divine child is no more, he has grown to be a man and a deliverer. Go out into the world. Find his footsteps and follow them. Work, as he did, for the redemption of mankind. Suffer as he did, if need be, derision and obloquy. Make your protest against tyranny, meanness and injustice!"

The weapon of Christian warfare is the ballot, which represents the peaceable assertion of conviction and will. Society everywhere is becoming converted to its use. Adopt it, oh, you women, with clean hands and a pure heart! Verify the best word written by the apostle; "In Christ Jesus there is neither bond nor free,

neither male nor female, but a new creature," the harbinger of a new creation!

On the last evening Señorita Carolina Holman Huidobro told of The Women of Chili and Argentina in the Peace Movement. Mrs. Mead spoke on The World's Crisis, and, with an unsurpassed knowledge of her subject, pointed out the vast responsibility of the United States in the cause of Peace and Arbitration, saying in part: "Protected by two oceans, with not a nation on the hemisphere that dares to attack her; with not a nation in the world that is her enemy, rich and with endless resources, this most fortunate nation is the one of all others to lead the world out of the increasing intolerable bondage of armaments. If the United States will take a strong position on gradual, proportional disarmament the first step may be made toward it at the second Hague conference soon to be held. . . . Of all women the suffragists should be alert and well informed upon these momentous questions. Our battle cry today must be 'Organize the world!' War will cease when concerted action has removed the causes of war and not before."

Mrs. Pauline Steinem, an elected member of the Toledo (O.) school board, showed convincingly the need for Women's Work on Boards of Education. Miss Harriet May Mills (N. Y.) made a clear, logical address on The Right of Way, and Mr. Blackwell (Mass.) discussed from his knowledge of politics The Wooing of Electors.

In closing the convention Dr. Shaw expressed the hope that if it had brought no other truth to the people of Baltimore it had shown that women want the ballot as a means for accomplishing the things that good men and women wish to accomplish. She made an earnest appeal for a deeper interest in the highest things of life and more consecrated work for all that contributes to the progress of humanity.

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In order to have the usual hearings before committees of Congress on the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution a large delegation went to Washington on February 14, the next day after the convention closed, and the

hearing was held the morning of the 15th, Miss Anthony's birthday. She was not able to attend, greatly to her own disappointment and that of the older speakers, whose inspiration she had been for so long on these occasions. She had arranged the first one ever held in 1869 and had missed but two in thirty-seven years.

The hearing before the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage took place in the Marble Room, as usual, Senator Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia in the chair and Dr. Shaw presiding. The speakers were Señorita Huidobro of Chili; Mrs. Elizabeth D. Bacon, president of the Connecticut Suffrage Association; Mrs. Mary Bentley Thomas (Md.); the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell (N. J.); Miss Anne Fitzhugh Miller (N. Y.); Mrs. Upton, Mrs. Steinem and Mrs. Fessenden.

The hearing before the House Judiciary Committee, the Hon. John J. Jenkins (Wis.), chairman, was in charge of Mrs. Florence Kelley, first vice-president of the association. Mrs. Blankenburg told of the herculean efforts of over 2,000 women at the last November election of Philadelphia. Mrs. Harriet A. Eager spoke of the work of a woman's Committee of Moral Education in Boston where there was no law prohibiting the circulation of any kind of literature. They went to the Legislature for such a law with a petition from 32,000 of the representative women of Massachusetts and stayed there six weeks working for it only to have it refused. She told how the women of the State petitioned fifty-five years for a law giving mothers equal guardianship of their children and pointed out the helpless position of women without political power.

Miss Kate M. Gordon of New Orleans, corresponding secretary of the association, began: "My message this morning was particularly for the southern members of the committee but I shall have to ask others present to carry it to them, as I do not believe any of them are here although seven are members." She protested against the attitude of southern members of Congress toward woman suffrage and expressed the deep resentment of southern women at their classification with the disfranchised, saying that their men more than all others should feel the responsibility of lifting them from their present humiliating po-

sition. Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, president of the Illinois Suffrage Association, based her argument on simple justice, and said in conclusion: "Your power is absolute and your responsibility correspondingly great. Humiliating as it is for me to beg for what is mine from strangers, I would a thousand times rather be a defrauded mendicant than to hold in my hand the rights, the destiny and the happiness of millions of human beings and have the heart to deny their just claims."

Mrs. Mary Kenney O'Sullivan (Mass.) spoke "as one representing 3,000,000 women who have been forced out of the home through necessity," and said in the course of her strong speech: "I know that the working women of this country are not receiving the highest wages because they have not a vote. Right here in Washington, in your big bindery of the Government, a trade to which I gave the larger part of my life, the women who do equal work with the men do not receive equal pay. The Government more than any other employer has taken advantage of women of my class because they have not a vote. . . . The workmen, more than any other men, even more than those who are supposed to be statesmen, have seen the necessity for women to have a vote. Ever since 1890 the convention of the American Federation of Labor has unanimously adopted a resolution favoring woman suffrage. I do not believe that any one will deny that the workingmen are the thinking men of the country. I am asking you, in the name of the women I represent at least, to do for us what our working brothers are trying to do—give us our rights."

Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead said in the course of a long address: "The man who talks about home today as if it still gave ample opportunity for woman's productive activity as it once did, is talking about a condition which is as obsolete as the conditions before we had railroads and telegraphs. Woman's educational opportunities and productive capacity are so altered as to require her political status to be altered. . . . There is a class of women who do not need to earn their living and have a large leisure. They are not idle, they are as active as fireflies, but they are not obliged to be productive as every human being should be. . . . They have more time than men to study and to apply the

principles of justice and mercy and to do that preventive, educational work which is a better defense of country than a squadron of battleships. The suffrage has done much to develop man; the woman of leisure needs it to develop her; the working woman needs it to obtain salutary conditions under which to earn her living; the woman working for reforms needs it so as to accomplish in a year what otherwise she may wait for twenty-five years of pleading and 'influence' to obtain."

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell began her address: "We are not here to ask you to extend suffrage to women but to give to the State Legislatures an opportunity to vote on it, and probably some practical considerations should be offered to show that public sentiment has arrived at a point where it seems to be timely and worth while that this question should be submitted to them. We would like to convince you that this is only right. If three-fourths of them are not prepared to give us suffrage, we shall not get it. If three-fourths of them are prepared, then public sentiment has arrived at a point where we ought to have it." She reviewed the advance of the movement and said: "We could keep this committee here until next week reading to them testimony from representative men and women as to the good results of woman suffrage where it is in operation." The unimpeachable testimony which she then presented from the equal suffrage States filled several pages of the printed record.

Introducing Mrs. Kelley, Chairman Jenkins had spoken of her father, William D. Kelley, known as the Father of the House, and she said:

It is quite true that my father, Judge Kelley of Pennsylvania, came to Congress in the year in which President Lincoln was first elected and for twenty-five years he patiently introduced at every session a resolution preliminary to a hearing for the woman suffragists. Through all that period of ridicule, when the hearings were not conducted so respectfully or in so friendly a manner as this one has been, he continued to introduce that resolution. In 1890 death removed him from the House of Representatives and I come here as the second generation. I assure you that I and the rest of the women throughout the country will come from generation to generation, just so long as it is necessary. Next year my oldest son will vote and that generation will take up the task on behalf of the enfranchisement of the women of this country. . . . Every time we come there is some gain to record, but, be-



tween the times, at least 1,000,000 new immigrants have come into this country who will have to be brought to the American way of thinking about women before they will vote to give the ballot to those who are born here and whose forefathers have asked that we be enfranchised.

It is an ignominious way to treat us, to send us to the Chinaman in San Francisco, to the enfranchised Indians of other western States, to the negroes, Italians, Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians and innumerable Slavic immigrants in Pennsylvania and other mining States to obtain our right of suffrage. There yet remain forty-three States in which women are not enfranchised and it looks as if it might take us a hundred years, at the present rate of progress, before we can relieve you and your successors from these annual hearings. What we are asking today is that you shall take a short cut and not oblige our great-grandchildren to come here and ask for a Federal Amendment.

Although the women received courteous treatment and a respectful hearing from both committees no report was made by either, and the only advantage gained was that as usual thousands of franked copies of the hearings were sent to the national suffrage headquarters to be distributed throughout the States.

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For some time arrangements had been under way to celebrate the birthday of Miss Anthony in the city where this had been so often done and which she loved above all others. By carefully conserving her strength she was able to attend the evening ceremonies in the Church of Our Father (Universalist) where many suffrage conventions had been held and where six years before, at the age of 80, she had resigned the presidency and laid down the gavel for the last time. Letters of congratulation were read from President Roosevelt, Vice-President Fairbanks, members of Congress and other prominent men; from Mrs. Russell Sage, Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick and other eminent women, and from organizations in this and other countries. Well known men and women brought their greetings in person. To quote again from her Biography:

“On account of her extreme weakness it was not expected that Miss Anthony would speak but at the close of the evening she seemed to feel that she must say one last word, and rising, with a tender, spiritual expression on her dear face, she stood beside Miss Shaw and explained in a few touching words how the great

work of the National Association had been placed in her charge; turning to the other national officers on the stage she reached out her hand to them and expressed her appreciation of their loyal support, and then, realizing that her strength was almost gone, she said: 'There have been others also just as true and devoted to the cause—I wish I could name every one—but with such women consecrating their lives'—here she paused for an instant and seemed to be gazing into the future, then dropping her arms to her side she finished her sentence—'failure is impossible!' These were the last words Miss Anthony ever spoke in public and from that moment they became the watchword of those who accepted as their trust the work she laid down." One month later to the day she was laid to rest with her loved ones.

## CHAPTER VII.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1907.

The six preceding chapters have described at length and in detail the annual conventions of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in order to show that those who took part in them were the representative women and men of the day. Their addresses, reports of committees, resolutions adopted and other proceedings demonstrate the wide scope of the activities of this organization, which from 1869 was the foundation and the bulwark of the vast movement to obtain equality of rights for women. The Thirty-ninth convention met in Music Hall, Fine Arts Building, Chicago, Feb. 14-19, 1907, and received a cordial welcome to the State of Lincoln, who in 1836 was almost the first public man in the United States to declare in favor of suffrage for women.<sup>1</sup> Lorado Taft's bust of Susan B. Anthony, its pedestal

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: *The friends of equal rights will come together on this occasion with an outlook even more than usually bright. During the last year full suffrage has been granted to the women of Finland, the greatest victory since full national suffrage was given to the women of Federated Australia in 1902. Within the past year the Municipal franchise has been given to women in Natal, South Africa; national associations have been organized in Hungary, Italy and Russia and the reports at the recent meeting of the International Alliance at Copenhagen showed a remarkable increase in the agitation for woman suffrage all over Europe. In England, out of the 670 members of the present House of Commons, 420 are pledged to its support.*

In the United States widely circulated newspapers and magazines representing the most opposite political views have lately declared for woman suffrage; the National Grange and the American Federation of Labor have unanimously endorsed it. In Chicago 87 organizations with an aggregate membership of 10,000 women have petitioned for a Municipal suffrage clause in the new charter and the men and women most prominent in the city's good works are supporting the plea.

Men and women are natural complements of one another. American political life today is marked by executive force and business ability, qualities in which men are strong, but it is often lacking in conscience and humanity. These a larger infusion of the mother element would supply. We believe that men and women in co-operation can accomplish better work than either sex alone. . . .

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.  
FLORENCE KELLEY, Vice-President-at-Large.  
KATE M. GORDON, Corresponding Secretary.  
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary.  
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer.  
LAURA CLAY,  
ANNICE JEFFREYS MYERS, } Auditors.

draped in the Stars and Stripes, adorned the platform and a portrait of Lucy Stone looked down on the speakers in serene benediction. The national president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, was in the chair and addresses of welcome were made for Illinois by Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, president of the State Equal Suffrage Association; for the churches by the Right Rev. Samuel E. Fallows, Presiding Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church; for the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union by Mrs. Susanna M. D. Fry, its corresponding secretary. Mrs. Fannie J. Fernald, president of the Maine Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Mary S. Sperry, president of that of California, responded and in introducing them Dr. Shaw said: "These responses from the Atlantic and the Pacific Coasts represent greetings from all the women between them." The presidents of the Chicago North Side, the South Side and the Evanston Political Equality Clubs were presented and received with applause. Bishop Fallows expressed the wish that what he should say could be voiced by the ministers of all the churches in the land and said: "I am proud that from the period of the Civil War and a little before, when the cause of the emancipation of the slave was the foremost question of the time and was only settled by the horrors of a long struggle—from that time I espoused the cause of woman suffrage. I hope there will be no need to fight for it as we fought during those long years but at least there should be a war of words until women have the power to deposit a ballot, until they have complete enfranchisement. Your case is just; yours is a righteous cause. I cannot help believing that the exercise of the suffrage by women is necessary to the welfare and growth of the nation. Your cause stands for the home; it stands for political purity, for civic righteousness, for everything that is for the betterment of the State, and I should be guilty of high treason to my deepest convictions if I did not bid a hearty God-speed to your efforts until every State shall recognize the equality of woman before the great law of civic redemption, as God has recognized her right before the great law of human redemption."

The appointment of the usual committees was followed by a symposium on Municipal Suffrage, at this time a vital issue in Chicago, as a spirited campaign was in progress to secure a clause

giving it to women in the new city charter which a convention was preparing.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin was to preside but she yielded to Mrs. Florence Kelley, who had to leave the city, and later took Mrs. Kelley's place in presiding over the symposium on Industrial Conditions. Professor Sophonisba Breckinridge (Ky.), of Chicago University, gave an able address on Municipal Housekeeping, saying in the course of it:

In all the things that make the city a good place in which to work, the woman is as much concerned as any one. When it comes to the questions which affect women, she has of course a peculiar ability to speak, a peculiar responsibility and an obligation to assume every right necessary to carry out that responsibility. It is incumbent upon her to secure the power to move in the most direct way upon the obstacles which lie in her path in the controlling of conditions. . . . It is to the housekeeper that I want to call your attention, rather than to the working woman. She has to decide how she will use her time, energy and money to promote the life, health, comfort and welfare of her family. The little group must live in a house. If she resides in a city, it is a matter of concern what shall be the structure of it, whether made of material endangering the household or not; if in an apartment house, she is concerned in the regulations under which such houses are built and controlled, in the fire escapes, the sort of gas, the dimensions of the apartments, the order of the rooms, the plumbing, etc.

It is obvious that today no woman can be a competent housekeeper unless she has an intelligent knowledge of these subjects. She must exercise a control over the ordinances and have something to say about the men who make these ordinances and who enforce them. She has not the power she needs as a housekeeper unless she feels that the officials of the city are as much responsible to her, although they are not chosen by her alone, as are the domestic servants whom she does select. Her collective responsibility is just as great as her individual responsibility. . . . Women cannot stop either at the bottom or the top by asking for Municipal suffrage. If woman is going to be a complete housekeeper she must be a member of a political group and that leads to the demand for Municipal, State and Federal suffrage.

Miss Kate M. Gordon (La.) told of the remarkable work the women of New Orleans had been able to do with their taxpayers' right to vote on matters of special taxation. "If the women of one part of the country more than another need the suffrage," she

<sup>1</sup> The proposition was defeated during the suffrage convention by a tie, with the chairman, Milton J. Foreman, giving the deciding vote against it. [See Illinois, Volume VI.]

declared, "it is those of the South." The *Chicago Tribune* commented: "As Miss Gordon sat down all the women clapped, many waved handkerchiefs and the applause continued several minutes." Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe described the excellent effects of the Municipal suffrage enjoyed by all women in Kansas, the only State where it existed in full. She called attention to the fact that the next day, February 15, would be the 20th anniversary of its granting by the Legislature. Miss Anna E. Nicholes of Chicago spoke on *The Ballot for Working Women*, saying in part:

The women who work in our city have a special claim to Municipal enfranchisement, inasmuch as they not only help create Chicago's wealth but are subject to the industrial conditions regulated by the city voters. . . .

Legislation is becoming more and more industrial in its aspect. Abating sweating and its evils, inspection of toilets, hygienic conditions in shops are now matters frequently controlled by our city fathers. Women are more and more coming into the industrial field. The 5,000,000 now gainfully employed in the United States represent one-fifth of the total number of wage-earners and this number are non-voters. This is a serious handicap to labor in its efforts to secure humane industrial legislation. . . . To these working women this matter of suffrage is an economic question—a bread-and-butter necessity. It is a fact, acknowledged by many large employers of labor and stated also by Carroll D. Wright in Government bulletins, that one of the leading reasons for the preference of women wage-earners to men is that they can be secured more cheaply. Employers are frank in acknowledging that the women work for less, that they are more reliable, more temperate, less inclined to strike and more faithful.

It was quite as much for the industrial opportunity as for maintaining personal liberty that Lincoln insisted on the necessity of enfranchising the negroes. Such prominent economists as the Webbs of England, Carroll D. Wright and Richard T. Ely of our own country state that woman's lack of the ballot is one of the determining causes in placing her in the ranks of the cheap laborer with all its attending evils. So placed she becomes a menace in industry and drags down the wages of the men. At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor this necessity of the ballot for the working woman was recognized when the resolution was adopted stating that woman would never come into the full wage scale until she came into her full rights of citizenship. . . . To the large body of women in our city who have to shift for themselves as completely as men do Municipal suffrage would mean a higher rating industrially, a fairer compensation for their labor and more possible living conditions.

Mrs. Kelley, who, as executive secretary of the National Consumers' League for years and before that as State Factory Inspector of Illinois, had an unsurpassed knowledge of the conditions that affect women and children, gave a scathing review of the failure of Congress to enact protective laws and of the reactionary decisions of Supreme Courts. "Do we ask what this has to do with Municipal suffrage?" she inquired and answered:

If we are not to be given power to help determine our own laws by electing men to Congress in the larger field of the republic; and if, one by one, the States are to repeal or annul the legislation that once gave some slender protection to women and youth, there remains at least the city. It should be our immediate demand that in all matters of the life of a city we shall have a word. The greatest numbers of working people are in the cities. If our boards of health, our school boards, our street-cleaning departments, our water boards—if all these local bodies which have most to do with the health of working people, as with the health of other people, in the great centers of population—can be given the additional stimulus which comes from the lively interest of women, (both those who support themselves and those who have more leisure), then a very large proportion of the working women can have more adequate care for life and health and the children will have education beyond that which we have as yet achieved.

Does any one here believe that if the women had power to make themselves felt in the administration of school affairs we should have 80,000 children on half-time in New York City? Truly, if the mothers of these school children, as well as their fathers, spoke in the elections, the interest in the schools would be quite a different one. Does any one believe that if the women of this community could make themselves felt more effectively than by "persuasion," if they could make their will felt, we should have such a smoky sky as characterizes Chicago? Does any one believe that we should have to boil all the water before we dared to drink it? It would make a vast difference if women in American cities could enforce their will and conscience by the ballot instead of by the indefinitely slow work of persuasion.

The first evening was devoted to a more extended welcome and to the president's address. On behalf of the city Dr. Howard S. Taylor represented Mayor Edward F. Dunne and in an eloquent speech he reviewed the various epochs in the country's history. "Take, for instance," he said, "the first chapter, when the old Liberty Bell clanged out to the world the doctrine that 'all men are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and to secure these rights

governments are established among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.' There is no casuistry, however dextrous, that can take woman out of that charter." He referred to pioneer days and the heavy part borne by women and said: "But when the foundations had been established and the pioneer fathers got down to writing the constitutions they left the pioneer mothers out." He spoke of the time in the '50's when "the Government invited the people from all over the world to come and help us settle our political, social and commercial questions but did not invite American mothers, sisters, wives and daughters." "Then came the Civil War," he said, "and the large part taken in it by women and when the war was over the Government made the great army of emancipated slaves citizens and gave the men the ballot but forgot the patriotic white women of the country." "I know," he said in conclusion, "that if the women of Chicago and Illinois were enfranchised the corruption of the city council and the Legislature would be much less than it is. We should have a higher state of morals among public men and better laws on the statute books."

When the speaker finished Dr. Shaw observed: "We ought to thank Mayor Dunne for substituting a man like Dr. Taylor for himself." This brought Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch to her feet to say: "Mayor Dunne would have made just as good a suffrage speech as Dr. Taylor." "I did not intend any reflection on the Mayor," answered Dr. Shaw with a quiet smile, "but I think he showed excellent judgment."

The Chicago Woman's Club of over a thousand members, a recognized force in the great city, sent its greetings through its president, Mrs. Gertrude E. Blackwelder. Mrs. Minnie E. Watkins, as president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, gave a welcome in the name of its membership of 294 clubs and told of the increasing growth of suffrage sentiment among them. "Through the work of our Industrial, Civil Service and Legislative Committees," she said, "we have learned our need of the ballot." The Rev. Charles R. Henderson, Professor of Sociology, an earnest suffragist, welcomed the convention, saying in part:

As I am to represent the University of Chicago, it will not do for me to make a speech on either side. No one person can rep-



resent the sentiments of four hundred men, who all the time are in an attitude of friendly hostility to anything that comes up. I think, however, there is one point of sympathy with us who are engaged in the work of investigation, trying to get beyond the frontier of present knowledge of all the sciences. It is this: As soon as anything comes to be in the possession of the majority, it loses interest for us; as long as there is something to do, we are interested in it. When the effort for woman suffrage is a thing of the past, then the people will take care of it. Our duty is to make the public sentiment and let some one else put it into legal form. . . .

They say that women cannot manage the great questions of government. That has yet to be submitted to the final scientific test of experiment. As a matter of fact, today the one highest, finest, noblest task of society, if not of government, is the task of education and the inculcation of religion and of ideals; and in this land, which in most respects leads all lands, woman has the first word in this matter, as hers is the strongest and the wisest word, and her influence, her thought and her character lead upward and on. I need not, in this presence, argue the question.

I do not speak merely for the University of Chicago. I am proud to belong to a university of letters, a republic that has its branches in all parts of the civilized world. And I am glad that, from the time I started to learn to read, in my own education in this Middle West, from my childhood with my mother, through the church, the Sunday school, the elementary and secondary schools, the college and now the university, I have seen women side by side with men, sharing the same teaching and having the same teachers. That is what we stand for in the Middle West. . . . The foundation of our institutions throughout the West is this fundamental law, not to be changed, that if there is any advantage to be had, women shall have it now and forever.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, national recording secretary, and Miss Jane Campbell, secretary of the Pennsylvania Association, responded. The Hon. Oliver W. Stewart spoke on *The Logic of Popular Government*. He pointed out that there has been a steady movement of mankind toward government by the people for the people and said in part:

In our own country we can see this growth clearly. Take the election of the President. There was at first no thought that the people should elect him but do you not see how quickly they assimilated the machinery which was provided? We have not changed the machinery but we have changed the spirit, so that instead of the electoral college deliberating and choosing a President, it is scarcely more than a stenographer to take the dictation of the public. The people have absorbed the power themselves, and you

can write it as true that they do not surrender any power which they have acquired as the result of their own struggles. If any change should come it would be to give the people a more direct voice rather than a more indirect voice. Take the change in the convention system toward direct primaries. Do you not see how, in spite of politicians, the people have been writing direct primary laws? It is a part of the general movement toward popular government. . . .

There is a steady drift in this direction the world over and it would be an anomalous condition if that movement could exist and there could be at the same time a retrograde movement as to the rights of women. . . . I have grown philosophical with reference to the temporary defeats that we suffer. The thing to do is to commiserate those who bring about the defeats. I look at the black disgrace with which they will live in history who said they would die for their own rights and yet were tyrants enough to deny the rights of others. . . . The hour is quickly coming when the genius of our government, where it is true to itself, will have to give the ballot to womankind. May that day come speedily!

This was Dr. Shaw's 60th birthday and many pleasant references had been made to it by the delegates. She began her president's address by saying: "We have never before been more enthusiastic than today. Victory has not come in the United States but we are not working for ourselves alone. Wherever freedom comes to any woman that is our victory and when the new constitution of Finland granted absolute equality to its woman citizens, that was our victory." Municipal suffrage had been given to the women of Natal, South Africa, she said: "and now at the foot of Mt. Ararat, where the ark rested, the Catholics, or High Priest of that conservative people and religion, the Armenians, has issued an edict that the women of the church shall not only have a voice in the election of its officers but also shall be eligible to official position." She referred to the recent defeat of the suffrage amendment in Oregon and said: "All honor to those 37,000 men who voted for it; their descendants will not be ashamed of their fathers' act. There are today organizations of Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and there will some day be one of 'Sons and Daughters of the Evolution of Women's Freedom,' but there will never be one of the Tories who fought against that Revolution or this Evolution," and she continued:

This year I took for my motto those splendid words: "Truth loses many battles but always wins its war." We did not win save as those who fight for the truth are always the people who win. There never was, there never will be greater defeat in any human life than the victory which comes to the man or woman who is fighting against the truth, and there never can be a greater victory to any human soul than the fact that it is fighting for the truth, whether it wins or not. . . . This has been a year of victory in that more women have been enfranchised than in any preceding year. We have the largest membership that we have ever had. We come together in hope and in the firm determination that we will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer and all the summers of our life, and then the battle will not be finished unless the victory is absolutely won for all women. . . . While we have cause to rejoice we have also cause for sorrow. As an organization it has been the saddest year we have known or ever can know, for there has gone out from among us the visible presence of her who was our leader for over fifty years, and I have just come with others directly from the home in Rochester where we attended the funeral services of the dear sister Mary, who was the first of the two to enter the movement and was always the faithful co-worker and home-maker. Both have folded their hands in rest since our last convention. Each gave her whole life to the cause of woman and each in passing away left all she had to this cause. The sorrow is ours, the peace and the triumphal reward of loving service are theirs. I hope we shall spend no time in mourning and turning to the past but with our faces toward the future, strengthened by the inspiration we have received from our great leader, go on fighting her battle and God's battle until the complete victory is won.

With two exceptions this was the only national convention during the thirty-nine years that had not been animated by the presence of Miss Anthony and the second day—February 15, her 87th birthday—was largely devoted to her.<sup>1</sup> There were three reports on Memorials. One was presented by Mrs. May Wright Sewall (Ind.) for the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women and contemplated a bust to be executed in marble by the sculptor, Adelaide Johnson, who had made the one in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. A second was presented by Mrs. Mary T. Lewis Gannett of Rochester, N. Y., for an Anthony Memorial Building for the women students of the

<sup>1</sup>Miss Anthony helped arrange for the first National Woman Suffrage Convention and it was held in Washington in January, 1869. From that time to 1906 she missed but two of these annual meetings, when she was speaking in the far West under the auspices of a lecture bureau, and each time she sent the proceeds of a week's lectures as her contribution.

university of that city, who had been admitted largely through the effort of Miss Anthony. [Life and Work, page 1221.] A third was for a \$100,000 Memorial Fund for the work of the National American Association. The report of the committee for this third fund, which was presented by Mrs. Avery, stated that the nearness of success for woman suffrage now depended on securing the money to do the necessary work of propaganda, organization, publicity, etc., and that the most fitting memorial to Miss Anthony would be a fund of not less than \$100,000 to be used exclusively for "the furtherance of the woman suffrage cause in the United States in such amounts and for such purposes as the general officers of the association shall from time to time deem best." It also provided that the officers should be permitted to select eleven women to act as trustees of this fund, six of whom should be from the official board. This report was unanimously adopted. Mrs. Upton, the national treasurer, at once appealed for pledges and the delegates responded with about \$24,000. The business committee of the association elected as its six members Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Upton, Miss Blackwell, Miss Gordon and Miss Clay. Mrs. Henry Villard of New York; Mrs. Pauline Agassiz Shaw of Boston and Miss Jane Addams of Chicago were the only others selected.<sup>1</sup>

According to the custom for a number of years Miss Lucy E. Anthony was requested to present in the name of the association framed portraits of Miss Anthony to various institutions—in this instance to Hull House and the Chicago Political Equality League. Telegrams were received from the Mayor of Des Moines, Ia.; from the Utah Council of Suffrage Women; from the Interurban Woman Suffrage Council of Greater New York, saying they had observed the day by opening headquarters, and from a number of other sources telling that the birthday was being celebrated in ways that would have been pleasing to Miss Anthony.

The evening memorial services were beautiful and impressive.

<sup>1</sup> Through lack of initiative and effort the money for the bust was never raised. For Mrs. Gannett's report and other matter about the Memorial Building see the Appendix to this chapter. See also page 442, Volume VI. Reports on the Memorial Fund were made to the convention year after year. The intention at first was to create a fund and use only the interest but immediate demands were so urgent that the money subscribed was appropriated as needed and an audited account given by the national treasurer at each annual convention.

Mason Slade at the organ rendered the great chorus—Guilmant; Cantilene—Wheeldon; Marche Militaire—Schubert. The Rev. Mecca Marie Varney of Chicago offered prayer. During the evening Miss Marie Ludwig gave an exquisite harp solo and Mrs. Jennie F. W. Johnson sang with deep feeling Tennyson's Crossing the Bar, a favorite poem of Miss Anthony's. A telegram of greeting from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was sent through its president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. A tribute of an intimate and loving nature was paid by Miss Emily Howland of Sherwood, a friend of half a century, in which she said: "The first time I ever met Miss Anthony was at an anti-slavery meeting in my own shire town of Auburn, N. Y., which was broken up by a mob and we took refuge with Mrs. Martha Wright, a sister of Lucretia Mott." She spoke of Miss Anthony's "genius for friendship" and quoted the lines: "The bravest are the tenderest, the loving are the daring." Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery gave a number of instances during their travel in Europe which showed Miss Anthony's strong humanitarianism.

Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams of Chicago paid touching tribute in behalf of the colored people, in which she said: "My presence on this platform shows that the gracious spirit of Miss Anthony still survives in her followers. . . . When Miss Anthony took up the cause of women she did not know them by their color, nationality, creed or birth, she stood only for the emancipation of women from the thralldom of sex. She became an invincible champion of anti-slavery. In the half century of her unremitting struggle for liberty, more liberty, and complete liberty for negro men and women in chains and for white women in their helpless subjection to man's laws, she never wavered, never doubted, never compromised. She held it to be mockery to ask man or woman to be happy or contented if not free. She saw no substitute for liberty. When slavery was overthrown and the work of reconstruction began she was still unwearied and watchful. She had an intimate acquaintance with the leading statesmen of the times. Her judgment and advice were respected and heard in much of the legislation that gave a status of citizenship to the millions of slaves set free."

The principal address was made by the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones

of Chicago, a devoted friend, with whose courageous and independent spirit Miss Anthony had been in deep sympathy.<sup>1</sup> Tributes were paid to other devoted adherents to the cause who had died during the year and Henry B. Blackwell in closing his own said: "The workers pass on but the work remains." Dr. Shaw took up the words, making them the text of a beautiful memorial address, calling the long list one by one, beginning with the Anthony sisters and Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker and naming among the other veteran workers: Rosa L. Segur, Ohio; Emily B. Ketcham, Michigan; the Hon. H. S. Greenleaf, Professor Henry A. Ward, Eliza Thayer, Emogene Dewey and Mrs. James Sargent, New York; Virginia Durant Young, South Carolina; Ellen Powell Thompson, District of Columbia; Laura Moore, Vermont; Mrs. Henry W. Blair and Mrs. Oliver Branch, New Hampshire; Susan W. Lippincott, New Jersey, and many others.

The all-pervading spirit of the convention was that of carrying forward Miss Anthony's work. The board of officers was re-elected almost unanimously except that Dr. Jeffreys Myers, who wished to retire as second auditor, was replaced by Mrs. Mary S. Sperry of San Francisco. Mrs. Avery, for twenty-one years corresponding secretary, had returned from a long sojourn in Europe and the desire was so strong to have her on the board again that the office of second vice-president was created. At Mrs. Florence Kelley's insistence she was allowed to yield the first vice-presidency to Mrs. Avery and take the second place as having less responsibility.

The report of the headquarters secretary, Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, told of the sending out of 19,000 letters and 182,264

<sup>1</sup> In the *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* Chapter LXXIV begins: "The death of no woman ever called forth so wide an editorial comment as that of Miss Anthony, except possibly that of Queen Victoria, whose years in public life numbered about the same. On the desk where this is written are almost one thousand editorials, representing all the papers of consequence in the United States and many in other countries, and they form what may be accepted without reserve as the consensus of thought in the early years of the twentieth century in regard to Miss Anthony and the work she accomplished."

Over eighty pages of extracts from these editorials are given and several memorial poems. A large number of magazines in this and other countries contained sketches and articles from which quotations are made. Tributes of her biographer were published in the April numbers of the *Review of Reviews* and the *North American Review*, and on the week following her death in *Collier's* and the *New York Independent*.

In Chapter LXXI and following in the *Biography* are full accounts of Miss Anthony's death and funeral services.

pieces of literature within the year. It gave the names of many eminent men and women who were contributors to this literature, much of which first appeared in prominent magazines and newspapers, and spoke of the excellent propaganda work of *The Public*, edited by Louis F. Post. It emphasized the important accession of the *North American Review* and the Harper publications, which had come under the management of Colonel George Harvey. The report told of the bequest of Miss Anthony to the National American Association of all the remaining bound volumes of the History of Woman Suffrage, which had been sent to the headquarters and weighed ten tons.<sup>1</sup> Fifty sets had been sold during the year. Files of the Reports of the national conventions from 1900 to 1906 inclusive had been placed in one hundred of the largest libraries in the United States. The association arranged with Mrs. Harper for the exclusive sale of the Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony. The convention voted that *Progress*, edited by Mrs. Upton, should be changed to a weekly and enlarged, and every suffrage club was urged to subscribe for *Jus Suffragii*, the official paper of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Thousands of copies of new and valuable literature had been sold. After the press work was turned over to the headquarters 1,200 copies of articles of national interest were supplied each week to the fifty-eight State chairmen of the press committee from July to January and 28,875 copies of 118 news items and 50 special articles were sent to prominent newspapers.

The important work with organizations and their conventions was not neglected and during the past year they were asked specifically for a resolution calling on Congress to submit a Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment, with the following result :

The American Federation of Labor at its annual meeting in Minneapolis covered this request in a series of carefully worded resolutions. Other important organizations which gave official endorsement within the year are the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National Purity Conference, National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, Spiritualists of the United States and Canada,

<sup>1</sup> By vote of the convention these volumes were to be presented to the club or individual member under whose auspices a new club of not less than twenty paid up members had been formed and remained in active existence for not less than a year and was properly certified. The following year the Executive Committee voted to place 300 sets in public libraries.

Ladies of the Modern Maccabees, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Patrons of Husbandry, National Grange, and the United Mine Workers of America. To these we may add the fourteen other national organizations reported in previous years which have received fraternal delegates from our association or given formal endorsement, making a total of twenty-five large associations which responded favorably to our "convention resolutions" requests.

For the first time the General Federation of Women's Clubs invited our president to take part in the program at the Biennial. Resolutions have been reported to headquarters from the State W. C. T. U.'s of seven States; the Letter Carriers' Associations of Illinois, Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania; the State Granges of thirteen States; the State Federations of Labor of fifteen States. The Prohibitionists of eight States have had woman suffrage in their party platforms; the Socialists always declare for it and in California the Democrats, the Independence League and the Union Labor parties incorporated planks in their State platforms. The State Teachers' Associations of California and Illinois, the Sons of Temperance of Connecticut and Illinois, the Good Templars of Maine, the Congress of Mothers and the Federations of Women's Clubs of Illinois and New Hampshire are among other organizations which have acted favorably on some phase of the woman suffrage question.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday afternoon was devoted entirely to social affairs. They began with a luncheon given at Hull House by Miss Jane Addams to officers, delegates and alternates, after which the activities of this remarkable institution were explained. Systematic sight-seeing was carried out, groups of the guests being personally conducted to the Field Columbian Museum, the Art Museum, the big department stores and other points of interest. One group went to Chicago University, where Dr. Shaw addressed the students of the Women's Union and the College Girls' Suffrage Club. Afterwards they were entertained by the Dean of Women, Miss Marian Talbot. In the evening the Chicago Woman's Club gave a large reception, its president, Mrs. Blackwelder, and the chairman of the Social Committee, Miss Clara Dixon, being assisted in receiving by the officers of the association. Its handsome club rooms in the Fine Arts Building were placed at the service of the delegates throughout the convention.

Ministers of Chicago who opened the sessions with prayers

<sup>1</sup> This work was continued year after year until the list became far too large to publish. Not one organization, save a few connected with the liquor business, ever adopted a resolution against woman suffrage except the anti-suffrage societies themselves.



were Dr. J. A. Rondthaler of the Normal Park Presbyterian Church; Dr. Austin K. de Blois of the First Baptist Church, and the Rev. Jean F. Loba of the First Congregational Church, Evanston. A number of pulpits in the city were filled by officers and delegates Sunday morning. The Studebaker Theater was taken for the regular service of the convention in the afternoon in order to accommodate the large audience. The Rev. Kate Hughes of Chicago offered prayer. Dr. Shaw presided and read a message from Miss Mary S. Anthony dictated a few days before her death, when Miss Shaw asked her what word she would like to send to the convention. It said in part:

Until we, a so-called Christian nation, put into practice those principles of justice which we claim are the foundation of our national greatness, we cannot hope to inspire confidence in the people of the world in our lofty pretensions of freedom and fair play for all. The wrong which today outranks all others is the disfranchisement of the mothers of the race. So long as this injustice toward women continues, just so long will men fail to recognize justice in its application to each other. This one question puts all else into the background and until we can establish equality between men and women we shall never realize the full development of which manhood and womanhood are capable. Because I believe this so thoroughly I have given the best of myself and the best work of my life to help obtain political freedom for women, knowing that upon this rests the hope not only of the freedom of men but of the onward civilization of the world. I therefore urge upon the delegates and members of the National Association not to lose courage, no matter what befalls, but to work on in hope and faith, knowing well that the time of the coming of woman's political liberty depends largely upon the zeal and unwearying service of those who believe in its justice.

The Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati in a strong address showed the Value of the Ballot. Miss Addams told with much feeling of the recent campaign for the Municipal franchise, the objections they had to meet, the character of the opposition and how hard it was for women to be patient.

Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch gave an able address under the title "Why Not?" a study in Prejudice and Superstition, reviewing the objections to woman suffrage and finding their origin in Orientalism, in the military ideal, in political expediency. He ended his refutation of all of them by saying: "All our American institutions will be protected and benefited when we open the

doors and give women, who never should have been denied it, the right to govern themselves, to govern the country in conjunction with men and to decide the issues that affect their own interests. Men have had this right for themselves alone too long. The day will come, my sisters, when the conscience of the world will be aroused to such a degree that no one will dare question the justice of your movement."

Many greetings were received through letters, telegrams and fraternal delegates. Prof. John A. Scott, representing president A. M. Harris of Northwestern University, Evanston, brought an invitation for speakers to address the students and Miss Gordon and Miss Caroline Lexow responded. In his greeting Professor Scott said: "I believe in woman suffrage because I believe in the home. . . . I don't care a whit for the argument that women with property should have a vote. Property will always be represented and it does not so much matter whether the property-holding women have a vote or not but it is of immense importance to those women who work for their living. That they have no representation is a great menace to those who are nominally free but who must compete with slaves. Women are economic entities and they should be represented. Labor without representation is as wrong as taxation without representation."

E. M. Nockels, fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor, addressed the convention and read a letter from its president, Samuel Gompers, expressing the hope of universal suffrage for women. Mrs. Emma S. Olds brought greetings from the Ladies of the Maccabees of the World, and Mrs. Martin Barbe, the first vice-president, from the National Council of Jewish Women. A letter from Mrs. Mary Wood Swift (Calif.), president of the National Council of Women, gave its fraternal greetings. A cordial letter was read from Mrs. Mary B. Clay of Kentucky and telegrams from Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, Dr. Frances Woods, Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer and the Canadian Woman Suffrage Association. Telegrams of appreciation were sent to Julia Ward Howe, Clara Barton, Caroline E. Merrick, Emily P. Collins, Col. T. W. Higginson, Margaret W. Campbell, Judith W. Smith, Caroline M. Severance, Emma J. Bartol, Armenia S. White, Elizabeth Smith Miller, Ellen S. Sar-

gent, Sarah L. Willis and Charlotte L. Pierce, all old and beloved suffrage workers.

The symposium on Industrial Conditions of Women and Children, with Mrs. Henrotin presiding, occupied one afternoon. She pointed out the revolution in the work of women by its being taken from the home into the open market where they had to follow; described their handicaps, the immense importance of their labor, the business ability that many had developed, the property they had accumulated, the taxes they pay; she said if they had a voice in deciding how these taxes should be spent it would not only be a splendid thing for the city financially but morally, and urged that they should have the power of the suffrage. Graham Romeyn Taylor of Chicago paid high tribute to the work of women's organizations in all movements for civic improvement and described that of the Women's Clubs in Chicago; spoke of the Consumer's League also and declared the Women's Trade Union League most effective of all in bettering the condition of working women. He predicted close cooperation between this League and the National Suffrage Association. Miss Alice Henry of Australia spoke very effectively from her knowledge of the conditions of labor in her own country and the investigation she was making in the United States. Miss Casey, president of the Chicago Working Women's Suffrage Association, gave facts from personal knowledge showing their need of the vote. James C. Kelliher, former president of the National Letter Carriers' Association, spoke briefly and to the point. Miss Mary McDowell of Chicago made the principal address entitled The Working Women as a National Asset, in which she showed how little conception Congress and the Courts had of the legislation needed in their behalf and the sins of omission and commission that had resulted. In closing she said:

We need a body of facts so strong that the Judiciary will see the light. We need a body of facts that will teach housekeepers not to scorn these women because they can not get a cook. We need a body of facts to teach working men that this work of women is something which has come to stay. There are going to be more women earning their living in the future than in the past. These girls are pioneers in a movement that we do not yet quite understand. I do not believe that our Heavenly Father permits so large

a movement as these five million women in one country earning their own living without there being in it something that is for the best. . . . As a means to our work we want the suffrage. We all get very tired of the woman question. I will discuss the human question with any one but I will not discuss the woman question, because I think that is past. If women are going into industry, if they are going to have their places of responsibility, then they must more and more meet the responsibility that their brothers have with whom they work. It is not fair to the working brother to let the girls come in and cut down the wages and have no sense of responsibility, no feeling of permanency. It is a very great danger. Therefore, working women should have the ballot to make them feel that they, too, are responsible citizens. . . .

All reverence to the work that the suffragists have done! We have always honored dear Miss Anthony and we all owe gratitude to you women who have been so long in this cause making a way for the rest of us. The working women are joining your ranks because they know that they must do so.

The report of the Congressional Committee, Mrs. Catt chairman, was read by Mrs. Kelley. It said that after the excellent hearings before the committees of Congress the preceding winter had no effect it was decided to ask the cooperation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. This was done and its Industrial Advisory Board agreed to send out a circular letter. The association's Congressional Committee prepared one which the federation's board sent to 4,000 individual clubs asking them to question the members of Congress from their districts as to their opinion of a Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment and the request was largely complied with. A resolution was adopted that the association urge concerted action among the State auxiliaries to secure the submission by Congress of a Sixteenth Amendment forbidding disfranchisement on account of sex and that they be recommended to make it a feature of their work to obtain from their Legislatures a resolution in favor of such an amendment. A telegram of greeting was sent to Mrs. Catt and she was appointed fraternal delegate to the Peace Conference in New York in April.

Hard and conscientious work was shown in the reports of the chairmen of all the committees: Legislation for Civil Rights, Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg; Peace and Arbitration, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead; Presidential Suffrage, Henry B. Blackwell; Libraries, Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer; Literature, Miss Alice Stone Black-

well; Enrollment, Mrs. Oreola Williams Haskell; Membership, Miss Laura Clay, and others. Miss Clay urged that the organization of the political parties be taken as a model by the suffrage societies. As usual the State reports were among the most interesting features of the convention, for they gave in detail the nation-wide work that was being done for woman suffrage. At this time that of Oklahoma, Mrs. Kate L. Biggars, president, had a prominent place, as the association had been helping its women during the past year in an effort to have the convention which was framing a constitution for statehood put in a clause for woman suffrage. A corps of able national workers was there for months while the most strenuous work was done but the only result was the franchise on school matters.

The report on Oregon was read by the corresponding secretary, Miss Gordon. The campaign there for a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution was possibly the most strenuous that had ever been made for this purpose and the National Association had given more assistance, financial and otherwise, than to any other, a number of its officers going there in person. Among them were Miss Clay and Miss Gordon, who made full reports.<sup>1</sup>

The report of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, national treasurer, showed that the receipts of the association for 1906 had been \$18,203 and it had expended on the Oregon campaign \$18,075, a sum equal to its year's income. A portion of the money, however, was taken from the reserve fund and \$8,000 had been subscribed directly for this campaign by individuals and States. The total disbursements for the year had been \$25,933. The power of the association to rise above defeat and its courage and deter-

<sup>1</sup>One of the striking features of the recent national suffrage convention in Chicago was the large number of very close votes on woman suffrage bills that were announced from different States, all taking place at about the same time. While the convention was in session, the Chicago charter convention defeated woman suffrage by a tie vote. The Nebraska delegates got word that it had been lost in their Lower House by a vote of 47 to 46, with a tie in the Senate. In the Oklahoma constitutional convention, where the gambling and liquor forces as usual lined up against woman suffrage, it came so near passing that a change of seven votes would have carried it. In the West Virginia Legislature, where the last time it was smothered in committee, the House vote this time stood 38 yeas to 24 nays. In South Dakota the measure passed the Senate and came so near passing the House that a change of seven votes would have carried it. In the Minnesota House the vote showed a small majority for suffrage but not the constitutional one required. All these close legislative votes followed hard upon the remarkable vote in Vermont, where the suffrage bill passed the House 130 to 25 and came so near passing the Senate that a change of three votes would have carried it.—*Woman's Journal*.

mination, so many times shown, were strikingly illustrated on this occasion when the convention voted to raise a fund of \$100,000 and pledged \$24,000 of this amount before it adjourned.

The Resolutions presented by Mr. Blackwell, chairman of the committee, covered a wide range of subjects, among them the following:

In view of the fact that in only 14 of our States have married mothers any legal right to the custody, control and earnings of their minor children, we urge the women of the other States to work for laws giving to mothers equal rights with fathers.

The traffic in women and girls which is carried on in the United States and in other countries is a heinous blot upon civilization and we demand of Congress and our State Legislatures that every possible step be taken to suppress the infamous traffic in this country.

We urge upon Congress and State Legislatures the enactment of laws prohibiting the employment of children under 16 years of age in mines, stores or factories.

We favor the adoption of State amendments establishing direct legislation by the voters through the initiative and referendum.

Inasmuch as in the second Hague Peace Conference there will be offered the greatest opportunity in human history to lessen the burden of militarism, therefore we request the President of the United States to approve the recommendations for the action of that conference which were presented by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, to-wit: (1) An advisory world congress; (2) a general arbitration treaty; (3) the limitation of armaments; (4) protection of private property at sea in time of war; (5) investigation by an impartial commission of difficulties between nations before declaration of hostilities.

The convention at one evening session listened to interesting addresses by Mrs. Mary E. Coggeshall, president of the Iowa Suffrage Association, Then and Now; Professor Emma M. Perkins of Western Reserve University (Ohio), Educational Ideals; Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, The Denatured Woman. Mrs. Avery gave a much enjoyed report of the Congress of the International Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen the preceding August. On the last evening addresses were made by John Z. White of Chicago; Mrs. Upton on What Next? Miss Lexow on The Place of Equal Suffrage in Higher Education. Dr. Shaw closed the convention with a few eloquent words of encouragement, hope and prophecy for the success of the cause to which they gladly gave to the utmost their time, their labor and the best of everything they possessed.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1908.

The Fortieth annual convention, Oct. 15-21, 1908, celebrated a notable event, as it was the 60th anniversary of the first Woman's Rights Convention, that famous gathering of July 19-20, 1848, in Seneca Falls, N. Y., the home of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The celebration was appropriately held in Buffalo, the largest city in the western part of the State, and was one of the most interesting and successful of the organization's many conventions.<sup>1</sup> The evening before it opened the president and directors of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy gave a large reception to the officers, delegates, members and friends of the association.

The convention met in the Young Men's Christian Association building but this proved to be entirely too small for the evening sessions, which were held in the large Central Presbyterian

<sup>1</sup>Part of Call: Since we met last in convention women in Norway have won full suffrage; tax-paying women in Iceland have been granted a vote and made eligible as municipal councillors; Municipal suffrage has been given to women in Denmark and they now vote for all officers except members of Parliament; women in Sweden, who already had the Municipal vote, have been made eligible to municipal offices; a proxy in the election of the Douma has been conferred on women of property in Russia. In Great Britain, where they have long possessed Municipal suffrage, women have been made eligible as mayors, county, borough and town councillors and their heroic struggle for Parliamentary suffrage is attracting the attention of the world.

In our own country during the past year, 175,000 women of Michigan appealed for full suffrage to its constitutional convention and a partial franchise was given; in Oregon women obtained the submission of a constitutional amendment for suffrage to a referendum vote. Though no large victories were won the advocates of equal suffrage have never felt more hopeful, as public sentiment is in closer sympathy with them than ever before. Five hundred associations of men, organized for other purposes and numbering millions of voters, have officially declared for woman suffrage; only one, the organized liquor traffic, has made a record of unremitting hostility to it and the domination of the saloon in politics has wrested many victories from our grasp. . . .

We cordially invite all men and women who have faith in the principles of the American government and love liberty and justice to meet with us in convention in Buffalo.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.  
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, First Vice-President.  
FLORENCE KELLEY, Second Vice-President.  
KATE M. GORDON, Corresponding Secretary.  
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary.  
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer.  
LAURA CLAY, }  
MARY SIMPSON SPERRY, } Auditors.

Church. The excellent program was the work of Miss Kate Gordon, national corresponding secretary, and the admirable arrangements were due to Mrs. Richard Williams, president for the past eight years of the Political Equality Club, with a corps of local helpers, but an accident on the first day prevented her from welcoming the convention or taking part in its proceedings. With the national president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, in the chair, it was opened with prayer by the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Helen Z. M. Rodgers, a lawyer of Buffalo, extended a welcome from women in the professions, who, she said, "had only penetrated the ante-rooms and the annexes—the teachers never able to reach the salaries paid to men; the doctors shut out from the advantage of hospital positions; the lawyers allowed to help interpret the laws but not to help make them." "To get much further," she said, "we must be invested with full citizenship."

Mrs. John Miller Horton gave a cordial welcome for the City Federation of Women's Clubs, of which she was president, and for the Buffalo Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Niagara Frontier Chapter of the Daughters of 1812 and the Nellie Custis Branch of the Children of the Revolution, as regent of each of them. She presented to Dr. Shaw a large cluster of American Beauty roses tied with the blue and gold of the federation and the blue and white of the D. A. R., which was accepted in the name of Susan B. Anthony and reverently laid over her portrait that stood on an easel. Dr. Ida C. Bender, president of the Women Teachers' Association, spoke earnestly in behalf of "the army of teachers who are training the future citizens of the republic," and Dr. Shaw commented: "Political nonentities can hardly be expected to inspire a political entity with enthusiasm."

The Western Federation of Women's Clubs gave its welcome through its president, Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, of whom the *Woman's Journal* said: "She spoke with an accent of unaffected sincerity and self-forgetfulness that recalled the spirit of the

<sup>1</sup> Other ministers who officiated at different times were the Reverends Anna Howard Shaw, Anna Garlin Spencer and Olympia Brown of the convention, and the Reverends Richard W. Boynton, Robert Freeman, L. O. Williams, E. H. Dickinson and F. Hyatt Smith of Buffalo.



pioneers." She referred with pride to the fact that this organization, with nearly 100 clubs and about 32,000 members, was the first Federation of Women's Clubs to admit suffrage societies. Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg, president of the Pennsylvania Suffrage Association and officer of the General Federation, brought its greeting, the first it had ever sent to a national suffrage convention. Mrs. Frances W. Graham, president of the New York State Woman's Christian Temperance Union, gave its greeting and spoke of the close cooperation which had always existed between the workers for temperance and suffrage. Dr. Shaw asked that she would convey the cordial greetings and best wishes of the association to the National W. C. T. U., to whose convention in Denver she was en route. Mrs. Ella Hawley Crossett, for the sixth term president of the New York State Suffrage Association, united with Dr. Shaw in responding to the welcoming addresses and spoke with deep feeling of the courage and persistence of the pioneers and of the pride with which the State where the movement for woman suffrage had its birth welcomed the convention to celebrate the event.

Miss Emily Howland of Sherwood, N. Y., reformer, educator and philanthropist, a co-worker and friend of the early suffragists, gave a delightful address on *The Spirit of 1848*, "herself a living embodiment of that spirit," in which she said:

"Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends!" These are the words that come to me as I essay to speak of the Spirit of '48! Was it not something of this love which inspired that immortal Declaration made at the Woman's Rights Convention on July 19-20, 1848? "This," says Mrs. Stanton in her autobiography, "was the initial step in the most momentous reform that has yet been launched upon the world—the first organized protest against the injustice which had brooded for ages over the character and destiny of one-half of the race. No words could express our astonishment on finding a few days afterward that what seemed to us so timely, so rational and so sacred should be a subject for sarcasm and ridicule in the entire press of the nation. The anti-slavery papers alone stood by us manfully."

The Declaration had been signed by many, the audiences being large, but when pulpit and press ridiculed and reproved do we marvel that one by one the women withdrew their names and "joined the persecutors?" Much I fear that our own organization would shrivel to pitiful proportions if today submitted to the ordeal from which they recoiled. Indeed even Mrs. Stanton confessed that if

she had had the slightest premonition of all that would follow this convention, she feared her courage would not have been equal to it. Fortunate ignorance, if she did not underrate her bravery, for she and a goodly number of the other signers were steadfast. They chose to side with truth and take the consequences.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery (Penn.), corresponding secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, presented a long and valuable report of its recent congress in Amsterdam. [See chapter on Alliance.] The convention then adjourned for the reception given by Mrs. Horton, whose handsome home on Delaware Avenue was decorated with American Beauty roses, the dining room with yellow chrysanthemums. She was assisted in receiving by Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Crossett and Mrs. Allison S. Capwell, president of the Erie County Suffrage Association.

At the evening session Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller (N. Y.), presided, daughter of Gerrit Smith, who was a staunch advocate of woman suffrage from the time the movement for it began. Hundreds were turned away for lack of room. The convention was officially welcomed to the city by Mayor J. N. Adams and the welcome on the part of the State was expressed by Senator Henry W. Hill, a consistent supporter of the legislative work for suffrage. The principal feature of the evening was the president's address of Dr. Shaw, of whom the report in the *Buffalo Express* said: "The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw has set a new standard for womanhood. She is one of the most wonderful women of her time, alert, watchful, magnetic, earnest, with a mind as quick for a joke as for the truth. She points her arguments with epigrams and tips the arrows of her persuasion with a jest. . . . Even the unbelievers are carried away with her brilliancy, eloquence and mental grasp." There was no adequate report of her address but she began by saying:

We are scarcely able today to understand what those brave pioneers endured to secure the things which we accept as a matter of course. They started the greatest revolution the world has ever witnessed. During these last sixty years more changes have been wrought for the benefit of women, more opportunities for education have been secured and more all-round enlightenment than in the 6,000 years preceding. There are women who accept these advantages and the positions that have been obtained because of this early movement who have no conception of what it has meant to open the highways

of progress for them. Some of those who oppose the suffrage say: "These things would have come; men would have given woman these opportunities as civilization advanced." Why did they not come sooner if men were so willing? Why should they have grown more in the last sixty years than in all the years before? . . . But the women in all this long time of struggle have not stood entirely alone. There have always been some men to stand by their side and they owed it to do so, for ever since the world began women have stood by men in their efforts to achieve the right. Never was there a great leader who had not some woman by his side. Woman was first at the cradle, last at the cross and first at the tomb. Women have stood shoulder to shoulder with men always in their efforts. . . . Some tell us that we have not made great progress. It is impossible to change the attitude of all the conflicting elements of humanity in three-score years. If Christianity in 1900 years, with the teaching of such a Leader, has not yet made Peace Congresses unnecessary, what can be expected of other reforms?

The secretary's report of Miss Gordon contributed this bit of history:

At this junction of the work a question arising upon the advisability of securing a petition of a million signatures to present to President Roosevelt in order to influence a recommendation of suffrage for women in his annual message, a request was made that he receive at Oyster Bay a committee from our association. The President reasonably declined to have his vacation interrupted with committees but offered to receive our request in writing. Your secretary accordingly wrote him to the effect that we wished to know—before going to the labor and expense involved in securing such a petition—whether its influence would have any weight in leading him to recommend woman suffrage in his message. Courteously but emphatically came the reply that it would not, but at the same time extending an invitation for the National Association to appoint a committee to see him on his return to Washington. The committee appointed was composed of your national treasurer, Mrs. Upton, Mrs. Henry Dickson Bruns of New Orleans, Mrs. Katharine Reed Balentine of Maine and your corresponding secretary, and at the appointed time it was received by the President, who again reiterated his opinion on the absolute valuelessness of such a petition. In so doing he ignored what for the women of this republic is their only right—the right of petition. The interview was fruitful of no suggestion beyond the time-honored recommendation to "get another State." Women who worship as a fetish the power of this right to petition may well catalogue this fallacy with those other American fallacies that "taxation without representation is tyranny"; that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and that the Government guarantees "equal rights for all and special privileges for none."

Miss Gordon told how the last convention had changed the plan for forty years of holding the national convention in Washington during the first session of a new Congress and therefore the corresponding secretary had been obliged to arrange for representative women to go there and have a hearing before the committees of Senate and House. Mrs. Balentine, who was staying in Washington, and Miss Emma Gillett, a lawyer of that city, took charge and hearings were granted March 3. They lacked the inspiration of the presence of delegates from all parts of the country and the convention lost the pleasure and benefit.

The Work Conferences were continued under the name of Round Table Conferences. The subjects considered were: Increase of membership; press work; 16th Amendment as a line of policy; finance; State legislative methods. An organizers' symposium discussed "A comparison of conditions today with those of ten years ago; the building of a State association; the personal touch; preliminary arrangements for meetings."

The usual comprehensive report was made by the headquarters secretary, Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, who told of the vast amount of work done, which included the sending out of 13,000 letters and 207,410 pieces of literature, exclusive of matter for the press. *Progress* had been issued monthly, the Political Equality Leaflets and twenty other kinds had been published and a card catalogue of 5,696 names completed; the convention reports edited and distributed, the sales of the *Life of Miss Anthony* and the *History of Woman Suffrage* looked after and an endless amount of other work done. Miss Hauser told also of the extensive effort with organizations. Ten great national associations during 1907, twenty-four State associations and ninety-three labor unions had passed resolutions for woman suffrage, and thus far in 1908 nine national and thirty-six important State associations had done so. She gave an equally encouraging report of the work with the press, which was done through committee chairmen in thirty-two States, who had furnished thousands of articles to hundreds of newspapers. Part of this material was local but the national headquarters had supplied 69,244 pages. Suitable matter had been sent to religious, educational and other specialized papers and over a thousand letters to editors. A long list was given of

the leading magazines which had published articles on woman suffrage by prominent writers during the year. The reason was that things were happening in all parts of the world directly related to this question.

Miss Hauser's report was accepted by a rising vote. She presided at the Press Conference on how to secure the publication of woman suffrage in country and in city papers; character of material; what is the greatest need in press work; should "anti" articles be answered, etc. Interesting addresses were made on Woman's Share in Productive Industry by Mrs. Anna Cadogan Etz (N. Y.); A Square Deal, by Mrs. Grace H. Ballantyne (Ia.); and one by Mrs. Clara B. Arthur, president of the Michigan State Association, reviewing the extensive work that had been done in its recent constitutional convention to secure a woman suffrage clause. Henry B. Blackwell (Mass.) began his report on Presidential Suffrage by saying: "It was the maxim of Napoleon Bonaparte to concentrate his military forces upon the point in his enemy's lines of the greatest importance and least resistance and by so doing he conquered Europe. This point in the woman suffrage battle is, under our form of government, the Presidential Suffrage, the vote for presidential electors."

The great evening of the week was the one devoted to the Commemorative Program in Honor of the 1848 Convention. This convention was called by Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Mary Ann McClintock and Martha C. Wright—the last three Friends, or Quakers—to consider a Declaration of Sentiments and set of Resolutions which they had prepared and it adopted both.<sup>1</sup> Those resolutions of sixty years ago were now discussed by women who represented the two succeeding generations, still in the midst of the contest which the women who began it expected to see ended during their lifetime. The session was opened with prayer by the Rev. Olympia Brown, a veteran suffragist, and the presiding officer was Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne (N. Y.), daughter of Martha C. Wright and niece of Lucretia Mott. Each resolution was presented and commented on in a brief, pungent speech, the speakers including Mr. Blackwell, husband of Lucy Stone, both pioneers, and another pioneer, the Rev. Antoinette Brown

<sup>1</sup> For full account see *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume I, page 67.

Blackwell, the first ordained woman minister; Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of Mrs. Stanton; Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, daughter of William Lloyd Garrison, a pioneer; the Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, an early leader in Rhode Island, and Miss Laura Clay, at the head of the movement in Kentucky almost from its beginning. Among the later generation were the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane (Mich.), Miss Julie R. Jenney (N. Y.), Mrs. Ella S. Stewart (Ill.), Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman (N. Y.) and Mrs. Judith Hyams Douglas (La.).

Of most of these addresses there is no printed record. Mrs. Gilman commented on the resolution that "the laws which place woman in a position inferior to that of man are contrary to the great precept of nature," saying in part: "Woman has the same right to happiness and justice as an individual that man has and as the mother of the race she has more. . . . Women have a right to citizenship and to all that citizenship implies, not only for their own sake but especially because the world needs them. We have the masculine and the feminine but above them both is the human, which has nothing to do with sex. The argument for equal freedom and equal opportunities for women rests not on the law of the worthy Mr. Blackstone but on the law of nature, which is the law of God. . . ."

Mrs. Blackwell said in response to the resolution that "as man accords to woman moral superiority it is his pre-eminent duty to encourage her to speak and teach in religious assemblies": "You cannot realize how serious a thing it was to be a minister in early days when St. Paul was taken literally. I know from personal experience that nearly all the religious world in those days believed it to be a sin for a woman to try to preach. My own mother urged me to become a foreign missionary instead; she was willing to send her daughter away to other lands rather than have her become a minister at home. At 18 I was considered as well-fitted for college as the half dozen young men among my schoolmates who were going to take a college course. At that time Oberlin, O., was the only college that admitted women. When I arrived there Lucy Stone had pretty well stirred up the whole institution. I was warned against her in advance but we soon became warm friends. One beautiful evening we walked

out together and as we stood in that glorious sunset I told her that I meant to be a minister. She said: 'You can't do it; they will never let a woman be a public teacher in the church.' . . . One other woman and I graduated from the theological school. For three years the authorities of the school put our names into the catalogue with a star and then they dropped us out and it took forty years to get us reinstated."

Mrs. Spencer said of the resolution that "the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on man and woman." "Of all the notable pronouncements at Seneca Falls no resolutions shows a finer spiritual audacity than this. A delicious flavor of transcendentalism from beginning to end marks the phraseology. Like the Brook Farm experiment the Seneca Falls Convention was the outcome of a great wave of idealism sweeping over the world. It was seen in England and in Europe. Germany was stirring things up and Italy was seething with revolution. This new world was eager to put its idealism into immediate practical living. . . . Women were looking after their woman's share of it. They felt that it must be founded on spiritual ideas and this was a spiritual Declaration of Independence. We honor these pioneers because women who had been trained to follow and not to lead, and taught that wives and mothers should buy their security at the cost of a discarded fragment of their sex, dared to summon men to an equal bar and to declare that in purity, as in justice, there is no sex."

Mrs. Stewart treated with delicious wit and sarcasm the resolution of protest against "the objection of indelicacy and impropriety which is so often brought against women who address a public audience by those who encourage their appearance in the theatre and the circus." Miss Clay discussed with dignity and seriousness the resolution that "equality of human rights necessarily follows identity in capabilities and responsibilities." Mrs. Villard spoke of the great privilege of being the daughter of a reformer and said: "The cause of woman is so intimately connected with that of man that I think the men will be the gainers by its triumph even more than women." Mrs. Douglas, a brilliant young speaker from New Orleans, new to the suffrage platform, took up the resolution, "Woman has too long rested satis-

fied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned to her," and said in part:

Only one thing can make me see the justness of woman being classed with the idiot, the insane and the criminal and that is, if she is willing, if she is satisfied to be so classed, if she is contented to remain in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her. It is idiotic not to want one's liberty; it is insane not to value one's inalienable rights and it is criminal to neglect one's God-given responsibilities. God placed woman originally in the same sphere with man, with the same inspirations and aspirations, the same emotions and intellect and accountability. . . . The Chinamen for centuries have taken peculiar means for restricting women's activities by binding the feet of girl babies and yet there remains the significant fact that, after centuries of constraint, God continues to send the female child into the world with feet well formed, with a foundation as substantial to stand upon as that of the male child. As in this instance, so in all cases of restriction put upon women—they do not come from God but from man, beginning at birth. . . . For thousands of centuries woman has heard what sphere God wanted her to move in from men, God's self-ordained proxies. The thing for woman to do is to blaze the way of her sex so thoroughly that sixteen-year-old boys in the next generation will not dare ask a scholarly woman incredulously if she really thinks women have sense enough to vote. Woman can enter into the larger sphere her great Creator has assigned her only when she has an equal voice with man in forming public opinion, which crystalizes customs; only when her voice is heard in the pulpit, applying Scripture to man and woman equally, and when it is heard in the Legislature. Only then can be realized the full import of God's words when He said, "It is not well for man to be alone."

Mrs. Douglas analyzed without mercy the pronouncements of Paul regarding women and said: "The pulpits may insist that Paul was infallible but I prefer to believe that he was human and liable to err." When she had finished Dr. Shaw remarked dryly: "I have often thought that Paul was never equalled in his advice to wife, mother and maiden aunt except by the present occupant of the Presidential chair" [Roosevelt].

To Mrs. Blatch was given the privilege of speaking to the resolution so strenuously insisted upon by her mother: "It is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their



sacred right to the elective franchise." In the course of an animated speech she said:

Mrs. Stanton was quick to see and, what is greater, quick to seize the psychological moment, and in that July of 1848 she had not only the inspiration but the determination to grasp the opportunity to set forth a resolution asking "votes for women." How clear was her vision, how perfect her sense of balance! Property rights might be gained, rights of person protected, guardianship of children achieved, but without the ballot she saw all would be insecure. What was given today might be taken away tomorrow unless women themselves possessed the power to make or remake laws. Women are getting the sense of solidarity by being crowded together in the workshop; they are learning the lesson of fellowship. Brought side by side in the college and in the business world, they are beginning to learn that they have a common interest. They know now that they form a class. The anti-suffragist is the isolated woman, she is the belated product of the 18th century. She is not intentionally, viciously selfish, she has merely not developed into 20th century fellowship. She is unrelated to our democratic society of today. . . . How shallow, in the face of that idea of duty in fulfilling our obligations of citizenship, sound the words of Governor Hughes that "when women want the vote they will get it!" Want it? That is no measure of social need. It was death to the nation to have slavery within its bounds but no one advised waiting until the enslaved negroes wanted to be free before this dire disease should be cured. The State needs the attention of women, their thought, their service, and so it becomes the duty of all who have the best interests of the State at heart to seek to bind women to it in closest bonds of citizenship.

In response to Resolution Eleven that, being held morally responsible, woman had therefore a right to express herself in public on all questions of morals and religion, the Rev. Mrs. Crane began with fine sarcasm: "To women has always unquestionably been allowed the being good. They are called too good to enter the slimy pool of politics. They are complimented often in the spirit of the man who said to his wife: 'Angelina, you get up and make the fire; it will seem so much warmer if laid by your fair hands!' To women is also conceded the right to be religious and unfortunately it often happens that all the religion a man has is in his wife's name. Ruskin said: 'If you don't want the kingdom of heaven to come, don't pray for it but if you do want it to come you must do more than pray for it.' Women

must vote as well as pray. Whoever is able to make peace in this distracted world is the one who should be allowed to do it."

A full report of the work among the churches was made at a morning meeting by Mrs. Lucy Hobart Day (Me.), chairman of the committee, which showed that eighteen States had appointed branch committees. These had organized suffrage circles in different churches, encouraged debates among the young people, arranged meetings, distributed literature, obtained hearings before many kinds of religious bodies, secured resolutions and tried to have official recognition of women in the churches. Ministers had been requested to preach sermons in favor and many had done so, twenty-five in San Francisco alone. Mrs. Pauline Steinem (Ohio), chairman of the Committee on Education, reported on its efforts in organizing Mothers' and Parents' Clubs and working through these for suffrage; putting pictures of the pioneers in schools and securing the cooperation of the teachers for brief talks about them; supplying books containing selections from suffrage speeches, poems, etc., to be used in the schools. It was also proposed to see that text books on history and civics are written with a proper appreciation of the work of women.

Part of an afternoon was devoted to a discussion led by Dr. Rosalie Slaughter Morton (N. Y.), delegated representative of Prince Morrow and the American Society for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis. In an eloquent address she described the terrible devastation, especially among women and children, from diseases which until lately had been concealed and never mentioned. She attributed these conditions partly to the fact that boys and girls were left in ignorance and this was often because the mothers were ignorant. The chief cause of the wide prevalence of these diseases was the double standard of morals, the belief that a chaste life for a man is incompatible with health and that the consequences of immorality end with themselves and will not be transmitted. She urged women to unite in the demand for a higher standard of morals among men. Mrs. Gilman spoke strongly on the necessity for more vigorous measures for a quarantine of the infected and health certificates for every marriage and she laid a large share of the cause of immorality at

the door of the economic dependence of women. Mrs. Florence Kelley, executive secretary of the National Consumers' League, whose life was being spent in improving the economic position of women, said: "How are we dealing with this monstrous evil? Are we going to wait patiently and rear a whole generation of children and grandchildren and trust to their gradual increase in strength of character?" She told of the mothers who bring up children in the best and wisest manner but the environment outside the home, which they have no power to shape, nullifies all their teaching. "That is a very slow way of dealing with a cancer," she said. "Women have tried for forty years to get the power to have the laws enforced and that is our greatest need today." A principal feature of this important discussion was the strong, analytical address of the Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, in the course of which she said:

The formation of the New York Society for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis marked an important era. For the first time the physicians as a whole assumed a social duty to promote purity. They had done it as individuals, but this was the first instance of their banding themselves together on a moral as well as a sanitary plane to enlighten the public as to the causes of social disease. . . . Dr. Prince Morrow should be everlastingly honored by every woman. . . . I consider no woman guiltless, whether she lives in a suffrage State or not, if she does not hold herself responsible for guarding less fortunate women. Corrupt custom has rent the sacred, seamless robe of womanhood and cast out part of the women, abandoning them to degradation. We must learn to recognize the responsibility of pure women for the fallen women, of the woman whose circumstances have enabled her to stand, for the woman whom adverse conditions have borne down. We should oppose the sacrifice of womanhood, whether of an innocent girl sacrificed with pomp and ceremony in church, or of a poor waif in the street; and the great protection is the ability of young girls to earn their living by congenial labor. All the social purity societies do not equal the trade schools as a preventive. . . .

We must not look at this matter from only one point of view or say that we can do nothing about it until we are armed with the ballot. I am a suffragist but not "high church," I am a suffragist and something else. We ought to have the ballot, we are at a disadvantage in our work while we are deprived of it, but even without it we have great power. We must stamp out the traffic in womanhood, it is a survival of barbarism. Womanhood is a unit; no one woman can be an outcast without dire evil to family life. What caused the doctors to come together in a Society for Sanitary

and Moral Prophylaxis? It was because the evil done in dark places came back in injury to the family life. . . . We must make ourselves more terrible than an army with banners to despoilers of womanhood. . . . Men are no longer to be excused for writing in scarlet on their foreheads their incapacity for self-control. None of us is longer to be excused for cowardice and acquiescence in the sacrifice of womanhood. Not even that woman—vilest of all creatures on the face of the earth I do believe—the procuress, shall be beyond the pale of sympathy, for she is merely the product of the feeling on the part of men that they owe nothing to women or to themselves in the way of purity, and the feeling on the part of women that they have no right to demand of men what men demand of them. If women are going to amount to anything in government, they would better begin to practice here and now and band themselves together with noble men to bring about this reform.

Of equal interest with Pioneers' Evening and in striking contrast with it was the College Evening. One commemorated the first efforts to obtain a college education for women, the other the full fruition of these efforts in the announcement of a National College Women's Equal Suffrage League with branches in fifteen States. Dr. Shaw, possessing three college degrees, opened the session, and the founder of the League, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, a graduate of Radcliffe College, presided. "With the exception of Oberlin and Antioch," she said, "not one college was open to women before the organized movement for woman suffrage began." She gave statistics of the large number now open to them and said: "Such facts as these help us to understand the service which the leaders of the suffrage movement performed for college women and it is fitting that these should make public recognition of their debt. It was with this idea of responsibility for benefits received that the first branch of this League was formed in Massachusetts in 1900. The League realizes that the best way to pay our debt to the noble women who toiled and suffered, who bore ridicule, insult and privation, is for us in our turn to sow the seed of future opportunities for women."

In introducing Dr. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, dean of the Junior Women's College of the University of Chicago, Mrs. Park said that she had half the letters of the alphabet attached to her name representing degrees. Dr. Breckinridge also paid a

tribute of gratitude to the National Suffrage Association and began her address: "My faith has three articles. I believe it is the right and the duty of the wage-earning woman to claim the ballot and to have her claim recognized to participate in the political life of her community. Her status as a worker depends in part upon it and only thus can she protect the interests of her group. I believe it is the right and duty of the wife and mother to claim the ballot, for as a housekeeper and carer of her children she cannot do her work economically and satisfactorily without it. It is easy to see why the wage-earning women and the housekeepers need the ballot; but why should we, who do not belong to either of those groups, want it? Every woman should want it because tasks lie before the public so difficult that they can not be fulfilled without the cooperation of all the trained minds in the community, and these problems can be met only by collective action. We want to get hold of the little device that moves the machinery."

Miss Caroline Lexow, president of the New York branch of the league, a graduate of Barnard College, a part of Columbia University, "charmed the audience with her girlish simplicity and with the tribute she paid to the women who more than half a century ago sowed the seeds which have yielded so rich a harvest for the women of today," to quote from an enthusiastic reporter. Of another young speaker the *Buffalo Express* said: "To the front of the platform stepped a sweet-faced, bright-eyed, rosy English girl, Miss Ray Costello, a graduate of Newnham College, Cambridge University, who spoke on Equal Suffrage among English University Women. She had captured her audience before she started to describe the energetic work of the college women." "In England as in the United States," Miss Costello said, "the pioneers in the demand for higher education were also pioneers in the demand for votes. When the action of the 'militant' suffragettes brought the question into such prominence that the opponents began to state their objections, the college women were aroused and became more and more active, but as a whole they were in favor of peaceful rather than militant tactics." She told also of the growth of favorable sentiment in the men's colleges.

This was the first appearance at a national suffrage convention of Mrs. Frances Squire Potter, professor of English in the University of Minnesota, and her address on Women and the Vote was one of the ablest ever given before this body which was accustomed to superior addresses. Limited space forbids extended quotation:

Louis XIV said an infamous thing when he declared: "I am the State," but he announced his position frankly. He was an autocrat and he said so. It was a more honest and therefore less harmful position than that of a majority of voters in our country today. Can it help but confuse and deteriorate one sex, trained to believe and call itself living in a democracy, to say silently year by year at the polls, "I am the State"? Can it help but confuse and deteriorate the other sex, similarly trained to acquiescence year after year in a national misrepresentation and a personal no-representation? This fundamental insincerity of our so-called democracy is as insidious an influence upon the minds and morals of our franchised men, our unfranchised women and our young Americans of both sexes, as hypocrisy is to a church member or spurious currency to a bank. It is to be remembered that the evils which are pointed out in our commonwealth today are not the evils of a democracy but of an amorphous something which is afraid to be a democracy. Whether the opposition to women's voting be honestly professed or whether it is concealed under chivalrous idolatry, distrust and skepticism are behind it. . . . When pushed to the wall, objectors to woman suffrage now-a-days take refuge behind one of two platitudes: The first is used too often by women whose public activities ought logically to make them suffragists—the assertion that equal suffrage is bound to come in time but that at present there are more pressing needs. "Let us get the poor better housed and fed," these women say. "Let us get our schools improved and our cities cleaned up and then we shall have time to take up the cause of equal suffrage." Is not this a survival of that old vice of woman-kind, indirection? . . . The suffrage issue should not be put off but should be placed first, as making the other issues easier and more permanent. . . .

This brings me to the other platitude. How often we are told, "Women themselves do not want it; when they do it will be given to them." That is to say, when an overwhelming majority of women want what they ought to have, then they can have it. Extension of suffrage never has been granted on these terms. No great reform has gone through on these terms. In an enlightened State wanting is not considered a necessary condition to the granting of education or the extension of any privilege. Such a State confers it in order to create the desire; unenlightened States, like Turkey and Russia, hold off until revolution compels a reluctant, niggardly abdication of tyranny. . . . We have the conviction that

that which has come in Finland and Australia, which is coming in Great Britain, will come in America, and there is a majesty in the sight of a great world-tide which has been gathering force through generations, which is rising steadily and irresistibly, that should paralyze any American Xerxes who thinks to stop it with humanly created restraints.

Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, received an ovation. "The formation of this National College League," she said, "indicates that college women will be ready to bear their part in the stupendous social change of which the demand for woman suffrage is only the outward symbol," and she continued:

Sixty years ago all university studies and all the charmed world of scholarship were a man's world, in which women had no share. Now, although only one woman in one thousand goes to college even in the United States, where there are more college women than in any other country, the position of every individual woman in every part of the civilized world has been changed because this one thousandth per cent. have proved beyond the possibility of question that in intellect there is no sex, that the accumulated learning of our great past and of our still greater future is the inheritance of women also. Men have admitted women into intellectual comradeship and the opinions of educated women can no longer be ignored by educated men. . . . Women are one-half of the world, but until a century ago the world of music and painting and sculpture and literature and scholarship and science was a man's world. The world of trades and professions and work of all kinds was a man's world. Women lived a twilight life, a half-life apart, and looked out and saw men as shadows walking. Now women have won the right to higher education and to economic independence. The right to become citizens of the State is the next and inevitable consequence of education and work outside the home. We have gone so far; we must go farther. Why are we afraid? It is the next step forward on the path toward the sunrise—and the sun is rising over a new heaven and a new earth.

The National College Women's Equal Suffrage League was formally organized as auxiliary to the National American Association, with Dr. Thomas president, Miss Lexow secretary; Dr. Margaret Long, of Smith College, treasurer; Mrs. Park chairman of the organization committee; Dr. Breckinridge, Mrs. C. S. Woodward, adviser to women in the University of Wisconsin, and Miss Frances W. McLean of the University of California were among the vice-presidents. Three thousand dollars were

appropriated for its work the first year from the Anthony Memorial Fund. The following day Mrs. George Howard Lewis gave a beautiful luncheon at the Twentieth Century Club in honor of Dr. Shaw, Dr. Thomas and the college women and it included the officials of the national and State suffrage associations. The tables were decorated with orchids and yellow chrysanthemums and there were corsage bouquets of violets for the guests of honor.

The women ministers in attendance and some of the delegates spoke in various churches Sunday morning. A departure was made from the usual custom of holding religious services in the afternoon and they were replaced by an industrial meeting. One of the city papers thus introduced its account: "Any theatre after a packed house had better advertise a woman's meeting with the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw presiding. At the Star Theatre, where an industrial mass meeting was held under the auspices of the National Suffrage Association yesterday afternoon, when Dr. Shaw stepped to the front of the stage to call it to order, men, as well as women, filled all the seats on the ground floor and packed the galleries and boxes, while many stood during the entire program and many more were turned away. It was the largest meeting in the cause of equal suffrage that Buffalo has ever known. After prayer by the Rev. Robert Freeman and a musical selection by the choir of the First Unitarian Church, Dr. Shaw announced that the audience would rise while Julia Ward Howe's Battle Hymn of the Republic was sung. She stood with bowed head as she listened. "Some one asked me this morning if I am very happy," said Dr. Shaw, "and I said yes, for I have everything in the world that is necessary to happiness, good faith, good friends and all the work I can possibly do. I think God's greatest blessing to the human race was when He sent man forth into the world to earn his bread by the sweat of his face. I believe in toil, in the dignity of labor, but I also believe in adequate compensation for that toil."

The report of the committee on Industrial Problems Affecting Women and Children was given by its chairman, Mrs. Kelley, executive secretary of the National Consumers' League, in which she said: "In New York woman can not be deprived of the



sacred right to work all night in factories on pain of dismissal. Such is the recent decision of the Court of Appeals. On the other hand the same Court has within a week held that the law is constitutional which restricts to eight hours the work of men employed by the State, the county or the city. I wish the women who think that 'persuasion' is all-sufficient might have our experience in New York City; we worked for twelve years to get inspectors who should look after the women and children in stores and mercantile establishments. At last an act was passed by which inspectors were to be appointed and for about a year and a half they really inspected and looked after the children and young girls in the stores. Then a great philanthropist, Nathan Straus, who was connected with an establishment employing many young people, got himself appointed, as he frankly said, in order to get the salaries of the inspectors stricken out of the budget and to get sterilized milk put into it. He got the salaries out and the sterilized milk in and then he resigned. The next year his successor got the sterilized milk out and there we were, back just where we had been at the beginning. We had to set to work again and labor for years longer, petitioning all the changing and kaleidoscopic officials who have to do with the finances of New York; and one mayor said frankly to us—to the Consumers' League: "Ladies, why do you keep on coming? You know you will never get anything—there isn't a voter among you! . . . "Mrs. Kelley said the Consumers' League had been investigating the condition of girls working in stores, away from home, and she gave a heartbreaking account of their destitution and semi-starvation. "Only nineteen States protect grown women at all," she said. "I am very tired of 'persuasion' and from this time on I mean to try other methods."

Intense interest was manifested in the address entitled *Noblesse Oblige* by Miss Jean Gordon, factory inspector for New Orleans, in which she said in part:

One of the strongest and truest criticisms brought against our American leisure class is that they are absolutely devoid of a proper appreciation of what is conveyed in the expression, "*Noblesse Oblige*." In no country in the world are there so many young women of education, wealth and leisure, free as the winds of heaven

to do as they wish. In no country are there more interesting problems to be solved and one would think such work would appeal to this very class, especially as most of them are the daughters of men who by their large constructive minds have created conditions and opportunities and developed them into the great industries for which America is justly famous; and it would seem by the law of cross inheritance that these daughters would inherit some of the great creative ability of their fathers and fairly burn to apply their leisure and education to working out the social problems which are besetting more and more this great country. But unfortunately, with a few exceptions, they rest contented with playing the Lady Bountiful and their only appreciation of the spirit of *Noblesse Oblige* has been the old, aristocratic idea of charity. . . .

Think what it would mean to bring their trained minds and great wealth and leisure to the study of the economic conditions which are represented in the underpaid services and long hours of their less fortunate sisters in the mills and factories throughout this broad land! Think what it would mean if from the protection with which their wealth and position surround them they took their stand on the great question of the dual code of morality! Think what it would mean to the little children being stunted mentally and physically in our mills and factories, if these thousands of young women, many of them enjoying the wealth made out of these little human souls, refused to wear or buy anything made under any but decent living conditions! Think what it would mean if they decided that every child should have a seat in school, that every neighborhood should have a play-ground and a public bath!

Too long the men and women of leisure and education in America have left the administration of our public affairs to fall into the hands of a class whose conception of the duties involved in public service is of the lowest order. . . . Instead of being regarded as only fitted for women of ordinary position and intellect, all offices such as superintendents of reformatories, matrons and women factory inspectors, should be filled by women of standing, education, refinement and independent means. Such women would be above the temptation of graft or the fear of losing their positions. They are on a social footing with the manufacturers and no mill or factory owner likes to meet the factory inspector at a reception or dining in the home of a mutual friend if he is trying to evade the law. American women of leisure must awaken to an appreciation of the democratic idea of *Noblesse Oblige*.

Mrs. Blatch was introduced as "president of the Self-Supporting Women's Suffrage League and the only one in it who was not self-supporting in the accepted sense of the term." "When I hear that there are 5,000,000 working women in this country," said Dr. Shaw, "I always take occasion to say that there are 18,000,000 but only 5,000,000 receive their wages." Mrs. Blatch traced the

changes of the years which have made it necessary for women to go out of the home to earn their bread in factory, shop and mercantile establishments. "Cooperation is the only way out of the present condition of the working women," she asserted. "President Thomas said last night that the gates of knowledge had swung wide open for women. They have not done so for the working girls." She pointed out the many opportunities for the boys to learn the trades which are denied to the girls. "There is only one way to redress their wrongs and that is by the ballot," she declared, and in closing she said: "Of all the people who block the progress of woman suffrage the worst are the women of wealth and leisure who never knew a day's work and never felt a day's want, but who selfishly stand in the way of those women who know what it means to earn the bread they eat by the sternest toil and who, with a voice in the Government, could better themselves in every way."

The last address was made by Dr. Shaw and even the cold, prosaic official report of the convention said: "It was one of the greatest speeches of the entire week." She began by telling of the immense demonstration in London during the past summer when 10,000 women marched through the streets to prove to the Government that women did want to vote, and then she proceeded to tell why American women wanted it and how they were determined to compel some action by the Government. In the evening the officers held a reception for the delegates, speakers and friends in the Lenox Hotel, convention headquarters.

In the Monday afternoon symposium the stock objections to woman suffrage were considered by Miss Lexow, Miss Laura Gregg (Kans.), Mrs. William C. Gannett (N. Y.), Mrs. Kelley and Miss Maude E. Miner, a probation officer in New York. Miss Miner said in answering the objection to "the immoral vote": "Is the fact that immoral women would have the vote a real objection? I do not believe that it is. In the first place such women are a very small proportion of the whole. Fifty to one hundred a night are brought into the night court but we see the same faces over and over again. There are perhaps 5,000 such women in New York City in a population of four million but there is less reason against enfranchising the woman

than for disfranchising some of the men, as there are at least 4,000 men who are living wholly or in part on these women's earnings. . . . I do not believe that all women who have fallen would use their votes for evil. I have dealt with 250 of them and I am often surprised to see how much sense of honor some of them have and how intelligent they are. At present they are the slaves of the saloon-keepers, and the Raines law hotels and the saloons are at the root of the evil. We ought to do more to protect them from such a life. . . . It seems to be women's work to deal with such problems and to secure legislation along these lines and we can only do this by having the ballot. With it we can do much more in the way of breaking up the power of the saloon in politics, which is at the bottom of all."

Dr. Shaw was quickly on her feet to say that Miss Miner had touched upon the vital spot in the whole suffrage movement; that the liquor interests were at the bottom of the opposition to it and that in the States where it had been defeated they were responsible. Mrs. Kelley spoke for *The Woman at the Bottom of the Heap*, who had even greater need of the ballot than her more fortunate sisters. Mrs. Gannett, wife of the Unitarian minister, William C. Gannett of Rochester, N. Y., both loving friends of Miss Anthony, considered the assertion that "women do not want to vote," saying in part:

They tell us that women can bring better things to pass by indirect influence. Try to persuade any man that he will have more weight, more influence, if he gives up his vote, allies himself with no party and relies on influence to achieve his ends! By all means let us use to its utmost whatever influence we have, but in all justice do not ask us to be content with this. Facts show that a large body of earnest, responsible women do want the ballot, a body large enough to deserve very respectful hearing from our law-makers, but there certainly are many women who do not yet want to vote. We think they ought to want it; that women have no more right than men to accept and enjoy the protection and privileges of civilized government and shirk its duties and responsibilities. They say they do not thus shirk, that woman's sphere lies in a different place, and we answer: "This is true but only part of the truth." . . . Municipal government belongs far more to woman's sphere than to man's, if we must choose between the two; it is home-making and house-keeping writ large, but just as the best home is that where father

and mother together rule, so shall we have the better city, the better State, when men and women together counsel, together rule. No mother fulfills her whole mother duty in the sight of God who is not willing to do her service, to take her share of direct responsibility for the good of the whole. She can not fully care for her own without some care for all the children of the community. Her own, however guarded, are menaced so long as the least of these is exposed to pestilence or is robbed of his birthright of fresh air and sunshine.

The hard struggle and toil of our honored pioneers was for Woman's Rights. We of the coming day must take up the cry of Woman's Duty. We live in the new age; new obligations are laid upon us. We must labor until no woman in the land shall be content to say, "I am not willing to pay the price I owe for the comfort and safety of my life"; until every woman shall be ashamed not to demand equal duties and equal responsibilities for the common weal; until none can be found of whom it can with truth be said, "They do not want to vote."

Miss Gregg discussed The Real Enemy, and, while endorsing all that had been said, asserted that "this enemy is among our own sex." "It is not the anti-suffragist," she said, "she is our unwilling ally, for when there is danger that we might fall asleep she arouses us by buzzing about our ears with her misrepresentations. It is not the indifferent suffragist, she can be galvanized into life. Our real enemy is the dead or dormant suffragist," and then she preached a stirring sermon on the necessity for hard, incessant, faithful work by all who were enlisted heart and soul in this cause.

Mrs. Upton, the treasurer, called attention to the mistaken idea conveyed through the newspapers that the association had unlimited funds. The report that it intended to raise \$100,000 had been made to read that it had raised it, and the Garrett-Thomas fund of \$12,000 a year had caused many to cease their subscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The new opportunities for effective work caused larger demands for money than ever before and the year 1907 had been the most anxious the board had known. The expenditures had been larger than the receipts and most of the balance that was in the treasury had been used. Even this strong state-

<sup>1</sup>This fund had been raised primarily to pay salaries to officers who now had to devote their whole time to the increased work of the association and who had hitherto for the most part given their service gratuitously. Dr. Shaw received \$3,500; the secretary \$1,000, the treasurer \$1,000. This left \$6,500 for other purposes each year.

ment, backed by an appeal from Dr. Shaw, brought pledges only to the amount of \$3,600, a less amount than for years, the delegates, many of small means, still feeling that their former subscriptions were not necessary. Dr. Shaw then read to the convention a letter to herself from Mrs. George Howard Lewis of Buffalo, who expressed the pleasure of the New York State suffrage clubs that the 60th anniversary of the first Woman's Rights Convention had been held in this city, at Miss Anthony's expressed wish, and ended: "In memory of Susan B. Anthony will you accept the enclosed check for \$10,000 to be used as the national officers deem best in the work, so dear to her and to all true lovers of justice, for the enfranchisement of women?" As she showed the enclosure Dr. Shaw said: "This is the largest check I ever held in my hand." The convention rose in appreciation of Mrs. Lewis's generous gift.

The report of Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, chairman of the Libraries Committee, the result of a month's research in the Library of Congress in Washington and another month in the Public Library of Boston, was most interesting, as it dealt with old manuscripts and books on the Rights of Women written in the 16th and 17th centuries. The valuable report of Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg, chairman of the Committee on Legislation and Civil Rights, embodied those of presidents of twenty-three State Suffrage Associations, covering school, labor, factory and temperance laws, mercantile inspection, juvenile courts, educational matters, protection of wives and many others relating to the welfare of women and children, most of them showing advance.

The speakers at the Monday evening session were Miss Harriet Grim, winner of the Springer prize for the best essay written by an Illinois college student, who described "The Womanly Woman in Politics"; Mrs. Katharine Reed Balentine (Me.), daughter of Thomas B. Reed, the famous Speaker of the lower house of Congress and a staunch suffragist, and the brilliant orator, Mrs. Philip Snowden of England. Mrs. Balentine said in beginning her address that now women were voting in Russia she had the courage to hope that they would sometime obtain the suffrage in New York, Massachusetts and Maine, and continued in part:

In England the last final argument, that women do not themselves want the franchise, has in the light of recent events become ridiculous. On June 13, 15,000 suffragists paraded through the streets of London and it is said that the woman suffrage meeting of June 21 was the largest public meeting ever held for any cause. Fifty thousand women have just stormed Parliament. . . . No one now doubts that the women of England want and intend to have votes. It is said that history repeats itself but this particular phenomenon—the world-wide claim of women to political equality with men—has never appeared before; it has no historic precedent. . . .

Does disfranchised influence, unsteadied by the responsibility of the ballot and the broadening experience of public service, make for the greatest good to the greatest number, which is the aim of true democracy? Can women, and do the average, every-day women in their present condition as subjects take a very lively interest in the real welfare of the State? Hardly, and are not men and children affected by this indifference? It could scarcely be otherwise. It may be said that average men, notwithstanding their possession of the ballot, are indifferent to the public weal, but are they not rendered doubly so by continually associating with a class that feels no allegiance to the State? . . . In the political subjection and consequent political ignorance and indifference of women, men are unconsciously forging their own fetters. They can not retain their rights unless they share them with women. This is the true significance of the woman suffrage movement throughout the world. It is a vast attempt at the establishing of real government by the people of republics which, being real, shall endure; and as such it is as much a movement for men's rights as for women's.

The "militant" suffrage movement in Great Britain, at this time in its early stage, was attracting world-wide attention and Mrs. Snowden devoted much of her address to explaining it, saying in part: "Our methods may seem strange to you, for perhaps you do not fully understand. We have the Municipal vote and have used it for many years. Today an Englishwoman may vote for every official except a member of Parliament; she may sit in every political body except the Parliament and we are after that last right. We have 420 members out of 670 of its members pledged to this reform. When the full suffrage bill went to its second reading the votes stood three to one in favor. We want that vote put through but it is the British Cabinet we must get at to approve finally the act when it has passed the two Houses. It is the Government we are trying to annoy. Our Government never moves in any radical way until it is kicked.

Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, when prime minister, advised the women to harass the Government until they got what they wanted and that is just what we are doing today. The Liberal Government, helped into power by at least 80,000 tax-paying women, promised to grant their rights. How have they kept that promise?"

Speaking of the two "militant" societies Mrs. Snowden said: "Our policy of aggressiveness has been justified by its results. When we began almost every newspaper in England was against us. Now, with one exception, the *Times*, the London papers are all for us. The 'militancy' thus far has consisted chiefly in 'heckling' speakers; assembling before the House of Commons in large numbers; getting into the gallery and into public meetings and calling out 'Votes for Women' and breaking windows in government buildings, a time-honored English custom of showing disapproval. Many suffragists in the United States, knowing the contemptuous manner in which those of Great Britain and Ireland have been treated by the Government, have felt a good deal of sympathy with these measures." At this convention and the one preceding sympathy was expressed by Dr. Shaw and others and resolutions to this effect were adopted.

One of the Buffalo papers said in regard to the election of officers: "If the way the women vote at the national convention may be taken as a criterion of what they will do when they gain the ballot, there will be very little electioneering. Yesterday's election was characterized by entire absence of wire-pulling. The balloting was done quickly and there was no contest for any office, the women voting as they wished and only a few scattered ballots going for particular friends of voters. The election of the president, first vice-president, corresponding secretary and treasurer was unanimous and the others so nearly so that there was no question of result by the time half the ballots had been counted." Mrs. Sperry retired from the office of second vice-president and Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, president of the Illinois suffrage association, was chosen in her place.

The paper on Some Legal Phases of the Disfranchisement of Women by Mrs. Harriette Johnston Wood, a New York lawyer, was regarded as so important that it was ordered to be printed



for circulation. She quoted from Federal and State constitutions and court decisions to prove that "if properly construed the laws specify the rights and privileges of 'persons' and no distinction is made as to 'sex' in provisions relating to the elective franchise." She encouraged women to try to register for voting and qualify for jury service and urged that bills be presented to legislative bodies covering the following points: First, that citizens shall equally enjoy all civil and political rights and privileges; second, that in the selection of jurors no discrimination shall be made against citizens on account of sex; third, that representation be based on the electorate and that non-voters be non-taxpayers; fourth, that husband and wife have equal right in each other's property; fifth, equal rights in the property of a child; sixth, in case of separation, equal rights to the custody of the children. A visit to the Albright Art Gallery and an automobile ride along the lake front, through Delaware Park and the many handsome avenues of the city, was a much-enjoyed part of this afternoon's program.

At one evening session Miss Grace H. Ballantyne, attorney in the noted City Hall case at Des Moines, Iowa, gave a spirited account of the way in which the women's right to vote on issuing bonds was sustained. Mrs. Kate Trimble Woolsey (Ky.), who had resided some years in England, compared the condition of women in that country and the United States to the disadvantage of the latter, "where," she said, "the women did not profit by the Declaration of Independence but on the contrary lost when the colonies were supplanted by the republic. In this they discover that a republic may endure as a political institution to the end of time without conferring recognition, honors or power on women; that it can exist as an oligarchy of sex, and they say: 'Why should we be loyal to this government?' Thus through women republicanism itself is imperiled and I tell you that if an amendment is not added to the National Constitution giving women the power to vote, this republic, within the living generation, will find that prophecy, 'Woman is the rock upon which our Ship of State is to founder,' will be fulfilled."

As chairman of the Committee on Peace and Arbitration Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead gave a report of its many activities. In 1907

she had attended a plenary session at The Hague Peace Conference, which she described in glowing terms, and she went as a delegate in September to an International Peace Conference in Munich. In July, 1908, she went to one in London, where Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood of Washington, D. C., presented a paper on the Central American Peace Congress, held in that city, and the recently established Arbitration Court, which formed the basis of three resolutions adopted by the congress. She told of the new society, the American School Peace League to improve the teaching of history and in every way promote international fraternity, sympathy and justice.

During business meetings the following were among the recommendations adopted: To recommend to States to continue a systematic and specialized distribution of literature; to secure and present to Congress at an early date a petition asking for a 16th Amendment enfranchising women, the chair to appoint a committee to superintend this work; to try to obtain the appointment of a U. S. Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage favorable to it; to send letters simultaneously to the President of the United States in advance of the time for writing his message, followed by telegrams one week preceding the opening of Congress, expressing the wishes of women for the ballot; to ask their Legislatures for some form of suffrage and follow up this request with systematic legislative work; to urge that States having any form of partial suffrage take measures to secure the largest possible use of it by women. It was decided to appropriate \$125 for two months' work in South Dakota to ascertain conditions with a view to the submission of a State amendment.

The resolutions presented by Mr. Blackwell, chairman of the committee, reviewed the wonderful progress made by women since the first convention whose 60th anniversary they were celebrating. They told of the progress of suffrage, as outlined in the Call for the convention, and said: "When that first convention met, one college in the United States admitted women; now hundreds do so. Then there was not a single woman physician or ordained minister or lawyer; now there are 7,000 women physicians and surgeons, 3,000 ordained ministers and

1,000 lawyers. Then only a few poorly-paid employments were open to women; now they are in more than three hundred occupations and comprise 80 per cent. of our school teachers. Then there were scarcely any organizations of women; now such organizations are numbered by thousands. Then the few women who dared to speak in public, even on philanthropic questions, were overwhelmingly condemned by public opinion; now the women most opposed to woman suffrage travel about the country making speeches to prove that a woman's only place is at home. Then a married woman in most of our States could not control her own person, property or earnings; now in most of them these laws have been largely amended or repealed and it is only in regard to the ballot that the fiction of woman's perpetual minority is still kept up."

Mrs. Catt's powerful address was entitled *The Battle to the Strong* but nothing is preserved except newspaper clippings. She ended by saying: "In all history there has been no event fraught with more importance for the generations to follow than the present uprising of the women of the world. . . . Every struggle helps and no movement for right, for reform in this country or in England but has made the woman's movement easier in every other land. We have brought the countries of the world very close together in the last few years. Papers and cables and telegraph spread the news almost instantly to the centres of the earth and then to the obscure corners, so that the women of other nations know what the women here are doing and what they are doing in every other part of the world. . . . The suffrage campaign in England has become the kind of fanaticism that caused the American Revolution. These women are no longer reformers, they are rebels, and they are going to win. . . . Woman's hour has struck at last and all along the line there is a mobilization of the woman's army ready for service. We are going forward with flags flying to win. If you are not for us you are against us. Justice for the women of the world is coming. This is to be a battle to the strong—strong in faith, strong in courage, strong in conviction. Women of America, stand up for the citizenship of our own country and

let the world know we are not ashamed of the Declaration of Independence!"

A newspaper account said: "And then Anna Howard Shaw stepped forward, the light of a great purpose shining in her eyes. 'Our International president has asked for recruits,' she said. 'Never have we had so many as now.' She spoke of the immense gains to the suffrage cause within the last few months in America and of the suffrage pioneers and their sufferings, and ended: 'The path has been blazed for us and they have shown us the way. Who shall say that our triumph is to be long delayed? It is the hour for us to rally. We have enlisted for the war. Ninety days? No; for the war! We may not win every battle but we shall win the war. Happy they who are the burden-bearers in a great fight! Happy is any man or woman who is called by the Giver of all to serve Him in the cause of humanity! Friends, come with us and we will do you good; but whether you come or not we are going, and when we enter the promised land of freedom we will try to be just and to show that we understand what freedom is, what the law is. 'God grant us law in liberty and liberty in law!'"

## CHAPTER IX.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1909.

The invitation to hold the Forty-first annual convention of the association in Seattle was accepted for two special reasons. The Washington Legislature had submitted a woman suffrage amendment to be voted on in 1910; similar action had been taken by the Legislatures of Oregon and South Dakota, and a convention on the Pacific Coast would attract western people and create sentiment in favor of these amendments. The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in progress during the summer, by causing reduced railroad rates, would enable those of the east and middle west to attend the convention and visit this beautiful section of the country.<sup>1</sup> The date fixed was July 1-6.

The eastern delegates assembled in Chicago on June 25 to take the "suffrage special" train for Seattle and a reception was given

<sup>1</sup>Part of Call: In entering upon the fifth decade of its work for the enfranchisement of women in the United States, the National American Woman Suffrage Association invites all those to share in its councils who believe that the help of women is needed by the Government. It is a grave mistake of statesmanship to continue to ignore the wisdom of the thousands of our women citizens, who, fitted by education and home interests, are anxious to help solve the many and vital problems upon which our country's future safety and prosperity depend. . . .

During the year 1908 our cause won four solid victories. Michigan gave taxpaying women a vote on questions of local taxation and the granting of franchises; Denmark gave women who are taxpayers or wives of taxpayers a vote for all officers but members of Parliament; Belgium gave women engaged in trade a vote for the *Conseils des Prud-hommes*; and Victoria in Australia gave full State suffrage to all women. The legislative hearings in New York, Massachusetts and Nebraska have called out unprecedented crowds showing the growth of popular interest. . . . The Legislatures of Oregon, Washington and South Dakota have voted to submit the question of woman suffrage to the electors in 1910. The workers for woman's political freedom have great cause for rejoicing.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.  
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, First Vice-President.  
FLORENCE KELLEY, Second Vice-President.  
KATE M. GORDON, Corresponding Secretary.  
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary.  
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer.  
LAURA CLAY,  
ELLA S. STEWART, } Auditors.

The Call ended with the touching poem of the young Southern poet, Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan, "The Lord of little children to the sleeping mothers spoke."

to them at Hotel Stratford by the Chicago suffragists. At St. Paul the next morning ex-Senator S. A. Stockwell and Mrs. Stockwell, president of the Minnesota Association, with a delegation of suffragists, met them at the station and escorted them to the Woman's Exchange, where a delicious breakfast was served on tables adorned with golden iris and ferns. Many club officials were there and brief addresses were made by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Miss Laura Clay, Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Kate M. Gordon and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton. Mrs. Villard recalled a visit she had made there twenty-six years before with her husband, Henry Villard, who had just completed the Northern Pacific Railroad and his train was making a kind of triumphal tour across the continent. "St. Paul welcomed him with a procession ten miles long," she said, "and Minneapolis, determined not to be outdone, got up one fifteen miles long. It gives me joy to remember that not only my father, William Lloyd Garrison, but also my good German-born husband believed in equal rights for women."

The train sped through the Great Northwest and continuous business meetings were held by the board of officers in what was usually the smoking car until the next stop was made at Spokane, Washington. Here the Chamber of Commerce had appropriated \$500 for their entertainment. They were presented with buttons and badges and taken in automobiles through the beautiful residence district, the handsome grounds of the three colleges and to the picturesque Falls. Then they saw the fine exhibits in the Chamber of Commerce and were taken to the Amateur Athletic Club, whose facilities for rest and recreation were placed at their disposal. An elaborate banquet followed with Mrs. May Arkwright Hutton, president of the Spokane Equal Suffrage Club, presiding. Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe, president of the State Suffrage Association, welcomed them to Washington, and Mayor N. S. Pratt to the city. "I have welcomed many organizations to Spokane," he said, "but none with so much pleasure as this. My belief in equal suffrage is no new conviction; I have voted for it twice and hope soon to do so again. The coming of equal rights for women is the in-

evitable result of progress and enlightenment." He presented Dr. Shaw with a gavel made of wood from the four suffrage States bound together with a band of Idaho silver and expressed the hope that when she used it to open the convention in Seattle the sound would be like "the shot heard round the world."

The account in the *Woman's Journal* said: "Dr. Shaw, in returning thanks, said: 'It is an apt simile, for the blow will be struck on the Pacific Coast and it needs to be heard to the Atlantic and not only from the west to the east but from the north to the south. I hope it will be answered by men who, having known themselves what freedom is, wish to give women the benefits of it also. The only man who can be in any way excused for wanting to withhold freedom from women is the man who is himself a slave.' She recalled the times when the suffragists were offered not banquets but abuse and compared them to the pioneer days of clearing the forest. She closed with a beautiful tribute to the pioneer mothers and called upon the men to pay their debt to them next November."

Mrs. Villard, recalling here also her visit of more than a quarter of a century before, said in part: "Never could I have believed that such changes could have been wrought since that historic train. Then there was nothing at Spokane but Indians and cowboys and the beautiful Falls. I am glad you want women to share the full life of the city. 'The woman's cause is man's.' This movement is as wide as the world and will benefit men as well as women. I have come on this trip largely because I like to connect my husband's name not merely with the building of a great railroad but also with the cause of justice to women in which he believed. I wish greater and greater prosperity to Spokane but with her material prosperity let her not forget the larger things which must go hand in hand with it if cities are not to perish from the earth."

Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway of Portland, Ore., the renowned suffrage pioneer of the northwest, was enthusiastically received and in the course of her interesting reminiscences said: "I remember when 'Old Oregon' comprised most of the Pacific Northwest. At that time I was living in a log cabin engaged in the very domestic occupation of raising a large family of small children.

. . . On my first visit to Spokane I came by stage from Walla Walla. It went bumping and careening over the rocks and the one hotel of the village had not accommodations for the three or four passengers. They made up improvised beds for us on slats and all the food we had for several days was bread and sugar, but I enjoyed it for after such a journey anything tasted good. There was only one little hall in the town and I was importuned by Captain Wilkinson of Portland to speak. So I hired the hall for Sunday and he advised me to offer it to a clergyman there for the afternoon service. I did so and asked him to announce after his sermon that my meeting would be held in the evening. He accepted the use of the hall but failed to give the notice. When I asked him about it he said: 'Do you think I would notice a woman's meeting?' But we had a good one and almost everybody in Spokane subscribed for my paper, the *New Northwest*. The next time I came here was to celebrate the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad. I had the honor of writing a poem for the occasion and reading it in that little hall and Henry Villard wrote me a letter about it."

A large evening meeting was held in the First Methodist Church with Mrs. LaReine Baker presiding. Henry B. Blackwell and Prof. Frances Squire Potter were among the national speakers. A tired lot of travellers but happy over their cordial welcome took the night train. Next day they stopped for a brief time at North Yakima and Ellensburg and spoke from the rear platform to the crowds awaiting them. Women, girls and children dressed in white greeted them with banners, songs and quantities of the lovely roses for which that section is noted and with fancy baskets of the wonderful cherries and apples. During several hours spent in Tacoma they had the famous ride around the city in special trolley cars, supper at sunset on the veranda of a hotel overlooking the beautiful Puget Sound and a walk through the magnificent park.

The never to be forgotten convention in Seattle was preceded by an evening reception on June 30 in Lincoln Hotel, given by the State suffrage association, whose former president, Mrs. Homer M. Hill, extended its welcome to the delegates. Dr. Shaw, the national president, called the convention to order



the next afternoon in the large Plymouth Congregational Church and the audience sang *The March of the Mothers*. Mrs. Margaret B. Platt brought the greetings of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, pointing out that "there are wrongs which can never be righted until woman holds in her hand the ballot, symbol of the power to right them." In introducing Mrs. M. B. Lord to speak for the Grange, Dr. Shaw said she herself was a member of it. Mrs. Lord said in part: "From the first of it women came into our organization on a perfect equality and for forty years the Grange has carried on an education for woman suffrage. It was the proudest moment of my life when I got a resolution for it through the New York State Grange. Here in Washington it has increased three-fold in five years and always passes a resolution in favor of suffrage for women." Mrs. De Voe gave a big-hearted welcome from the State and Mrs. Mary S. Sperry, president of the California suffrage association, made a gracious response. By a rising vote the convention sent a message of warm regard to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of New York, the former national president, and regret that she was not able to be present. Dr. Shaw spoke of the "masterly way" in which she had presided at the meeting of the International Suffrage Alliance in London in May, "her power and dignity commanding universal respect," and told of the message of greeting from Queen Maud of Norway and other incidents of the congress.

Leaving more formal ceremonies for the evening the convention proceeded to business and listened to the report of the corresponding secretary, Miss Gordon (La.). In referring to the specialized literature which had been sent out, she spoke of the letter of the Brewers' and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, so widely circulated during the recent Oregon Suffrage campaign, calling the attention of all retailers in the State to the necessity of defeating the amendment, and to the postal instructing them how to mark their ballot, with a return card signifying their willingness. This had been put into an "exhibit" by Miss Blackwell and her Literature Committee and Miss Gordon urged that clergymen of all denominations should be circularized with it. She said: "I believe the association should not be dissuaded

from this undertaking because of the amount of work and its costliness. The burden of responsibility rests upon us to prove with such evidence that the worst enemy of the church and the most active enemy of woman suffrage is a mutual foe, the 'organized liquor and vice power.' If in the face of such direct evidence representatives of the church still allow prejudice, ignorance or indifference to woman suffrage to influence them, then they knowingly become the common allies of this power."

Miss Gordon gave instances to show the great change taking place in the attitude of the public toward woman suffrage and said the present difficulty was to utilize the opportunities which presented themselves. She urged more concentrated effort from the national headquarters and a substantial appropriation to enable the chairmen of the standing committees to carry on their work; also that they should be elected instead of appointed and be members of the official board, and she concluded: "It is earnestly recommended that suffragists take steps to politicalize their methods. The primaries, affording in many States an opportunity for women to secure the nominations of favorable candidates; active interest in defeating the election of those opposed to suffrage; the questioning of candidates, etc., are all instances where intelligent interest and activity on the part of suffragists will educate the public far more effectively than debates, lectures and literature—to see that women are determined to take an active part in so-called politics, so intimately associated for weal or woe in their lives."

The reports of the headquarters secretary and national press chairman, Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser (Ohio) were read by Mrs. Upton. The first in speaking of the increased demands on the headquarters began: "In no previous presidential campaign in the United States were the views of candidates on the enfranchisement of women ever so generally commented on by the press. Perhaps never before did candidates consider the question of sufficient importance to have any opinion upon it. Never before did the newspaper interviewer put to every possible personage—politician or preacher, writer or speaker, inventor or explorer, captain of industry, social worker, actor, prize-fighter, maid, matron, widow—the burning query, 'What about votes for women?'" She told of about 30,000 letters having been

sent out and an average of nearly 1,000 pieces of literature a day, as many in the first half of the present year as in all of 1908. The Book Department, in charge of Miss Caroline I. Reilly, reported that the sales of the Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony had amounted to \$800; 200 sets of the History of Woman Suffrage had been placed in the libraries of the leading colleges and universities; 100 copies of the Reports of the last two national conventions had been put into the libraries which keep the file.

The delegates to the presidential nominating conventions had been appealed to by letter for a suffrage plank in the platform but without result. The Independence Party convention in Chicago voted it down. The usual work had been done in international and national conventions and many had adopted favorable resolutions, among them those of the International Bricklayers' and Stone Masons' Union meeting in Detroit; the International Cotton Spinners' Union in Boston and the Woman's National Trade Union League in that city; the National Council of Women and the Johns Hopkins Alumni Association. The United Mine Workers of America, meeting at Indianapolis, passed the woman suffrage resolution by unanimous vote and sent to the headquarters 500 copies of it, which were promptly mailed to members of Congress. The American Federation of Labor, representing 2,000,000 members, at its convention in Denver, followed its long established custom of passing this resolution. Dr. Shaw attended the National Conference of Charities and Corrections; Mrs. Julia Ward Howe was received as a fraternal delegate from the National American Suffrage Association by the General Federation of Women's Clubs at its biennial in Boston; Mrs. Stockwell by the convention of the American Library Association; Mrs. Sperry and Mrs. Alice L. Park of California, by the Nurses Associated Alumnae of the United States; Mrs. Coryell by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, and the association had representatives at many other conventions. "To summarize, 29 national associations have endorsed woman suffrage; 14 others have taken action on some phase of the question; 20 State Federations of Labor, 16 State Granges and seven State Letter Carriers' Associations have endorsed it. Some of the States have carried on a very

active propaganda in this direction, securing endorsements from hundreds of local organizations representing labor unions, educational and religious societies, Farmers' Institutes, etc."

In the press report Miss Hauser said that 43,000 copies of *Progress* had been sent out and 52,095 pages of material representing 190 different subjects had been distributed, including 1,262 copies of Mrs. Catt's address to the International Suffrage Alliance. She told of the special articles, of the full pages, of the personal work with editors—a report of remarkable accomplishment, filling eight printed pages of the Minutes. In concluding she said: "The day of old methods has gone by and if new methods are to be successfully developed there must be for press chairman a woman who is not only acquainted with the philosophy and history of the woman suffrage movement but who is possessed of the newspaper instinct and the ability to make friends readily. Nothing but press work should be expected of her and she should be enabled to get in touch with the controlling forces in the newspaper world." This report was supplemented with that of Miss Blackwell, chairman of the Committee on Literature.

As the headquarters were soon to be removed from Warren, Ohio, and Miss Hauser had resigned as secretary, this was the last of her excellent reports and the convention sent her a letter of thanks and appreciation for her admirable work. Dr. Shaw said of her: "There never was a woman who gave more consecrated service; she dreamed of woman suffrage by night and toiled for it by day." [Afterward Miss Hauser went to the headquarters in New York as vice-chairman of the National Press Committee.]

In the evening Mayor John F. Miller welcomed the convention and congratulated the association on the personnel of its members in Washington. "This has been a pioneer State in the woman's rights movement," he said. "In 1854 Arthur Denny introduced a woman suffrage bill in the Territorial Legislature. In 1878 the civil disabilities of married women were removed and this was the first State west of the Rocky Mountains to say that a wife's property should be her own. Women here have all the rights of men except to vote and hold office. I do not know

whether woman suffrage will bring in everything good and abolish everything evil but if it will by all means let us have it." He closed with a tribute to the mothers in the State.

In an eloquent response Mrs. Villard reminded the Mayor that if a cause is just the consequences following in its path need not be feared and said: "I was early taught by my father that moral principle in vigorous exercise is irresistible. It has an immortal essence. It may disappear for a time but it can no more be trod out of existence by the iron foot of time or the ponderous march of iniquity than matter can be annihilated. It lives somewhere, somehow, and rises again in renovated strength. The women of this country who are advocating the cause of woman suffrage are animated by a great moral principle. They are armed with a spiritual weapon of finest caliber and one that is sure to win." She told of the great reception given in 1883 to her husband and his guests when they reached Seattle for the opening of the railroad after its completion; of his response and that of the Hon., Carl Schurz. She described an address made by a young girl, the daughter of Professor Powell of the university, the entire expenses of which Mr. Villard had paid for several years, in which she said he would be remembered more for what he had done for education than for the building of the railroad. "In the retrospect of time," said Mrs. Villard, "I can see her, sweetly modest and gracious, standing as it were with outstretched arms inviting the women who are gathered here today to come and help make the State of Washington free." Then in an appeal for the pending suffrage amendment she said: "Many tributes of respect and admiration have been paid to my noble companion in the great northwest, which are carefully cherished by me and my children, but I crave one more and it is this—that Mr. Villard's keen sense of justice and fair play for women shall find echo in the hearts of the men of Washington, to whose extraordinary development he gave such powerful impetus, so that in November, 1910, they will proclaim with loud accord that the women of Washington are no longer bond but free, no longer disfranchised but regenerated and disenthralled, equal partners in the unending struggle of the human race for nobler laws and higher moral standards."

The evening session closed with the president's address of Dr. Shaw, which the *Woman's Journal* described as "inimitable" but not a paragraph of it can be found after the lapse of years. Her speeches always were inspired by the occasion and only a stenographic report could give an adequate idea of them. Miss Anthony mourned because this was not made and others often spoke of it but Dr. Shaw herself was indifferent. There were pressing demands for money and the endless details of these meetings absorbed the time and strength of those who might otherwise have attended to it.

Mrs. Upton in her report as treasurer made a stirring appeal in which she said: "The most important question before this convention is that of money. A grave responsibility rests upon the shoulders of each delegate. She should know how much money we have had in the last year, where it went and why. More than this, she should decide for herself how money for the coming year shall be disbursed and suggest ways of raising the same. No delegate ought to quiet her conscience with the thought that the judgment of the general officers is the best judgment. Each State has entrusted into the hands of its delegates precious business and the responsibility is great and cannot honestly be disregarded. In the long ago we worked until our money gave out. Now, as the beginning of the end of our work is in sight, demands for money are many and if business rules are followed they must be met. The small self-sacrifices must be continued and larger ways of obtaining money created. We are all shouting for a fifth star on our suffrage flag but we must remember that no star was ever placed upon any flag without cost, without sacrifice. Our fifth star will find its place because we explain to voters what a fifth star really means. These voters will not come to us; we must go to them. To go anywhere costs money. To go to the voters of a large and thinly populated State means much money. Shall we be content with four stars or shall we provide the means to get a fifth?"

The total receipts of the past year were \$15,420; disbursements, \$14,480. She told of the many ways in which the money was being used—over \$2,000 added to several other thousands spent in field work in Oklahoma for the next year's amendment

campaign; \$3,000 to the College League; headquarters' expenses, literature, posters, etc. Part of the money came from the Anthony Memorial Fund, part from the fund raised by Dr. Thomas and Miss Garrett, the rest from individual subscriptions. The convention, which was not a large one, subscribed over \$3,000. The following recommendations of the Business Committee were adopted by the convention: Appropriations shall be made for educational, church and petition work; financial aid shall not be given to States having campaigns on hand unless there be perfect harmony within the ranks of the workers of those States; an organizer shall be sent to Arizona to prepare the Territory for constitutional or legislative work and a campaign organizer to South Dakota.

There was much interest in the question of returning the national headquarters to New York City. It was long the desire of Miss Anthony to do this on a scale befitting so large a city and so important a cause and the funds had never been available. Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, who had lately come into the suffrage movement, had taken the entire twentieth floor of a new office building for two years and invited the New York State Suffrage Association to occupy a part of it. She now extended an invitation to the National Association to use for this period as many rooms as it needed and she would pay the difference in the rent between these and the headquarters at Warren, O. In addition she would maintain the press bureau. The advantages of this great newspaper and magazine center were recognized by the general officers, executive committee and delegates, the offer was gladly accepted and a rising vote of thanks was sent to Mrs. Belmont.

Miss Perle Penfield (Texas) read the report of Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, chairman of the Committee on Peace and Arbitration. She told of the tenth anniversary this year of The Hague Conference, which was attended by representatives of forty-six instead of twenty-six nations and had made various international agreements that would lessen the likelihood of war. She spoke of attending the second National Peace Congress in Chicago in May, at which all the women who took part were suffragists. Mrs. Mead referred to having spoken eighty-six times during the

year. In pointing out the work that should be done in the United States for peace she said :

A great campaign of education is needed in the schools and colleges, in the press and pulpit and in every organization of men and women that stands for progress. Pre-eminently among women's organizations, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which opposes the injustice of refusing the ballot to women, should stand against the grossest of all injustices which leaves innocent women widowed and children orphaned by war, and which in time of peace diverts nearly two-thirds of the federal revenue from constructive work to payment for past wars and preparation for future wars. Thus far this association has been so absorbed in its direct methods of advancing suffrage that it has not perhaps sufficiently realized the power of many agencies that are furthering its cause by indirect means. I firmly believe that substituting statesmanship for battleship will do more to remove the electoral injustices that still prevent our being a democracy than any direct means used to obtain woman suffrage, important and necessary as these are. Women, though hating war, quite as frequently as men are deluded by the plea that peace can be ensured only by huge armaments. It is a question whether woman suffrage would greatly lessen the vote for these supposed preventives of war, but there is no question that more reliance on reason and less on force would exalt respect for woman and would remove the objection that woman's physical inferiority has anything to do with suffrage.

Several delegates expressed the need and the right of mothers to strive to prevent war. Mrs. Duniway, Mrs. Philena Everett Johnson and Mrs. DeVoe spoke on the pending amendment campaigns in their respective States of Oregon, South Dakota and Washington. Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby's subject was the American Situation vs. the English Situation and she described the conditions in England which caused the "suffragette" or "militant" movement. Mrs. Florence Kelley, chairman of the Industrial Committee, spoke on the Wage Earning Woman and the Ballot. "Because of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Oregon case," she said, "fourteen State Legislatures in the past year have considered bills for shortening the workday for women and six have enacted laws for it. South Carolina has taken a step backward by changing the hours from ten to twelve. Child labor is constantly increasing in spite of our efforts. I have seen the evolution of modern industry and it has meant the sacrifice of thousands of young lives." At the



close of the afternoon session the delegates enjoyed an automobile ride of many miles amidst scenery which many who had travelled widely declared was unsurpassed in the whole world.

The most brilliant session of the convention probably was that of the College Women's Evening, with Dr. Shaw presiding. Miss Caroline Lexow (N. Y.), secretary of the College Women's League, spoke of its remarkable growth since its organization the preceding year and said that it now had twenty-four branches in as many States and twenty-five chapters in as many colleges. She called attention to the fact that no College Anti-Suffrage Association had ever been formed and said that college women remembered the words of one of the pioneers: "Make the best use you can of your freedom for we have bought it at a great price." Mrs. Eva Emery Dye (Ore.) gave an able address on College Women in Civic Life. The Law and the Woman was the subject considered by Miss Adella M. Parker, a popular lawyer, president of the Washington College League. "I have been looking for years," she said, "to find any legislation that does not affect women, from a tariff on gloves to a declaration of war. The great problems which face the human race demand the genius of both men and women to solve them. The law needs women quite as much as women need the law." The closing address on College Women and Democracy by Frances Squire Potter, professor of English at the University of Minnesota, was a masterly review of the relation of college women to the life of the present, and later it was printed by the College League as a part of its literature. In the course of it she said:

The admission of women began with Oberlin, Ohio, in 1833, then a provincial institution, religious in its purpose and one where the boys and girls did the work. From that time on the West was committed to the co-educational State university. The influence set back eastward and women demanded admittance successively in this college and that college. It is to be remembered that they did not go in naturally and pleasantly but at the point of the sword and to the sound of the trumpet. And to-day the segregated college life of the East illustrates the "last entrenchments of the middle ages." Those monasteries and nunneries of learning crown the hill-tops from Boston to Washington and "watch the star of intellectual empire westward take its way." . . . Following upon the democratization of the university we now see rising a tide which is as

inevitable as was that first movement, which will bear the college woman, as it bears the college man, out of the fostering shelter of the college hall into the great welter of life, of full citizenship. . . . Since the colleges of America opened to women, nothing so vital to the nourishment of this spirit has happened as the formation of the College Equal Suffrage League. . . . There are certain definite things for which a college woman registers herself in joining this league. First, a direct return to the country of the energy which it has trained. A woman's whole education to-day is toward direct results. She has been educated away from the old indirect ideal of the boarding-school. There she was taught to be a persuasive ornament, now she is taught to be an individual mind, will and conscience and to use these in acting herself. I hold that there is no more graphic illustration of inconsistent waste than the spectacle of a college-trained woman falsifying her entire education by shying away from suffrage. . . . The time has gone by when a college woman can be allowed to be noncommittal on this subject. If she has not thought about equal suffrage she must do so now, exactly as persons of intelligence were compelled to think about slavery in the time of Garrison, or about the reformation in the time of Martin Luther. To those who try to get out of it it is not unfitting to quote Thomas Huxley's famous sentence: "He who will not reason is a bigot; he who dare not reason is a coward; he who can not reason is a fool." . . .

It devolves upon the college woman more than upon any other one type to face and conquer a retarding tendency which is becoming marked in this country. I refer to the anti-feminization movement. Dr. Stanley Hall has given voice to it in education; Dr. Lyman Abbott quavers about it in religion; the committee on tariff revision is an example of it in politics. When women sent a petition to the committee against raising the duties on certain necessities of life of which they were the chief consumers, the chairman said: "It doesn't make any difference whether these women send in a petition signed by 500 or 5,000 names, they will receive no consideration. Let them talk things over in their clubs and other organizations; this will occupy them and do no one any harm; but it will not affect the tariff." On the same day the committee accorded a deferential hearing to a deputation of lumbermen. . . . This discrimination against woman, the vague feeling that she has been allowed to get on too fast, to get out of control, that she has slipped into too large activities while the good man slept, has come upon us at the very time when Scandinavia and Germany and England are getting rid of their simian chivalry. It is notorious that America, which once was the progressive nation, has been for a generation in a comatose state in the matter of social ideas. It is high time that our college women should stand solid against the blind superstition, whose mother is fear and whose father is egoism, that women can not be trusted in public affairs. . . .

The report of Mr. Blackwell on Presidential suffrage was accepted by a rising vote and his report as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions was adopted, as usual, without change.<sup>1</sup> For many years he had served as chairman of these committees. His constitutional argument for the right of Legislatures to grant women a vote for presidential electors always stood unchallenged and his faith that they would do this was eventually justified. One of the founders of the American Suffrage Association in 1869, he had not during forty years missed attending a national suffrage convention, first with his wife, Lucy Stone, and later with his daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell. He had never seemed in better health and spirits than at this one in Seattle but two months later, on September 7, he died at the age of 84, a great loss to the cause of woman suffrage. (Memorials in next chapter.)

The Legislative Evening was in charge of the State suffrage association, Mrs. De Voe in the chair, and it was the intention to have those members of the Legislature who were principally responsible for submitting the amendment address the convention but an extra session at that time spoiled this program. The Hon. Alonzo Wardell spoke for Charles R. Case, president of the State Federation of Labor, which was strongly in favor of the amendment, he said, and had votes enough to carry it if the members would go to the polls. Mrs. Lord represented the Grange, which she said could be depended on for an affirmative vote. Miss Parker gave a graphic description of the "illegal and dishonorable methods" by which the vote was taken away from the women while Washington was a Territory.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. John Moore of Tacoma read a powerful scene from *The Spanish Gypsy* by George Eliot. After a lively collection speech by Mrs. Upton, Dr. Shaw closed the evening with a mirth-provoking "question box."

<sup>1</sup> The resolutions declared the movement for woman suffrage to be but a part of the great struggle for human liberty; called for the enactment of initiative and referendum laws; equal pay for women and men in public and private employment; uniform State laws against child labor and for compulsory education; more industrial training for boys and girls in the public schools; more strenuous effort against the white slave traffic. They demanded that the United States should take the lead in an international movement for the limitation of armaments. A cordial vote of thanks was given for the hospitality and courtesies of the city and the people of Seattle.

<sup>2</sup> See *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume IV, page 1096.

At an afternoon session Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery read the report of the National Committee on the Petition to Congress. It had been the plan of Mrs. Catt, as presented and adopted at the convention of 1908, to have one final petition to Congress for the submission of the Federal Amendment and she had consented to take the chairmanship temporarily. Headquarters had been opened in the Martha Washington, the woman's hotel in New York City, where the headquarters of the Interurban Woman Suffrage Council, of which Mrs. Catt was chairman, were located. Here she and Miss Mary Garrett Hay spent many months from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m., assisted by Miss Minnie J. Reynolds, who did press work and correspondence with the States. Mrs. Priscilla D. Hackstaff of Brooklyn, a former Missourian, took charge of the work in that State from these headquarters and there was an energetic volunteer sub-committee of New York suffragists. The report continued:

"The Governors of the four enfranchised States served on an honorary Advisory Committee, as did the following men and women: Anna Howard Shaw, Clara Barton, Julia Ward Howe, William Lloyd Garrison, William Dudley Foulke, Jane Addams, Mary E. Garrett, Sarah Platt Decker, the Hon. John D. Long, Samuel Gompers, Colonel George Harvey, Rabbi Charles Fleischer (Mass.), Dr. Josiah Strong, Edward T. Devine, John Mitchell, Judge Ben Lindsey, Mrs. Clarence Mackay, Lillian M. Hollister, Mary Lowe Dickinson, Mrs. Bourke Cockran and Cynthia Westover Alden.

When Mrs. Catt left for London in March, 1909, in the interests of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, the work came to me. At that time upwards of 10,000 letters had been written and 100,000 petitions distributed and twenty-three State organizations were collecting, counting, pasting and classifying the lists. Since then five other States have gone to work. Letters were written to all the newspapers in the four equal suffrage States asking the insertion of a coupon petition and these coupons brought in the names of many friends who could not otherwise be reached and who were enthusiastic workers for the petition. Others to the *Age of Reason* and *Wilshire's Magazine* brought hundreds of willing workers. Letters were sent in every direction, friends stirred up, reminded of their task and requested to send names of others who would work. Every sheet that came in was searched for names of possible friends who might circulate the petitions. Between March 1 and July 1, 1909, nearly 2,000 letters were written and 45,000 blanks distributed. . . .

Later the work was removed to Washington and headquarters established there to finish the petition by 1910.

The report of Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg (Penn.), chairman of the Committee on Civil Rights, showed the usual painstaking year's work. Her letters to all the State presidents for information had brought answers from twenty-two and eleven of these showed advanced legislation for women and children. In some of them it was amended labor laws or new ones; in others for a Juvenile Court, for improving the position of teachers, for the advantage of children in the public schools, for property rights of wives. Maine reported nearly a dozen such new laws. Minnesota was in the lead with thirty Acts of the Legislature.

Mrs. Mary E. Craigie (N. Y.), chairman of the Committee on Church Work, introduced her excellent report by saying: "President Taft recently said in a public address: 'Christianity and the spirit of Christianity are the only basis for the hope of modern civilization and the growth of popular self-government.' . . . Women are to-day and always have been the mainstay and chief support of the churches and the leaders in all great moral reforms; yet as a disfranchised class they are powerless to aid in bringing about any reforms that depend upon legislative or governmental action and the church is thereby deprived of more than two-thirds of its power to help extend civic righteousness throughout the land. Now that there is a world-wide movement among women to demand the political power to do their part in the world's work, they have a right to ask and to receive from ministers and from all Christian people support and help in working for this greatest of all reforms." . . . Mrs. Craigie told of addressing the ministerial association of Canada at Toronto, where fifteen minutes had been allotted to her but by unanimous insistence she was obliged to keep on for an hour. An interesting discussion followed, after which an endorsement of the principle of woman suffrage was unanimously voted. She spoke at a meeting of the Dominion Temperance Alliance, where there were 600 delegates, many of them clergymen, and a resolution by the chairman endorsing the woman suffrage bill then before the Provincial Legislature was carried without a dissenting vote. Reports were included of the good

work accomplished by the members of her committee in the various States.

The usual Sunday afternoon convention meeting was held in the auditorium on the Exposition grounds, under the auspices of this church committee, with a large audience who listened to an able presentation of The Sacred Duties and Obligations of Citizenship. Dr. Shaw presided and the speakers were the Rev. C. Lyng Hansen, Mrs. Craigie, Professor Potter and Miss Janet Richards. Mrs. Kelley spoke in the First Christian Church, Mrs. Eva Emery Dye in the Second Avenue Congregational Church and the Rev. Mary G. Andrews preached for the Universalists on The Freedom of Truth. At the First Methodist Protestant Church, Miss Laura Clay talked on Christian Citizenship in the morning and Dr. Shaw preached in the evening. Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman spoke at the Boylston Avenue Unitarian Church in the morning and Mrs. Gilman and Mrs. Pauline Steinem at a patriotic service in Plymouth Church in the evening. Mr. Blackwell and Mrs. Steinem spoke in the Jewish synagogue.<sup>1</sup> In the evening the officers of the association were "at home" to the members of the convention and friends at the Lincoln Hotel.

The election of officers took place Monday morning. At Miss Blackwell's request she was permitted to retire from the office of recording secretary, which she had filled for twenty years, and the convention gave her a rising vote of thanks for her most efficient service. Her complete and satisfactory reports of the national conventions in her paper, the *Woman's Journal*, had formed a standard record that nowhere else could be found. She exchanged places with Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, second auditor, and was thus retained on the board. The remainder of the officers were re-elected but Miss Gordon, the corresponding secretary, stated that with the removal of the headquarters to New York and the increased work which would follow, this officer should

<sup>1</sup> The ministers of Seattle who opened the various sessions with prayer were: Doctors A. Norman Ward, Protestant Methodist; Thomas E. Elliott, Queen Anne Methodist; George Robert Cairns, Temple Baptist; Edward Lincoln Smith, Pilgrim Congregational; Sydney Strong, Queen Anne Congregational; the Reverends J. D. O. Powers, Unitarian; W. H. W. Rees, First Methodist Episcopal; W. A. Major, Bethany Presbyterian; Joseph L. Garvin, First Christian; C. Lyng Hanson, Scandinavian Methodist; F. O. Iverson, Norwegian Lutheran; P. Nelson, Norwegian Congregational Missionary.

be there all the time, which was impossible for her. Professor Potter was the unanimous choice of the convention, and, after communicating with the university and securing a leave of absence for two years, she accepted the office. Her assistant and friend, Professor Mary Gray Peck, accepted the office of headquarters secretary. Both were prominent in the College Suffrage League in that State. The convention by a rising vote expressed its appreciation of the excellent work Miss Gordon had done, "and for the still greater work that she will yet do," added Dr. Shaw.

It was voted to change the name of the Business Committee to the Official Board and to add Mrs. Catt, the only ex-president, to this board. Urgent invitations were received from Governor Robert S. Vessey of South Dakota and the Mayor and Chamber of Commerce of Sioux Falls to hold the convention of 1910 there, as an amendment was to be voted on in the autumn. Dr. Shaw commented: "Governor Vessey is a man who has convictions and is not afraid to stand by them. I am grateful that he dares to do this while he is in office." A delegate spoke of the appointment of a woman for the first time to an office in her State and immediately delegates from other States gave the same announcement until it was necessary to stop the flood. Miss Penfield, one of a number of national organizers who were kept constantly in the field, told of having worked in six States in the past six months. In Pennsylvania she visited thirty-five small towns, holding parlor meetings, which she advocated as leading to the formation of suffrage clubs. In Kentucky she addressed fifteen colleges and schools. Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer (Penn.), Miss Mary N. Chase (N. H.) and Miss Laura Gregg (Kans.) gave experiences in field work.

Mrs. Villard presided Monday evening and in introducing Mr. Blackwell, whom the audience rose to greet, she said: "It is a pleasure for me to pay also a tribute to the loveliness of his wife, Lucy Stone. To my childish vision she was a type of perpetual sunshine." Mr. Blackwell gave the opinion of a man of long observation and experience on *How to Get Votes for Women*. Mrs. Craigie spoke on *Citizenship—What Is It?* Mrs. Stewart relieved Mrs. Upton of her usual task of taking a col-

lection and among her witty remarks was one on Bartholdi's statue of Liberty. "The real goddesses of Liberty in this country do not spend a large amount of time standing on pedestals in public places; they use their torches to startle the bats in political cellars." Referring to the ignoring of women's work in the histories she said: "When I was a child and studied about the Pilgrim Fathers I supposed they were all bachelors, as I never found a word about their wives." Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman's topic was Masculine, Feminine and Human, discussed with her usual keen analysis and illuminated with her pungent epigrams.

A spirited symposium took place on Pre-Election Methods, led by Mrs. Stewart, who outlined the work done in Illinois, where it had been reduced to a system. "We find candidates much less tractable after election than before," she said, "although we always send literature and letters to the members-elect and subscribe for the *Woman's Journal* for them. We are now strong enough in some districts for pre-election work to elect our friends and defeat our enemies. Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch sent a circular letter to every member of the last Legislature, with questions as to his attitude on woman suffrage and from the answers she compiled a leaflet recommending the election of the men who promised to vote for our measures. She sent this to every paper in Illinois and distributed it as widely as possible among the women's clubs and women at large. She did the same with our Congressmen. Not one of the legislators who promised to vote for our bill voted against it. Our most important measure was lost in the Senate by a majority of only one vote. Eight of the Senators who voted against it are up for re-election and we shall do our best to keep them from going back. Illinois has printed for several years a Roll of Honor of the legislators who have voted right on our bills."

The discussion showed a general opinion that it was high time for action of this kind. Mrs. Kelley asked: "Why not do pre-nomination work?" and Dr. Shaw said: "I do not know a political method when I see it and I haven't an ounce of political sense but I do believe heartily in this sort of work." Led by Mrs. Ella Hawley Crossett, president of the New York asso-



ciation, "Should there be concentration on one bill or work for several"? was discussed. Miss Gordon said: "Ask for everything in sight and you will get a little." Mrs. Cornelia Telford Jewett, editor of the *Union Signal*, brought a fraternal greeting from the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union and when she said that most of the criticism she received was that she gave the readers too much suffrage, Dr. Shaw remarked in her jovial way: "They would get more if I could write, as Mrs. Jewett has often asked me for articles."

Among the symposiums and round table conferences in the morning and afternoon sessions were those on "How to make existing suffrage sentiment politically effective," Miss Clay presiding; "The tariff in its relation to women," and "Taxation without representation is tyranny in 1909 as much as in 1776," Mrs. Villard presiding in place of Mrs. DeVoe, who was ill; "Parents' organizations, their value in creating public sentiment," and "The self-government plan in our public schools as an aid in preparing the coming generations for woman suffrage," Mrs. B. W. Dawley (Ohio), presiding. The report of the Committee on Education, presented by its chairman, Mrs. Steinem, said that the principal work of the half-year had been to carry out the resolutions adopted at the Buffalo convention to investigate the text books on History and Civics used in the public schools and she had secured a valuable expression of opinion through letters sent to 400 superintendents of schools and twenty-six school book publishing houses. Some of them quoted the names of Betsy Ross, Molly Pitcher, Martha Washington and Dolly Madison to show that women were not neglected in the text books. Many declared they had given the subject no thought but were open to conviction. In summing up Mrs. Steinem expressed the belief that this lack of recognition of woman's influence in history was not so much the result of intention as of the masculine point of view which has dominated civilization. "The impression conveyed by our text books," she said, "is that this world has been made by men and for men and the ideals they are putting forth are colored by masculine thought. . . . Our text books on Civics do not show the slightest appreciation of the significance of the 'woman's movement.' . . ."

On the closing night Miss Richards, the noted lecturer of Washington, D. C., made a delightfully clever and sparkling speech on Sex Antagonism, Why and What is the Cure? Professor Potter gave a second splendid address and Dr. Shaw's eloquent farewell sent the audience home in an exalted mood.

The excellent arrangements for the convention and the entertainment of the officers and delegates had been made with much care and judgment by the State association and the Seattle society, which appropriated \$1,000 for the purpose.<sup>1</sup> The surpassing beauty of the city and the Exposition was an unceasing delight. Miss Blackwell said in her description in the *Woman's Journal*: "The splendid setting of the convention was a constant pleasure—the tall firs, the beautiful water and picturesque mountains. Large bunches of sweet peas and of the enormous roses never seen but on the Pacific coast were constantly being handed up to the president and speakers in the course of the convention by the pretty little pages. All the delegates agreed that the display of flowers on the grounds was more beautiful than they had seen at any previous Exposition. Some of the delegates from the Atlantic coast said it was worth coming across the continent just to see this flower garden."

The always-to-be-remembered feature of the week was Suffrage Day at the Exposition, arranged by its officials for the day following the convention. To quote again from Miss Blackwell:

In the morning on arriving at the Exposition we found above the gate a big banner with the inscription, "Woman Suffrage Day." Every person entering the grounds was presented with a special button and a green-ribbon badge representing the Equal Suffrage Association of Washington, the Evergreen State. High in the air over the grounds floated a large "Votes for Women" kite. All the toy balloons sold on the grounds that day were stamped with the words "Votes for Women" and many of the delegates bought them and went around with them hovering over their heads like Japanese lanterns—yellow, red, white or green but predominantly green. At the morning meeting in the great auditorium there was fine music by the Exposition band, with addresses of welcome from J. E. Chilberg, president; Louis W. Buckley, director of ceremonies and special events, and R. W. Raymond, assistant director, and brief speeches by Dr. Shaw, Miss Gordon, Mrs. Upton, Miss Blackwell, Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> Committee: Mrs. DeVoe, Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, Mrs. Bessie J. Savage, Miss Adella M. Parker, Dr. Sarah A. Kendall, Mrs. Ellen S. Lockenby and a small army of assistants.

Stewart, Miss Clay, Mrs. Kelley, Mrs. Gilman and Professor Potter. . . . After the morning exercises, the national officers were taken to the Education building and treated to an excellent lunch cooked and served by the domestic science class of the high school.

In the afternoon there was a reception in the magnificent room occupying the ground floor of the Washington State building with more addresses of welcome by prominent men connected with the Exposition and more short speeches by the visitors. Later in the afternoon there was another reception at the Idaho building by the Idaho and Utah women with more refreshments served by motherly matrons and pretty girls. The day closed with a "day-light dinner" given by the Washington Equal Suffrage Association at The Firs, the headquarters of the Young Women's Christian Association. Hundreds of suffragists sat down to the table within the building and on the large veranda looking off over a delightful prospect and there were many appreciative speeches. It was long after nightfall when the happy gathering broke up and the visitors then had a chance to see the fairy-like spectacle of the Exposition by night, with every building outlined in electric lights, the pools shimmering, the fountain gleaming and a series of cascades coming down in foam, with electric lights of different colors glowing through each waterfall.

## CHAPTER X.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1910.

As a national convention had not been held in Washington since 1904 the suffragists were pleased to return to that city with the Forty-second in the long list, which was held April 14-19, 1910.<sup>1</sup> Three special cars were filled by delegates from New York City alone. It had become very difficult to get a suitable place for conventions in the national capital and the experiment was made of holding this one in the large ball room of the Arlington Hotel, which proved entirely inadequate for the audiences. The convention was called to order on the first afternoon by the national president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and welcomed by the president of the District of Columbia suffrage association, Miss Harriette J. Hifton, and the president of the District branch of the College Equal Suffrage League, Miss Mabel

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: During the past year women have voted for the first time in Norway at a Parliamentary election, for the first time in Denmark at the Municipal elections, for the first time in Victoria at an election for the State Parliament. This year a woman has been nominated as a member of the Municipal Council in Paris, a woman is filling the office of Mayor in one English city and a number are serving as aldermen in others. In our own country women are voting for the first time in Michigan on questions of local taxation, while in Washington, Oregon, South Dakota and Oklahoma, suffrage amendments to the State constitutions are pending. From Chicago, radiating north, east, south and west, there is going out an influence which is making the social settlements centers of political influence. In Spokane, New York and Baltimore, political settlements are under way. From one of the great press centers of the world, New York City, suffrage propaganda is travelling through all civilized countries, and in its New York headquarters the National American Woman Suffrage Association is receiving news of an unprecedented rising suffrage sentiment from men and women belonging to all the great nations of the earth.

Our cause is universal, its majesty is intrinsic, its logic is unanswerable, its success is sure. Let the women of America come together in this year 1910 consecrated anew to the superb hope for humanity which lies in a full democracy.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, First Vice-President.

FLORENCE KELLEY, Second Vice-President.

FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER, Corresponding Secretary.

ELLA S. STEWART, Recording Secretary.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer.

LAURA CLAY,

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, } Auditors.

Foster. The response for the National Association was made by Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky, one of its officers.

The report of the Committee on Church Work was read by its chairman, Mrs. Mary E. Craigie, who gave a record of the accomplishments of her committees in the various States and said: "The moral awakening of the churches to a need for more united efforts along lines of social and moral reform carries with it a great responsibility for women, who, representing two-thirds of the numerical power of the churches, are in their present disfranchised condition negative factors in those broader fields of activity which now constitute church work. Women are beginning to realize that they are wasting their efforts and energies in trying to effect moral and social reforms dependent upon legislative action or law enforcement and they are asking: 'Shall we go on with the farce of attacking the constantly growing evils of intemperance, immorality and crime which menace our homes, our children and society at large, knowing that our efforts are useless and futile, or shall we take a stand which will show that we are in earnest and demand the weapon of the ballot which is necessary before we can do our part as Christian citizens in advancing the kingdom of God on earth?'"

The excellent report of the new headquarters secretary, Professor Mary Gray Peck, filled ten pages of the printed Minutes and in addition to the large collection of statistics contained many useful suggestions. Like all of the reports from the headquarters it showed the great advantage of having them in a large center. Referring to the literature department she said: "Local chairmen should see that tables with suffrage literature are placed in all church and charitable bazaars as far as possible and that our papers may be subscribed for at all subscription agencies; also that our publications are on the shelves and on file in the public libraries throughout the State. One of the things Mrs. Pankhurst said when she was looking over our work-room was: 'Don't give away your publications. We found we got rid of much more when we sold and now we give away nothing.' We have always given away ours with considerable freedom and been glad to have them read at our expense but at the low figure we put on them we could draw the gratis line closer without impair-

ing our popularity. . . . The average daily output of literature since the opening of headquarters in New York—and this does not include the orders which continued to be filled in Warren—has been 2,742 pieces, or a growth of more than 25 per cent. over the average of last year. Our cash sales from January 1 to April 1 have amounted to \$938, or an average of \$312 per month as against the average of \$89 per month for 1908-9. That is, our cash sales for the past three months are three and a half times greater than they were at the same time last year."

"The propagandist part of the correspondence," said Miss Peck, "soon makes a wise woman of the headquarters secretary. The time for general argument and abstract appeal has largely gone by. The call now is for statistics, laws, definite citations, instances of industrial conditions, legal status of women and children, etc. . . . The State organizations could do no more valuable service in aiding our efficiency as an information agency than by each getting out a condensed and reliable bulletin of State laws relating to women and children; and also by collecting data as to the property held and taxes paid by women, with illustrative instances where disfranchisement has forced these taxpayers to submit to injustice and unfair discrimination." She told of the increasing call for woman suffrage literature from public libraries to meet the demand and urged the encouragement of debates, saying: "If the State organizations would make a persistent effort to have suffrage debated in the schools and if they advertised the national headquarters as prepared to furnish a volume of debate material for thirty cents, suffrage would receive continuous advertising at no financial expense to us, nor would the good to the movement cease with the debate. Get the young people interested and you catch the mothers. Also by keeping a card register of the young debaters, the State organization would have the names and addresses of an ever-growing list of oncoming citizens interested in the subject. Debaters are a good deal cheaper than organizers. The State University of Wisconsin is sending out through its university extension department our suffrage literature in travelling libraries to meet the demand in the public schools for debate material. I believe most State universities would be glad to do the same for us. Many universities and colleges have

discussed suffrage the past winter, notably Dartmouth, Williams and Brown in their annual intercollegiate debate, Yale in the inter-class debate, the University of Texas against Tulane University of Louisiana, and Stanford will debate with Berkeley, April 16." Miss Peck made many other valuable suggestions from the trained viewpoint of a university woman.

Representative A. W. Rucker was introduced as a proxy for the Colorado association and gave its report with a warm personal endorsement of equal suffrage as it had existed in his State for seventeen years. The convention greeted with enthusiasm the mother of U. S. Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, who said she could not make a speech but would send her son to do so that evening.

Although national suffrage conventions had been held in Washington since 1869 no official recognition ever had been asked for or given by the President of the United States. The leaders thought that now the movement was of sufficient size and importance to justify them in inviting President Taft to give simply an address of welcome. The invitation was sent with the statement that its acceptance would not be regarded as committing him to an advocacy of woman suffrage and it was accepted with this understanding, although Mrs. Elihu Root presented a request from the Anti-Suffrage Association that he would not accept it. The entire country was interested and on the opening evening, when he was to speak, the auditorium was crowded and lines of people reached to the street. President Taft came in with his escort while Dr. Shaw was in the midst of her annual address but she stopped instantly and welcomed him to the platform. The audience arose and with applause and waving of handkerchiefs remained standing until he was seated. At one point in his brief address there was apparently a slight hissing in the back part of the room. The President paused; Dr. Shaw sprang to her feet exclaiming, "Oh, my children!" and the audience, which was excited and amazed, instantly became quiet and listened respectfully to the rest of his speech, but as he left the room, after shaking hands with Dr. Shaw, a few remained seated. As this incident attracted nation-wide comment and much criti-

cism it seems advisable to publish the proceedings in full. The address was as follows :

I am not entirely certain that I ought to have come tonight, but your committee who invited me assured me that I should be welcome even if I did not support all the views which were here advanced. I considered that this movement represented a sufficient part of the intelligence of the community to justify my coming here and welcoming you to Washington. The difficulty I expect to encounter is this—at least it is a difficulty that occurs to me as I judge my own feelings in causes in which I have an intense interest—to wit: that I am always a good deal more impatient with those who only go half-way with me than with those who actually oppose me. Now when I was sixteen years old and was graduated from the Woodward High School in Cincinnati, I took for my subject "Woman Suffrage" and I was as strong an advocate of it as any member of this convention. I had read Mills's "Subjection of Women"; my father was a woman suffragist and so at that time I was orthodox but in the actual political experience which I have had I have modified my views somewhat.

In the first place popular representative government we approve and support because on the whole every class, that is, every set of individuals who are similarly situated in the community, who are intelligent enough to know what their own interests are, are better qualified to determine how those interests shall be cared for and preserved than any other class, however altruistic that class may be; but I call your attention to two qualifications in that statement. One is that the class should be intelligent enough to know its own interests. The theory that Hottentots or any other uneducated, altogether unintelligent class is fitted for self-government at once or to take part in government is a theory that I wholly dissent from—but this qualification is not applicable here. The other qualification to which I call your attention is that the class should as a whole care enough to look after its interests, to take part as a whole in the exercise of political power if it is conferred. Now if it does not care enough for this, then it seems to me that the danger is, if the power is conferred, that it may be exercised by that part of the class least desirable as political constituents and be neglected by many of those who are intelligent and patriotic and would be most desirable as members of the electorate.

It was at this point the supposed hissing occurred and the President continued :

Now, my dear ladies, you must show yourselves equal to self-government by exercising, in listening to opposing arguments, that degree of restraint without which self-government is impossible. If I could be sure that women as a class in the community, including all the intelligent women most desirable as political constitu-



ents, would exercise the franchise, I should be in favor of it. At present there is considerable doubt upon that point. In certain of the States which have tried it woman suffrage has not been a failure. It has not made, I think, any substantial difference in politics. I think it is perhaps possible to say that its adoption has shown an improvement in the body politic, but it has been tested only in those States where population is sparse and where the problem of entrusting such power to women in the concentrated population of large cities is not presented. For this reason, if you will permit me to say so, my impression is that the task before you in securing what you think ought to be granted in respect to the political rights of women is not in convincing men but it is in convincing the majority of your own class of the wisdom of extending the suffrage to them and of their duty to exercise it.

Now that is my confession of faith. I am glad to welcome you here. I am glad to welcome an intelligent body of women, earnest in the discussion of politics, earnest in the question of good government and earnest and high-minded in the cause they are pursuing, even if I disagree with them, not in principle but in the application of it to the present situation. More than this I ought not to say and I hope you will not deem me ungracious in saying as much as I have said, but I came here at the invitation of your committee with the understanding as to what I might say and that I should not subscribe to all the principles that you are here to advocate. I congratulate you on coming to Washington, this most beautiful of cities, to hold your convention. I trust that it may result in everything that you hope for and I am sure that the coming together of honest, intelligent and earnest women like these cannot but be productive of good.

Some persons thought that the hissing was done by one or more delegates from the equal suffrage States because of the aspersion cast on the class of women who were likely to vote. Others believed there was no hissing but that it was merely an exclamation of "hush" because of the noise caused by the moving of loose chairs, many in the back part of the room standing up on them to get a better view. It was, however, a matter of great concern and regret on the part of the national officers, who met early the next morning and framed the following resolution:

WHEREAS the President of the United States in welcoming the Forty-second Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has taken the historic position of being the first incumbent of his office to recognize officially our determination to secure a complete democracy, thereby testifying his conviction as to its power and growth, and

WHEREAS his seriousness, honesty and friendliness converted what might have been an empty form into an official courtesy, historic alike for him and for us,

THEREFORE be it resolved that we convey to President William H. Taft the thanks and appreciation of this convention for his welcome, assuring him at the same time that the patriotism and public spirit of the women of America intend to make themselves directly felt in the government of which he is the honored head and that at no distant date.

This was adopted at the morning's session of the convention by a unanimous rising vote. At the opening of the afternoon session Dr. Shaw said: "I think one of the saddest hours that I have ever spent in connection with one of our national conventions I spent last night after the occurrence of an incident here for which none of the officers of this association bears the least responsibility and we trust none of the delegates needs to bear any of it, when there was a dissent made to an utterance of President Taft. It seemed to us a most unwise and ungracious act and we feel the keenest possible regret over it. Because of this the Official Board has prepared a letter to the President expressing our regret that the occurrence should have taken place, whether by a member of this body or by a visitor. It is impossible to control a great public audience individually and an organization is not responsible for everything which takes place in its public meetings. While I do not think our organization as a body is at all responsible for what took place last night I feel that, since the President was our guest, it is our duty to express our very deep regret for the incident. I ask, therefore, that, without discussion and without further speech, there shall be concurrence on the part of the convention with the Official Board in sending a letter of regret to the President."

The convention agreed to this instantly with but one dissenting and it was ascertained that she was not only not a delegate but not a member of the association. This justified the general opinion that if there had been any hissing the night before it was done by some of the large number of outsiders in the audience. The letter signed by Professor Frances Squire Potter, as corresponding secretary, read as follows:

To President William Howard Taft,

My dear Mr. President:

The enclosed resolution, introduced by the Committee on Convention Resolutions, was passed unanimously by the National American Woman Suffrage Association today at the opening of its morning session. I am instructed by the unanimous vote of the Official Board and of the delegates now assembled to send you with the resolution this official communication.

The official board and delegates were but a small part of the very large gathering to hear your greeting last evening but as the representatives of the association these delegates feel great sorrow that any one present, either a member or an outsider, should have interrupted your address by an expression of personal feeling, and they herewith disclaim responsibility for such interruption and ask your acceptance of this expression of regret in the spirit in which it is given.

The letter was sent in the afternoon by messenger across Lafayette Square, which separated the Arlington from the White House, and the next morning the following answer was received:

The White House,  
Washington, April 16, 1910.

My dear Mrs. Potter:

I beg to acknowledge your favor of April 15. I unite with you in regretting the incident occurring during my address to which your letter refers. I regret it not because of any personal feeling, for I have none on the subject at all, but only because much more significance has been given to it than it deserves and because it may be used in an unfair way to embarrass the leaders of your movement.

I thank the association for the kindly and cordial tone of the resolutions transmitted and hope that the feature of Thursday night's meeting, which you describe as having given your association much sorrow, may soon be entirely forgotten.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Taft.

This closed the incident as far as it could be closed but there was a great deal of sympathy with the sentiment expressed by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell in the *Woman's Journal*: "It was known that while the President was not an anti-suffragist he was not a strong suffragist and might not even be wholly with us. It was, therefore, not expected that he would at the convention 'come out for suffrage.' Indeed, he was not invited to make an address but simply to extend to the convention the welcome of the national capital, not because he was a suffragist but because the convention thought that it was representative enough and of

sufficient size and standing in the country to warrant asking the President to do this one thing. He could have declined the invitation and no one would have been offended. He could have said he was an anti-suffragist. He could have tactfully omitted his opinion and confined his time to greetings and welcome as Chief Executive to the convention as a large organization of the women of the nation. At the point where the supposed hissing occurred, it was as if the speaker had struck those women in the face with a whip. Even those who most resented the President's remarks regretted the expression of open disapproval in such a manner, but, to a person, the audience felt that he had been untactful, and, however unintentionally, had implied an odious comparison; that he had not sufficiently considered this great body of the picked women of the land to choose his language in addressing them."

The President's address was preceded by one given by Professor Potter on *The Making of Democracy*, which had seldom been equalled in its statesmanlike qualities. This was followed by a powerful argument on *Why Women Should Have the Suffrage*, by Senator Robert L. Owen (Okla.), one of the ablest speakers in the U. S. Senate and always an uncompromising supporter of the political rights of women.

At an afternoon session Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery (Penn.), who had succeeded Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt as chairman of the Committee on Petition to Congress, took up the report where it had ended at the last convention. She said that, in addition to the 100,000 petitions and 5,000 individual letters sent from New York under Mrs. Catt's supervision, there had gone out from the headquarters after they had been removed to Washington and placed in charge of Mrs. Rachel Brill Ezekiel, 60,000 more petitions, 11,000 more letters and 1,185 postals with appeals. "The petition," she said, "has been a means of introducing suffrage into thousands of households and hundreds of meetings of all kinds in which the subject had not before been mentioned. Even women's clubs have had to listen to suffrage when brought to them by eager seekers after signatures. It has given to many people who have never before done anything for suffrage an opportunity. In some cases whole neighborhoods

have been reached through the work of a single energetic woman willing to go from house to house circulating the petition and leaving literature with families where she found little or no sympathy for our movement. All letters sent out from petition headquarters enclosed suffrage leaflets and carried to thousands of men and women the first suffrage literature they had seen." All this vast work had cost only \$4,555, of which Mrs. Catt had contributed \$1,000. The most strenuous effort had not succeeded in getting the return of all the petitions in time for the convention but those at hand contained 404,825 names.<sup>1</sup>

The arrangements for the parade which was to carry the petitions to Congress were in the hands of Miss Mary Garrett Hay. Mrs. Helen H. Gardener obtained the use of fifty cars from interested residents of Washington and these were handsomely adorned with the flag of the United States and suffrage banners. The official report said: "The most picturesque incident of the convention was the long line of fifty decorated automobiles which bore the petitions and delegates of each State from the Hotel Arlington to the Capitol, where the petitions were personally delivered to the various Senators and Representatives who were to present them to Congress. The large piles of rolled petitions, the respect of the people who lined the streets, the courtesy of the Congressmen and the crowds which watched the presentation in Senate and House were all impressive. Senator LaFollette brought instant silence when, presenting his share of the petitions, he said, "I hope the time will come when this great body of intelligent people will not find it necessary to petition for that which ought to be accorded as a right in a country of equal opportunities."

At the afternoon session a vote of thanks was given to Senator LaFollette and all the Senators and Representatives who presented the petitions. Deep appreciation was expressed of the labor of Mrs. Catt in connection with the petitions and regret that she

<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Catt's original plan required each State to tabulate the signers according to their lines of work but this was not fully carried out. Miss Minnie J. Reynolds, in charge of the Writer's Section, published a long and interesting report in the *Woman's Journal*. Simply the names of distinguished writers, men and women, who had signed, filled a solid column and yet she said: "The work on this section was absurdly fragmentary. In the city of Washington Miss Nettie Lovisa White had obtained the names of sixty, including the most prominent newspaper correspondents."

was not able to be present at the Capitol. This was the last of the hundreds of thousands of petitions to Congress for the submission of a National Amendment to enfranchise women which began in 1866.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton in her treasurer's report said the past year had been an unusually hard one financially not because of adversity but because of prosperity. Formerly the States had sent their money to the national treasury to be used as the Official Board thought best, but now there were so many campaigns and new lines of work in various States that they wanted to disburse their own money. This was encouraging but hard on the national work. Few were the years between 1899 and 1908 when some legacy was not received, as Miss Anthony never missed an opportunity to urge women to make such bequests. After her death Miss Mary Anthony followed her example but since both had passed away little had been done in this direction. The total receipts for 1909 were \$21,466, and the general disbursements \$19,814. With the headquarters in New York more money had been received but more also had to be spent. Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont furnished the offices of the Press Committee, paid their rent, the salaries of three workers and all other expenses connected with it. Mrs. William M. Ivins of New York City and Mrs. Mary Ely Parsons of Rye, N. Y., furnished Dr. Shaw's office.

In closing Mrs. Upton said that the duties of the headquarters and of the treasurer's office had been so closely connected that up to this time it had been difficult to separate them. In fact from the time she was elected to date she had always done some work properly belonging to headquarters. From the first a clerk was supplied to her and she was so situated that she could do this and was more than willing to. She had edited twelve reports of annual conventions and was editor and manager of *Progress* for seven years. She told how letters and requests continued to come to her after the headquarters went to New York and she was obliged to employ another clerk, whose salary she herself paid. In closing she said: "Since 1893 your treasurer has received and disbursed more than \$275,000 and she wishes

<sup>1</sup> See History of Woman Suffrage, Volume II, page 91.

the treasurer for the coming year could have that full amount for the next twelve months' work." The convention accepted the report with a rising vote of thanks for her many years of continuous service.

The general subscriptions at the convention, including those for the South Dakota campaign, were \$4,363. Mrs. Belmont continued her pledge of \$600 a month. The association had various funds to draw from, which were supplied by contributions. It was voted to appropriate \$150 a month for six and a half months' work in Oklahoma if the amendment was to go to the voters in November.

Memorial services were held on the morning of April 15 for two distinguished members of the association, Henry B. Blackwell, who had died Sept. 7, 1909, and William Lloyd Garrison, five days later. On the program was an extract from a speech made by Mr. Blackwell at a national Woman's Rights Convention in Cleveland, O., in 1853: "The interests of the sexes are inseparably connected and in the elevation of the one lies the salvation of the other. Therefore, I claim a part in this last and grandest movement of the ages, for whatever concerns woman concerns the race." Affectionate and beautiful tributes to Mr. Blackwell's nearly fifty years' devotion to the cause of woman suffrage were paid by those who had known him long and intimately, which are partially quoted here.

Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard: I have ever regarded Mr. Blackwell as a many-sided reformer, one whose most distinguished claim to remembrance consists in the fact that no other man has devoted so much of his life to the task of securing the enfranchisement of women. Only those who have read the *Woman's Journal* regularly and depended on it for an accurate record of the slow but steady march of progress of this great movement can fully realize the enormous amount of editorial work contributed to it by him during the past forty years. The combination of superior intellectual powers with tenderest sympathies formed a rare equipment for success in his chosen field of usefulness. In truth his advocacy of the woman's cause was marked by such zeal and enthusiasm that one not knowing the initials "H. B. B." stood for a man might quite naturally have believed that only a woman could own them. Fortunately he was possessed of the sunniest possible temperament and blessed with an unusual sense of humor which enabled him to

see things in their true proportions and make light of obstacles in his path. The many and varied tributes that have been paid to his memory all dwell upon his intense love of justice which led him to wage war against oppression wherever he found it. . . . It was my good fortune to be present at the celebration of Mr. Blackwell's eightieth birthday in Faneuil Hall in Boston. With great clarity of vision he defined the duty of the hour and said: "But we can not afford to be a mutual admiration society, there is still work to do." . . . With what patience, fortitude and true courage he and Lucy Stone, his wife, played their part in the face of ridicule and opprobrium is now a matter of history. Women who to-day live a freer life because of their labors and those of their coadjutors must offer to their memory the highest meed of praise.

Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch: Lives consecrated to great reforms, particularly to the advancement of a reform to emancipate women, teach us that the age of chivalry is not past. These great men whom we honor to-day were not, like the knights of old, inspired by the love of some one woman whom they desired to possess, but they strove for justice for those they loved best and for us too, who were their friends, and for millions of women they never knew. Their far-reaching chivalry was one of the most important elements in the characters of Mr. Blackwell and Mr. Garrison. Both of them were unusually fortunate in the women who were their nearest and dearest. Mr. Blackwell's sister Elizabeth was the first woman physician in the United States; his sister-in-law, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, the first ordained minister; his wife, Lucy Stone, one of the sweetest and truest of the pioneer suffrage lecturers.

Mr. Garrison was not old enough to be related to so many pioneers, except through his illustrious father, but his wife's devotion to the suffrage work, his sister's unfaltering activity and his association from boyhood with Boston's brilliant coterie of renowned women, might well have influenced him to have a higher regard and deeper respect for all their sex. . . . Mr. Blackwell and Mr. Garrison, in their beautiful family lives, are particularly illustrious examples that woman suffrage will not break up the home. Many long years did these pairs of married friends work together for our cause. . . .

To-day we sorrow for the loss of these men but not without hope, for there are other men coming forward to take up the work they have dropped. We women who are here to-day do not represent merely ourselves and the tens of thousands of other suffrage women but we are backed by the sympathy, the active encouragement and the money of our husbands, our brothers, our fathers, and many of us have chivalrous sons. More even than sympathy they now give, as some are giving themselves for service. One of Mr. Blackwell's last letters to me related to securing a large membership among men, and our Men's Suffrage Leagues, now springing up in all large cities, might well name themselves



for him. . . . Go forward, men, with the spirit of Blackwell and Garrison!

Mrs. McCulloch paid a beautiful tribute to the human side of Mr. Blackwell's character, his love of nature and his companionship with children.

Miss Jane Campbell: I need not enter into the details of the life, public or private, of Mr. Blackwell. They are written in letters of gold in the annals of the suffrage movement from the moment when in the beautiful, unselfish ardor of youth, with his wife, the silver-tongued Lucy Stone, he entered upon a career of patient, unflagging devotion to the cause of woman's rights. . . . It evinced a high and noble spirit, a great courage, for any man to espouse an almost universally ridiculed cause, as did Mr. Blackwell; possibly greater courage than even a woman, conservative and timid if not by nature yet made so by education, showed when she emerged from her awed subjection and ventured to demand her equal share of privileges as well as of disabilities. The woman had the burning sense of injustice to arouse her, the indignation caused by her calm relegation to the position of an inferior to inspire her with courage to fight for freedom, but a man, a man like Mr. Blackwell, had no such bitter sense of personal wrong to impel him. He entered the contest not for himself, for he had no wrongs to redress, but his great soul saw that woman had and he devoted life, means, energy, talents to redress them. It is a rarely high, unselfish record of a noble life that he has left for the admiration and example of other men. . . . He was one of the most eloquent, forceful and logical speakers we have ever had on our platform, with his fine, resounding voice giving clear expression to his logical thinking, and he was a ready and forceful writer. . . .

Miss Anne Fitzhugh Miller: It was always a joy to meet Mr. Blackwell for there was never any picking up of broken threads of our spinning or knitting or weaving of good comradeship, which at once continued as if no absence had intervened. I felt at home with him always, he was a man after my own heart, direct, decided, accurate, devoted to high ideals, and yet he possessed an elasticity of nature which made him the most comfortable of comrades. His sense of humor and his love of fun made the best of good times for those who were fortunate enough to share his merry moods. . . . It was always a delight to hear him speak. The sound of his voice rested and refreshed and the soundness of his thought inspired confidence and admiration. His half-century of continuous and absolute devotion to the cause of woman suffrage gives Mr. Blackwell a unique position in history. All women owe him a debt of gratitude which they can best pay by renewed devotion to the cause to which he dedicated his life. In the truest and broadest sense he was and should be remembered as a "Brother of Women."

Dr. Shaw added her own fine appreciation of the two men and speaking from almost a lifetime of acquaintance with Mr. Garrison gave a glowing eulogy of his noble character, lofty convictions and fearless courage, a worthy son of a great father. Among other prominent friends of woman suffrage who had passed away during the year, recorded in the memorial resolutions, were Justice Brewer, of the U. S. Supreme Court; Dr. Borden P. Bowne, head of the department of philosophy and dean of the graduate school in Boston University; Judge Charles B. Waite and Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson of Chicago; Charles Sprague Smith, director of Cooper Institute, New York, and many devoted workers in the various States.

At one interesting evening session Mrs. Kate Trimble Woolsey (Ky.) spoke on Republics versus Women, the title of her book; Mrs. Meta L. Stern on Woman Suffrage from a Socialist's Point of View; Miss Alice Paul on The English Situation. Mrs. Catt's subject was Caught in a Snare and the convention voted to have it printed for circulation. As Miss Alice Stone Blackwell was ill at home, missing the annual convention for the first time, the readers of the *Woman's Journal* were deprived of her usual comprehensive reports and abstracts of the speeches where the manuscript was not available. That of Miss Paul was published in full. She had recently returned from London, where she had been a member of Mrs. Pankhurst's organization, had been sent to prison, had gone on a "hunger strike" and been forcibly fed, and she felt the situation keenly. A part of her speech was as follows:

As we gather here as suffragists, our hearts naturally go out to those women at the storm-center of our movement—to those women in Great Britain who are having a struggle such as women have never had in any other land. The violent criticism, the suppression and distortion of facts from which they have suffered at the hands of the politically-inspired press of their own country have made it difficult for one on this side to gain any true conception of their movement. . . .

The essence of the campaign of the suffragettes is opposition to the Government. The country seems willing that the vote be extended to women. This last Parliament showed its willingness by passing their franchise bill through its second reading by a three-to-one majority, but the Government, that little group which con-

trols legislation, would not let it become law. It is not a war of women against men, for the men are helping loyally, but a war of men and women together against the politicians at the head, who because of their own political interests seem afraid to enfranchise women. The suffragettes have gone with petitions to the head of the Government, as our representatives will go in a few days to the authorities in Washington. Here they will be received with courtesy, but Mr. Asquith has never since he has been Prime Minister received a deputation of women on this question of their suffrage. Each time he curtly refuses to see them and orders the police to drive them away or arrest them. Thirteen times the deputations of one society alone have been arrested. . . .

The Earl of Lytton said the other day that more violence had been done by the men during the three weeks of the recent election than by the women during their entire agitation. Such action on the part of voters is wrong for they have a constitutional way, through the ballot, of redressing their grievances, but on the part of a disfranchised class, after half a century's trial has proved all their methods to be of no avail, a protest such as these women have made seems entirely right. We are so close at hand that perhaps we hardly realize the full significance of their movement. The greatest drama that is being enacted in the world today, it seems to me, is the battle of the British women. When historians can look back from the perspective of a century or two I think they will say that this talk of dreadnaughts and budgets and House of Lords was after all of but little moment and that the great event of world significance in Great Britain early in the century was the magnificent struggle for political freedom on the part of her women.

The comprehensive report of the corresponding secretary, Professor Potter, filled ten pages of the printed Minutes and was a complete summary of the year's work and that which should be done. Names were given of about forty associations which had passed resolutions for woman suffrage during the year, preceded usually by discussion. These included Federations of Labor, Granges, Temperance Societies, Federations of Women's Clubs, religious bodies and labor organizations. Among the last were the International Typographical Union, International Chair Workers, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, American Federation of Labor, National Women's Trade Union League and many others. She called attention to the fact that in many instances the endorsement was unanimous and that the labor resolutions were stronger than ever before, using the phrase "our intention to secure

woman suffrage." The Pennsylvania Federation said: "In selecting candidates for political office we will endeavor to secure men who are committed to a belief in the right of women to vote."

Professor Potter emphasized the need of research experts to bring the statistics up to date, as it was now impossible to answer the requests for information from the best type of those asking it, university graduates working for higher degrees, men and women writing articles, books, plays, etc. She reported the beginning of a card catalogue of subjects and the progress made toward carrying out the instructions of the Seattle convention that the national headquarters undertake a handbook of Federal and State Laws for Women and a bibliography. She described the character of the thousands of letters sent out, covering work for prize essays, poster campaigns, mass meetings, "settlement" work, appointments of women, newspaper and magazine publicity and especially organization along political lines. As she had been asked to act as field lecturer as well as corresponding secretary she reported fifty-four lectures given, not only at State suffrage conventions but before men's leagues, press clubs, labor meetings, churches, universities, etc.

The convention showed by a rising vote its full appreciation of this report, which was the first and last given by Professor Potter as corresponding secretary. Differences in regard to administration had arisen which proved to be irreconcilable and she had declined to stand for re-election. The Official Board was divided in opinion and this led to several changes in its personnel. Dr. Shaw was re-elected president; Mrs. Avery, first vice-president; Mrs. Stewart, second vice-president; Mrs. Upton, treasurer; Miss Clay and Miss Blackwell, first and second auditors. Mrs. Florence Kelley declined re-nomination as second vice-president and Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch was elected. Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett (Mass.) was chosen for corresponding secretary. Later in the convention Mrs. Avery and Mrs. Upton gave in their resignations, which the delegates refused to accept and then both announced that their offices would be vacant in one month. Mrs. Upton had been treasurer of the association since 1893 and the delegates were most reluctant to let her go.

By action of the Executive Committee Mrs. McCulloch was advanced to the office of first vice-president; Miss Kate M. Gordon (La.) was made second vice-president and Miss Jessie Ashley (N. Y.), treasurer.

The National College Equal Suffrage League held business sessions Saturday forenoon and afternoon with its president, Dr. M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr presiding, and a luncheon was given for its delegates. Miss Caroline Lexow made the annual report. At the evening meeting of the convention Mrs. Alice Duer Miller (N. Y.), representing the Equal Franchise Society, of which Mrs. Clarence Mackay was president, spoke on The Sisterhood of Women, saying in part: "We have plenty of work to do but it is not that, it is not the organization, the growth of membership and the spread of theories that make me confident of success. It is the extraordinary spirit that animates the women who are working for suffrage, the sense of comradeship and community among them, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, old and young, mothers and daughters. We have been taught to admire the 18th century because it did so much to dissolve class distinctions. It broke down some of the barriers, not between man and woman, but between groups of men, for within groups men have always had this spirit of comradeship, and oh, how they have valued it! They did not get it in domestic relations, however happy; or in friendships, however warm. They got it, or rather they found a field in which to exercise it, in the impersonal activities of their lives, in their crusades, guilds, colleges, labor unions and clubs. But between women the barriers have been of a more serious type. They have been segregated not only class by class but individual by individual and house by house. Now these barriers too are dissolving. Women are finding an expression for their sense of comradeship, for their impersonal loyalty to their own sex; they are waking up to the fact that a sense of equality is more thrilling to those who have the right stuff in them than any sense of superiority could ever have been."

Miss Harriet E. Grim of Wisconsin University described The Call of the New Age to College Women. Miss Juliet Stuart Poyntz, president of Barnard chapter of the College League, discussed Education and Social Progress. Mrs. Elizabeth M. Gil-

mer, "Dorothy Dix," in an address on *The Real Reason why Women cannot Vote*, gave a delightful imitation of the voice and words of a wise old negro, "Mirandy," from which the following is quoted:

Yassum, dat's de trouble wid women down to dis very day. Dey ain't got no backbone. Of a rib dey was made an' a rib dey has stayed an' nobody ain't got no right to expect nothin' else from 'em. Hit's becaze woman was made out of man's rib—an' from de way she acts hit looks lak she was made out of a floatin' rib at dat—an' man was left wid all his backbone, dat he has got de comeuppance over woman. Dat's de reason we women sets down an' cries when we ought to git up an' heave brickbats. What's de reason dat we women can't vote, an' ain't got no say-so 'bout makin' de laws dat bosses us? Ain't we got de right on our side? Yassir, but we'se got no backbone in us to just retch out an' grab dat ballot.

Dere ain't nobody 'sputing dat we'se got to scrape up de money to pay de tax collector, even if we does have to get down into a skirt pocket for hit insted of pants' pocket, an' our belongin' to de angel sect ain't gwine to keep us out of jail if we gits in a fight wid anodder lady or we swipes a ruffled petticoate off de clothesline next do'. Fudermo', when de meat trust puts up de price of po'k chops, hits de woman dat has to squeeze de eagle on de dollar ontel hit holler a little louder an' pare de potato peelin's a little thinner. An' dat makes us women jest a-achin' to have a finger in dat government pie an' see if we can't put a little mo' sweetnin' in hit, an' make hit a little lighter so dat hit won't get so heavy an' ondigestible on de stomachs of dem what ain't millionaires.

Yassir, we'se jest a-honin' for de franchise an' we might have had hit any time dese last forty years ef we'd had enough backbone to riz up an' fit one good fight for hit, but insted of dat we set around a-holdin' our hands an' all we'se done is to say in a meek voice: "Please, sir, I don't lak to trouble you but ef you'd kindly pass me de ballot hit sho'ly would be agreeable to me." An' insted of givin' hit to us, men has kinder winked one eye at de odder an' said: "Lawd, she don't want hit or else she's make a row about hit. Dat's de way we men did. We didn't go after de right to vote wid our pink tea manners on."

Yassir, dat's de true word, an' you listen to me—de day dat women spunks up an' rolls up dere sleeves an' says to dere husband dat dey ain't a-gwine to do no' mo' cookin' in his house, nor darnin' of socks, nor patchin' of britches untel dere is some female votin', why dat day de ballot will be fetched home to women on a silver platter. All dat stands between women an' suffrage is de lack of a spinal colum.

An able address was given by Henry Wilbur, as representative of the Friends' Equal Rights Association. Max Eastman, assist-

ant professor in Columbia University, representing the New York Men's League for Woman Suffrage, of which he was secretary, taking the broad subject Democracy and Women, said in the course of his speech:

The democratic hypothesis is that a State is good not when it conforms to some abstract eternal ideal of what a State ought to be, as the Greeks thought, but when it conforms to the interests of particular concrete individuals, namely, its citizens, all of them that are in mental and moral health; and that the way to find out their interests is not to sit on a throne or a bench and think about it but to go and ask them. . . . Barring this question of democracy, I think the political arguments for woman suffrage are not the main ones. The great thing to my mind is not that women will improve politics but that politics will develop women. The political act, the nature it demands and the recognition it attracts, will alter the character and status of women in society to the benefit of themselves, their husbands, their children and their homes. Upon this ground we can stand and declare that it is of high and immediate importance to all humanity not only that we give those women the vote who want it but that we rouse those who do not know enough to want it to a better appreciation of the great age in which they have the good fortune to live. Whatever else we may say for the industrial era we can say this, that it has made possible and actual the physical, social, moral and intellectual emancipation of women. . . .

The other day I had a letter from a man who said he wouldn't join my society because he feared I was "striking a blow at the family, which is the cornerstone of society." Well, I am not much of an authority on matrimony but that sort of language sounds to me like a hysterical outcry from a person whose family is already tottering. It is at least certain that a great many of these cornerstones of society are tottering, and why? Because there dwell in them triviality and vacuity, which prepare the way of the devil. Who can think that intellectual divergence, disagreement upon great public questions, would disrupt a family worth holding together? On the contrary, nothing save a community of great interests—whether in agreement or disagreement—can revive a fading romance. A high and equal comradeship is the one thing that can save those families which are the tottering cornerstones of society. A greater service of the developed woman to the State, however, will be her service in motherhood. . . . And yet to hear the sacredness of motherhood advanced as a reason why women should not become public-spirited and effectual, you would think this nation had no greater hope than to rear in innocence a generation of grown-up babies. Keep your mothers in a state of invalid remoteness from life and who shall arm the young with intelligent virtue? To educate a child is to lead him out into the world of experience. It is not to bring him in virgin innocence to the front door and say, "Now run on and

be a good child!" A million lives wrecked at the very off-go can bear witness to the failure of this method.

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch (N. Y.) presided at a symposium on Open Air Meetings, which were then being much discussed, and they were advocated by Miss Ray Costello of England; Mrs. Katherine Dexter McCormick (Mass.), Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald (Mass.) and Mrs. Helen LaReine Baker (Wash.). Mrs. Blatch announced a practical demonstration that afternoon at the corner of Seventh Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. Mrs. Catt, presided over a conference on Political District Organization as demonstrated in New York City. An afternoon meeting was devoted to an Industrial Program arranged by Mrs. Myra Strawn Hartshorne of Chicago. Conditions affecting Women as Workers and as Wives and Mothers of Workers were graphically described by Miss Rose Schneiderman (N. Y.), president of the Cap Makers' Union. The Consequences to Motherhood and Womanhood, as demonstrated by the White Slave Traffic, were strikingly pictured by Mrs. Raymond Robins (Ills.), president of the National Women's Trade Union League. A private conference, Mrs. Mary Hutcheson Page (Mass.) presiding, discussed the necessity for defeating anti-suffrage candidates for Congress and Legislatures. Mrs. Florence Kelley, executive secretary of the National Consumers' League, brought greetings from the Southern Conference on Woman and Child Labor, which she had just attended, with a special one from Miss Jean Gordon (La.), and made a striking address. Dr. Anna Mercy, president of the first suffrage club on the East Side of New York, gave practical experiences. Miss Nettie A. Podell and Miss Bertha Ryshpan, representing the Political Equality League, of which Mrs. Belmont was president, told of its gratifying experiments with Political Settlements in New York City. The session closed with a stirring address by Charles Edward Russell on Self-Defense or the Demand for Political Action.

Mrs. Pauline Steinem (Ohio) reported the usual active and efficient work of her Committee on Education, urging among other valuable methods the organization of Mothers' and Parents' Clubs in connection with all public schools. Mrs. McCulloch gave her report as Legal Adviser, which combined sound sense with spark-



ling humor. She showed how much money had been lost to the association because those who intended to leave bequests to it delayed making their wills. She urged the women to study the statutes of their States relating to women and said that, while she had been glad to contribute her services as legal adviser and would not accept a salary, the association should employ a competent lawyer who could stay at the national headquarters and give her entire time to compiling the laws for women and giving legal information. The convention Minutes say: "A rising vote of thanks was given to Mrs. McCulloch for her magnificent work as legal adviser for many years." Miss Gordon presented the plan for raising the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund; Mrs. Alice C. Dewey (N. Y.), the report on Bibliography; Dr. Mary D. Hussey (N. J.), on Enrollment. Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser read the report of Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, chairman of the National Press Committee, which said in part:

My strong belief that New York offered the greatest and most promising field in the world for suffrage press work has been abundantly sustained. The national press bureau was opened about the middle of September, soon after the national headquarters were moved to this city, with a private reception to the representatives of every newspaper in the city, to whom its objects and hopes were stated. From that day the most of the men and women reporters have been its unfailing friends. A number of the women have not missed coming a single day and most of them are ardent suffragists and anxious to help the cause in every possible way. Back of reporters have been the interest and support of city and managing editors. In the nearly seven months there have not been half-a-dozen really opposing editorials and there have been many of a favorable and helpful character. Every day sixteen papers of New York City have been examined by some member of the bureau and the clippings carefully filed. These, during the past five months, have comprised over 3,000 articles on woman suffrage, ranging in length from a paragraph to a page.

During these five months there have been received from one news service bureau 10,800 clippings on woman suffrage from papers outside of New York City. Included in these are 2,311 editorials. All of these were read, sorted and filed. (See exhibit.) The number of magazine articles on woman suffrage as noted in *Progress* during this period has been about one hundred. It is doubtful if there was such a record in all the preceding ten years combined.

In years past there has been great rejoicing when one of the large syndicates would accept an article on woman suffrage. From the time the press bureau was established in New York, practically

every one of any consequence in the United States has urgently requested articles and used all that could be furnished. From one to a dozen articles each, with a great many photographs, have been sent to the Associated Press, United Press, Laffan Bureau and National News Syndicate of New York; Western Newspaper Union, Chicago; Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland; North-American Press Syndicate, Grand Rapids; over 100 short items to the American Press Association. There has been scarcely a limit to the requests for suffrage matter from influential papers in all parts of the country. . . . Once a month I have supplied an article on the work in the United States for *Ius Suffragii*, the international paper published in Rotterdam. . . . I have also edited *Progress*. . . .

Before closing, I want to express my deep appreciation of the generosity of Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, through which the press bureau has this splendid opportunity for work. Every comfort and facility have been provided and every request cheerfully granted. Mrs. Belmont never attempts, because of her financial assistance, to exercise any supervision over the bureau. It is now well established; it enjoys the confidence of the press and the public and the opportunities that lie before it cannot be measured in extent and importance.

During the convention many prominent visitors were introduced to the audiences, among them Miss Mary Johnston, who had taken a leading part in organizing the State Suffrage Association of Virginia, and its president, Mrs. Lila Meade Valentine; Mrs. Elizabeth Upham Yates, the new president of Rhode Island; J. H. Braly, president of the Men's League of California; J. Luther Langston, secretary and treasurer of the Oklahoma Federation of Labor, and Daniel R. Anthony, M.C., of Kansas. Many greetings were received including one from the Finnish Temperance organizations through Miss Maggie Walz of Michigan and others from Mrs. Caroline M. Severance and Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, pioneer suffragists now living in California. Greetings were sent to Miss Clara Barton of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Julia Ward Howe of Boston; Miss Blackwell; the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell of Elizabeth, N. J.; Mrs. George Howard Lewis of Buffalo; Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne of Auburn, N. Y.; Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller of Geneva, N. Y., all pioneers in suffrage work, and to Mrs. Belmont in New York. A vote of thanks was extended to Miss Belle Bennett (Ky.), president of the Southern Home Mission, for her strong efforts to secure the admission of women to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

Through the effort of the District Equal Suffrage Association the spacious Belasco Theater had been secured for the Sunday afternoon meeting. Dr. Shaw presided and Rabbi Abram Simon offered prayer.<sup>1</sup> A large audience listened to forceful addresses by Miss Beatrice Forbes Robertson, Miss Laura Clay, Miss Harriet May Mills, Mrs. Ella S. Stewart and Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman. In the evening the officers of the association received the delegates, speakers and members of the convention in the parlors of the Arlington.

One of the most valuable reports given at the convention was that of Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, chairman of the Standing Committee on Peace and Arbitration. The events of a few years later caused the delegates to remember with renewed interest the extended work and fervent appeals of Mrs. Mead and her associates for settling the world's disputes by peaceful methods. On this occasion she made a special plea to those who were working for the enfranchisement of women.

Professor Potter, Mr. Blackwell's successor as chairman of the committee, presented a set of strong resolutions, international as well as national in character, which were adopted without discussion.

A subject which received much attention was the offer of Miss Blackwell to make the *Woman's Journal* the official organ of the association. It needed the help of the paper and since the death of her father she needed some one to share the responsibility of its publication. Miss Clay, Mrs. McCulloch, Mrs. Dennett and Miss Mary Garrett of Baltimore were appointed to plan the business details. An agreement was made for one year, Miss Blackwell to continue as editor without salary but the association to employ a business manager and such other help as she required.

A noteworthy program marked the last evening of the convention, which opened with a powerful address by Raymond Robins on The Worker, the Law and the Courts. It was to be followed by a consideration of Scientific Propaganda in Practical Politics, with the Literature discussed by Mrs. Hartshorne but she was ill

<sup>1</sup> Washington ministers who opened various sessions with prayer were the Reverends U. G. B. Pierce, Samuel H. Woodrow, John Van Schaick and William I. McKenney.

and Professor Potter took her place. Plans for activity in behalf of changes of law and its administration that will benefit women and children in particular and society in general were presented by Miss Grace Strachan, president of the New York Federation of Teachers. Special plans in behalf of woman suffrage were submitted by Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw (N. Y.). Dr. Shaw, who presided, called attention to the hearings before the committees of Senate and House the next morning and closed the convention with one of her characteristic speeches which sent the audience home happy and ready for the battle.

The dominant note of the convention was the intention henceforth to enter the field of politics. The New York *Evening Post* said in its account: "The audiences at all the meetings were too large for the capacity of the room and at the Sunday night public gathering hundreds had to be turned away. Without exception State delegations reported that the work of the next year would consist of active effort along political lines, the organization of woman suffrage 'parties' with membership comprising men and women. Delegations would interview candidates and voters in regard to their suffrage opinions; conduct open-air meetings throughout the summer and be on duty at the polls during elections."

The *Woman's Journal* said in its summing up: "The personnel of the delegates and speakers was such as to inspire the most hostile, the most conservative and the most despondent student of human nature. When an observer reflected that these delegates represented thousands of women in each State who believe in equal suffrage, and that the speakers and leaders of the convention voiced the thoughts, hopes and aspirations of suffragists the world over, he could not help being stirred profoundly with the conviction not only that equal rights are inevitable in the near future but also with the compelling faith that the world is truly marching on in the very best sense and that it can never again be quite as dark a place to live in as it has been. A notable feature was the absolute conviction with which these representatives of the people speak and the unmistakable determination to win a speedy victory."

The "hearings" before committees of Senate and House took place on the historic date, April 19, when in 1776 "the shot was fired which was heard around the world" proclaiming the birth of a republic founded on the right of every individual to represent himself by his ballot! Heretofore they had been held in the Marble Room of the Senate Building and the room of the House Judiciary Committee, which could accommodate only a very limited number of the delegates and none of the public. The splendid new office buildings of the two Houses of Congress were now finished and in the spacious rooms assigned for the hearings all of the delegates found seats and many others, although a long line of the disappointed extended down the corridor.

The members of the Senate Committee were Alexander S. Clay (Ga.), chairman; Senators Joseph F. Johnston (Ala.), Elmer J. Burkett (Neb.), George Peabody Wetmore (R. I.), Albert J. Beveridge (Ind.). All were present except Senator Beveridge. Dr. Shaw presided and before introducing the speakers gave a résumé of the petitions which had just been presented to the Congress, called attention to the names of many eminent men and women who had signed them and said: "Believing that the first republic in the world, founded upon the principle of self-government with 'equal rights for all and special privileges for none,' should be among the leaders and not the laggards in this great world movement, your petitioners pray this honorable body to submit to the Legislatures of the several States for ratification an amendment to the Federal Constitution which will enable American women to vote." She continued:

It is not revolutionary on our part to ask a share in our Government. We are demanding it because it is in accord with American ideals and absolutely essential to the establishment of true democracy. A democratic form of government is right or it is not right—it is either right that the people should be self-governed or that they should not. If it is not right, then we ought to know it; the whole people ought to know it. If it is right, then the whole people ought to have equal opportunities in self-government. It is not that we women wish to dictate in regard to men or that we assume any superior ability for government, any superior wisdom, but it is that we do assume that whether we are wise or not, whether we have a grasp of all the affairs of state or not, whether we are earning and producing equally with men or not, we are human beings and as

a part of the Government we should have at least a chance to exercise whatever powers we possess equally with all other citizens. It is because we believe that this Government should be true to its fundamental principles that we make these demands.

Some one asked Wendell Phillips if Christianity were not a failure and he replied, "It has not yet been tried." So we can say in regard to democracy. We hear the cry everywhere that democracy is a failure. A speaker in New York said that our democracy was the laughing stock of all the civilized nations of the world. It is the laughing stock because of the failure of this democracy to dare to be democratic. We have never tried universal suffrage but if that which we have is a failure the cure for it is not to restrict it but to extend it, because no class of men is able to represent another class and it is much truer that no class nor all classes of men are capable of representing any class or all classes of women. Believing this, we have come as citizens of the United States to this Mecca of all the people for more than forty years and we are ready to come for as many years more as may be necessary until our plea is granted.

Dr. Shaw then said: "I desire to introduce speakers from the professions and lines of work represented in our petitions: Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch of Chicago, who has been a practicing lawyer for twenty-four years and was recently re-elected to the office of justice of the peace."

Mrs. McCulloch. There may be a woman school-teacher somewhere who does not want to vote that may be satisfied to receive only 75 per cent. as much as men teachers and to have no chance at highly paid superintendencies. There may be a mother who does not want equality at the ballot box nor in the guardianship of her children. There may be some factory girl who so earnestly believes it right to receive less wages than men do that she never wants the ballot to help her get equal pay for equal work. It may be that there is some woman paying heavy taxes—heavier than the equally wealthy man next door—who is happy to be taxed without being represented. It may be that some woman civil-service employee at Washington or in the State has for a long time been at the top of the list of those who are eligible for promotion and has seen men below her on the list requisitioned for places with large salaries and approves of this and enjoys being discriminated against because she is not a voter. There may be some woman physician who does not want to vote and who observes uncomplainingly that all remunerative political offices to which physicians are eligible on city or State boards of health or in public hospitals are filled by men. There may be a nurse so busy saving life that she has not realized the foolishness of her disfranchisement on the ground that she was never a soldier to destroy life. There may be some young woman in railroad office, stenographer, bookkeeper or clerk, who meekly approves

an order for the discharge of all women employees for the ostensible reason that they marry too soon but for the real reason that they do not vote.

There may be a woman in any of these varied employments who is so convinced of her own inferiority that she does not want the ballot but to the credit of the women lawyers it may be said that almost every one does want to vote and can tell several reasons why. A woman may in this century go through a law college the only woman in her class without discomfort. She opens those sacred law books as easily and learns as readily as do the men and passes as good an examination. She sees her young men classmates rise to great distinction in the service of the State. She may count among them, as I can, city attorneys, State attorneys, civil-service commissioners, Judges of high degree, Senators and Governors. It will be impossible to prove to her that she, who in law school fed on the same mental diet as did these now renowned political leaders, is too ignorant to vote for them or against them or that the quality of her brain forbids her understanding of the great problems her law classmates are now solving. . . .

Dr. Shaw: The next speaker will be Miss Eveline Gano, a teacher of history in one of the high schools of New York City, who will speak on behalf of the teachers of the country.

Miss Gano. If the woman teacher's need of the ballot is a debatable question then another very natural question arises: Do men teachers need the ballot? . . . I am asked to speak particularly of women who have made teaching a profession. In 1870, 41 per cent. of the teachers in the United States were men; 21 per cent. to-day are men. In large cities the number of women teachers is still greater in proportion. In New York only 12 1-2 per cent. of the 17,000 teachers are men. According to the last census there are 17,000,000 children in the United States who should be in elementary schools. Approximately 90 per cent. are taught almost entirely by women. In New York City only seven per cent. of the 600,000 children in the public schools ever enter grades higher than the elementary; in western cities a few more. Practically all of the schooling that 90 citizens out of 100 ever get they receive from the hands and hearts and minds of women. Whatever this great number of future citizens knows of citizenship and correct standards of morals and industry they have learned from the mothers and the women teachers. The very foundations of law and equity and justice are in the hands of women who are in the eyes of the law but wards and dependents. If these women teachers and mothers had a keener sense of their responsibilities by actual participation in civic life, what might be the results in even one decade? Who is to blame if they do not have the keener sense?

One of the greatest problems facing this republic has been turned

over to women teachers—that of coping with the foreign born and their children. Who can estimate the value of this great constructive work, the creation of American citizens out of the varied materials that are landed on our shores? And who can estimate the quickening force and the gain in appreciation and respect for law and order, if the mothers and the teachers of these children were considered worthy of the principles which they are asked to inculcate? Thousands of these women teachers are college graduates with fine training and all are women of more than average intelligence. They are not only bread winners but very often they are the heads of families which they have inherited. They are caring for and educating younger brothers and sisters, nieces and nephews, and providing for aged fathers and mothers. It has been said that the men of each class will protect the women of each class. Witness the men teachers of New York City, who in 1900 secured a State law that gave to themselves salaries from 30 per cent. to 100 per cent. higher than to women doing the same grade of work. A woman teacher in the elementary schools must work nine years in order to receive the salary that the man teacher begins with. She may and often does supervise men, because of having passed a difficult examination, and receive \$800 a year less than the men whom she supervises. A woman principal receives \$1,000 less than a man principal in the same grade of work, having the very same qualifications. Governor Hughes has characterized these discriminations against women as “glaring and gross inequalities,” but in spite of the efforts of 15,000 women teachers for the last four years the inequalities still continue. It is rather easy to see the value of the ballot to the men teachers of the city of New York. . . .

As citizens under the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, we claim the honored and inherited right to petition our Government or either branch thereof for a redress of grievances that very plainly exist because of the present legal status of women in 41 States of the Union. We ask that our petition, which is signed by hundreds of thousands of law-abiding citizens, shall receive serious and courteous attention. We well know that when a petition of such great consequence to millions of citizens is not so considered the foundation of republican government is attacked and weakened where it should be supported and strengthened.

Dr. Shaw: I present now Dr. Anna E. Blount, a physician from Chicago, who will speak in behalf of the medical practitioners.

Dr. Blount. In my city there are 500 women doctors; in my State there are 750; in the United States in 1900 there were 7,399. These women doctors know the womanhood of the country perhaps more intimately than any other class of women know it. I have talked with many of them and I have yet to find one who does not believe in woman suffrage. The Woman's Medical Club in Chicago has joined the suffrage association. Why do we want the ballot?



Partly our reasons are personal to our own profession and partly they are the same that move the whole mass of mankind to ask for suffrage today. Some of our personal reasons are these: As women we are excluded from most of the well-paid positions for physicians. We know that the dependent womanhood of the country needs our care; from time to time we hear grewsome tales from the insane asylums and the pauper institutions of wrongs done the women because there is no woman doctor there to protect them. Little children in my own State have gone through a life of degradation owing to the fact that there was no woman doctor in charge of them in the public institutions. The best paid positions are political jobs and no woman can get one. Another reason why, as physicians, we want the ballot is that at present we need police protection. We need a city that is well lighted and safe for women, as we are obliged to go out at all hours of the night. A few years ago the hunters of women became unusually active and several respectable women were in the early hours of the evening hunted to their death and murdered. We were told at that time by the commissioner of police that it would be well for all the respectable women of the city to remain indoors after 8 o'clock in the evening unless they were escorted by a gentleman! Imagine when the telephone rings for a woman doctor to attend some critical case that she shall be required either to get a male escort or remain at home! This is also true of nurses and many others. . . .

I do not think that men can grow to be the best men when they are in constant association with a subject class. I ask you gentlemen of the United States Senate, for the sake of womanhood, but most of all for the sake of manhood, to report this resolution out of the committee, and to ask the Senate of the United States to give the women of this country, so far as in its power, the right of suffrage.

Dr. Shaw: "I present a lawyer, Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, but she will speak in the capacity of a college woman." After giving her experience in trying to secure better laws for women in the District of Columbia, Mrs. Mussey told of her visits to Norway and Sweden, where as attorney for a legation she had every opportunity to attend the Parliaments, meet the statesmen and leading women and hear their universal testimony in favor of the experiment in woman suffrage. In closing she stated that as chairman of the legislative committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs she had received reports from hundreds of them regretting their lack of power to obtain legislation and their need of representation on boards of education and of public institutions. Dr. Shaw then introduced Miss Minnie J. Reynolds

of New Jersey, formerly of Colorado, who had supervised the petition of the writers.

Miss Reynolds. This attempt to canvass the writers of the United States is absurdly inadequate and fragmentary. It was the unpaid work of women, each of whom had her own occupation in life, in such spare time as they could get during the year. These writers represent only twenty-one States. Others, including such great States as New York, Michigan and Wisconsin, sent in huge rolls of names without a classification. I am speaking for 1,870 writers. The first name is that of William Dean Howells, the "dean of American letters," perhaps more truly representative of American literature than any other living person. The second name is that of John Bigelow, ex-ambassador to France, ex-secretary-of-state of New York, and author of some twenty scholarly books. On this list are the names of men and women known to every reader of American literature and to every reader of the periodical press. The petition blanks were sent to them by mail and if they did not wish to sign they had only to drop them in the waste-basket. A number of publicists have signed, among them Melville E. Stone, head of the Associated Press, and six of his editors; S. S. and T. C. McClure, publishers of the McClure's Magazine; the editors of Everybody's, the Independent, the Public, Philistine, Delineator, Designer, New Idea, Harper's Bazar, La Follette's Magazine, the Springfield Republican; editors of Current Literature, Philadelphia Record, Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, New York Herald, New York Tribune, Baltimore Sun, Baltimore American, Minneapolis News, Cincinnati Post and numerous other newspapers over the country. These publications reach millions of readers.

There are on this list the names of many persons who, although authors or magazine writers, are still more distinguished in other lines of work, as William James and George Herbert Palmer of Harvard; Graham Taylor and Shailer Matthews of the University of Chicago; Simon N. Patten of the University of Pennsylvania; and other professors from the universities of Harvard, Chicago, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Cornell and Columbia, and from Oberlin, Vassar and Wellesley. The great families of Hawthorne, Chanler and Beecher are represented by living descendants who are carrying on the literary traditions which must ever be associated with those names. The late Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the Century, published a tribute to Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi after her death. In this he said in substance that the American women who had most conspicuously united rare intelligence with rare goodness were Josephine Shaw Lowell, founder of the New York Charity Organization; Alice Freeman Palmer, president of Wellesley College, and Dr. Jacobi. Mr. Gilder was an anti-suffragist. The three women whom he thus placed at the pinnacle of American womanhood were all strong suffragists.

The women whose names are on this list represent brains and

character; they represent that element of American womanhood which is winning its own way successfully in the great world of competition and strenuous endeavor; influencing the minds and molding the public opinion of the country through their books and through the press. There may be those among you, gentlemen, who are opposed to suffrage, but I am sure there is not one who would not be glad to know that his daughter was a woman of this type if it so happened that he was obliged to leave her unprovided for. There is one girl, Jean Webster, who made \$4,000 on one book the year she left college. There is one woman, Mary Johnston, who was paid \$20,000 in advance royalties on one book before a word of it was printed. A number of distinguished writers had signed the general petition before the writers' blank had reached them, among them Mark Twain, Booth Tarkington, Ernest Thompson Seton, Julia Ward Howe, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Mary Wilkins Freeman and Ellen Glasgow.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, former corresponding secretary of the National Suffrage Association, in speaking of the petition told of one containing 10,000 names which had been gathered in Indiana years ago and presented to the Legislature by Mrs. Zerelda G. Wallace, often referred to as the mother pictured in "Ben Hur." It was treated with the utmost contempt, one member saying, "These 10,000 women have about as much influence as that many mice." This experience sent that eloquent woman to the suffrage platform for the rest of her life. Mrs. Avery urged the committee to give a favorable report on this great petition as the first step toward making the influence of the thousands of women who had signed it of more value than that of so many mice. [For the address of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, see Appendix for this chapter.

U. S. Senator John F. Shafroth of Colorado, a consistent supporter of woman suffrage from the very beginning of the movement for it in his State twenty years before, made an address to the committee which was printed in a pamphlet of seven pages and made a part of the propaganda of the National Association. Limited space permits only brief extracts, which give little idea of its compelling arguments.

An eminent writer has said that all powers of government are either delegated or assumed; that all not delegated are assumed and all assumed powers are usurpations. The powers of government by

men over women are not delegated, because the women never delegated such powers to men. They are assumed then and, as all assumed powers are usurpations, the exercise of the powers of government by men over women is usurpation. How can those who refuse to give women the right to vote reconcile their opinion with the form of government in which they believe? What right have I to make all the laws which shall govern not only myself but also my wife, sister and mother, without giving to them any voice in determining the justice or wisdom of those laws? It can only be on the assertion of an assumed or usurped right—that which we have condemned as not the source of rightful power. We all remember Lincoln's declaration that "when the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is despotism." The exercise of any power of government not emanating from the consent of the governed, therefore, is despotism. After men by an assumption of power have attached the elective franchise to themselves, is it a just answer to the demand of women to say that men have concluded that "suffrage is a privilege which attaches neither to man nor to woman by nature?" Have we forgotten the cry of our forefathers which stirred the blood of every patriotic American, that "taxation without representation is tyranny?" Why is it tyranny to men but not to women? Is it sufficient to say that "they are not the only persons taxed as property holders from whom the ballot is withheld," when the only other persons from whom it is permanently withheld are lunatics, idiots and criminals? How would men like such reasoning applied to themselves? . . .

Deprive any class or nationality of men of the elective franchise and the detrimental effect would be felt immediately. Their petitions for legislation would no longer receive prompt and careful consideration and if the proposed legislation conflicted with conditions favorable to a class of voters it would be almost impossible to get a legislator or Congressman even to introduce such a measure. The equal suffrage advocates have appeared before a committee of the House of Representatives at Washington every session for a great many years, begging for a favorable report. If persons representing one-tenth as many voters had made an appeal for some important legislation affecting their rights, don't we know that those same Congressmen would almost have fought with each other for the privilege of writing a favorable report?

Governor Shafroth quoted election statistics which showed conclusively that women in Colorado voted in about the same proportion as men and he gave a long list of progressive laws which had been enacted through the support of women. He declared that in no respect had the ideals of womanhood been lowered and closed by saying: "The highest considerations of justice

and good government demand equal suffrage for all women."

Dr. Shaw in closing the hearing said in part:

I have in my hand a document which was today sent, I believe, to every Senator and Representative, signed by the ladies representing societies opposed to the further extension of the suffrage to women. Of those which purport to be State societies, three at least are merely local clubs in cities. These ladies have petitioned this honorable body and the House of Representatives not to grant the appeal of the women who have come here with this very large petition on the ground that it would be an interference on your part with the rights which the States have reserved to themselves, if you were to submit an amendment to the Federal Constitution giving full suffrage to women. . . . I see by this document that the great danger with which you are threatened if you do this unjust thing is that you admit into the body politic a vast non-fighting horde of people, a most dangerous class. Man suffrage is a method adopted, it says, for the peaceful attainment of the will of the majority, to which the minority must submit.

If there is anything which must appeal to every sense of justice, it is the struggle of the industrial world to get out from under the domineering, military power. The age in which we live is no longer a militant age. Today it is not so much the question of which nation can produce the greatest number of soldiers as of which can produce the greatest number of things the world needs to buy. It is a problem of industry and into this problem women, either by force or by desire, have come. . . . In olden times women could control the hours of their labor and the conditions affecting their health and the health of their families; they could regulate the price of the product which they themselves produced in the home but since men have taken from it the industries, the necessity for women to protect themselves in the workshop, in the sweatshop, in the factory has come about. Wherever man has taken woman's work the woman must follow it and she must have the same method of protecting herself which man must have and there is no other means save through the ballot. . . .

We have been over forty years, a longer period than the children of Israel wandered through the wilderness, coming to this Capitol pleading for this recognition of the principle that the Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. Mr. Chairman, we ask that you report our resolution favorably if you can but unfavorably if you must; that you report one way or the other, so that the Senate may have the chance to consider it.

The Chairman: "In behalf of the committee I desire to thank the ladies for the splendid arguments they have made and to say that we appreciate them most heartily. It is my intention to call the committee together at a very early date and we will give a

careful and intelligent consideration to this measure, and, I hope, make a report on it."

Notwithstanding this promise no further attention was paid to these logical and eloquent appeals or to the immense petition, and no report whatever was made by the committee.

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All but four of the members of the House Judiciary Committee were present, including the chairman, Richard Wayne Parker (N. J.), a remarkable attendance, and they showed much interest.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Florence Kelley, second vice-president of the National Suffrage Association, was in charge of the speakers and the hearing was opened by Representative A. W. Rucker (Col.), who had introduced the resolution for the Federal Amendment, as also had Representative F. W. Mondell (Wyo.). Mrs. Kelley called attention to the petition of 404,823 names, saying: "Among those who have signed the petition are sixteen Governors, a large number of Mayors and many State, county and city officials; many of the best-known instructors and writers on political economy and many presidents of colleges and universities. It includes the names of many Judges of Supreme Courts and among them the Chief Justice and Associate Justice of Hawaii. It contains a long list of the names of persons engaged in various trades and from those in the thirty-three States which are classified are 7,515 professional people, lawyers, doctors, clergymen and others; also 52,603 listed as home keepers."

Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald (Mass.) said in part: "I come here to speak for those 52,000 home makers who signed the petition to Congress asking for equal political rights in this democracy. . . . To ask woman under our modern industrial conditions to care adequately for her home and family without a right to share in the making of the laws and the electing of all those officers who are to enforce the laws is like asking people to make bricks without straw. It cannot be done. We must remember that in the early days of this country a family was practically self-supporting and independent of the rest of the community;

<sup>1</sup> Names of committee: Present—Representatives Sterling, Moon, Diekema, Goebel, Denby, Howland, Nye, Clayton, Henry, Brantley, Webb and Carlin; absent—Terrell, Reid, Malby, Higgins.

a man and a woman working together could provide for their family all that was necessary for their sustenance; meats, vegetables, grains, milk, eggs, butter, cheese, all were home products. They provided their own lighting and controlled their own water supply. The women spun the thread, wove the cloth, dyed it and made the garments. In every way, if it was necessary, the family could maintain its existence independent of the cooperation of society except in the one matter of defense from violence. None of this is true today." Mrs. Fitzgerald took up the questions of food, drink and clothing as supplied at the present time and showed the great need that women should have a voice in the legislation that controls their production.

It had been announced that all of the arguments would be made along industrial lines. Arthur E. Holder, of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor, presented for the record a series of the very positive resolutions for woman suffrage which had been adopted by that body at its annual conventions beginning with 1904 and read the one passed at Toronto in 1909: "The best interests of labor require the admission of women to full citizenship as a matter of justice to them and as a necessary step toward insuring and raising the scale of wages for all." He closed a strong speech by saying: "We want the right of representation for all the people, women as well as men. Women have been disfranchised in our country long enough and we now ask for that measure which will constitutionally grant the right to vote to the women of our land. We believe that women ought to be free agents, free selectors, free voters. The law is no respecter of persons. Women cannot shirk their responsibility because they are women; neither should they be longer denied their normal citizenship rights and privileges because they are women."

In a most convincing address Mrs. Elizabeth Schauss, factory inspector of Ohio, said:

It seems almost superfluous that we should come here pleading for the vote when we know it is the only thing which will give the wage-earning woman the protection that she needs and should have, as to-day she has absolutely no chance beside her brother. Although she gives the same quality and the same amount of work yet she can not command the same wage, and why? Simply be-

cause she is not a recognized citizen by virtue of the ballot. If you would go into the factories, the mills, the mercantile establishments and meet these women and learn from them the indignities to which they oftentimes are subjected in order that they may retain their places you would not wait for any one to come here and argue the question with you. You would see for yourselves that the only remedy is to grant to them that same protection that you give to every man over 21 years of age. The girl so employed submits in a way to these things because she is thinking of the time when her factory days will be over, when she will make a home for husband and children, and God forbid that the time shall ever come that our girls will lose sight of this, their greatest vocation! But before they are competent to take charge of the home in every sense of the word, before they can give to their children all that these should have, they must themselves be placed upon a basis of equality with their husbands. . . .

Why should I, a tax-paying woman, be denied the right by casting my ballot to say how these taxes that I am paying shall be expended? In the light of progress and of American civilization, we know this cannot continue. We have great things at stake in our children. We are trying to take away that shadow which rests upon these United States, the shadow of child labor. It will not be done until the mothers have the right to speak for their children through the ballot. We are looking for the day when we shall be able to stand shoulder to shoulder with our men and share with them the burdens and responsibilities of this greatest nation and be able to hold up our heads and say: "We are on an equal footing because we have men in the United States who recognize equality of rights."

Mrs. Raymond Robins, thoroughly qualified to speak on this question, said in part: "I have the great honor and privilege of representing, as president of the National Women's Trade Union League, something like 75,000 organized working women, and I believe all through our country as well as through all the world there is a growing recognition of the cost of our modern industrial conditions to women. These are such that in many thousands of instances the motherhood of our girls has to be forfeited. No one knows except those who have made a very intimate and careful study of the present cost of social and industrial conditions how great that cost is. When we demanded in Illinois the limiting of the working hours for women to ten a day, many of our women physicians brought forward facts of great value showing the tremendous physical danger to girls of overwork. At present a very interesting and valuable investiga-



tion is going on, led by some of our woman physicians, showing the evil result on the second generation of these industrial conditions. . . . These facts are of national importance and it is because right there is the crux of the entire situation that we women are working for the ballot, for the sake of protecting the womanhood and motherhood of our 6,000,000 working women, I think half of them under 21 years of age. . . .”

Mrs. Robins gave a number of special instances and in answer to the question how the ballot would remedy these evils, she said: “The women, an unorganized group, get together and take collective action and they find themselves not fighting their industrial battles in the economic field but in the political field and the weapons that are constantly used against them with the greatest success are political weapons. The power of the police and of the courts is used against them in many instances and whenever they try to meet that expression of political power, they are handicapped because there is no force in their hands to help change it. . . .”

In the course of a speech punctuated with lively questions and answers Mrs. Upton said: “I represent the industry of wifehood and housekeeping. I spent many of my childhood days in the room of this committee, my father having been a member of the Judiciary Committee for thirteen years and chairman for several years. He was the only one who ever reported a bill favorably for woman suffrage. . . . I want to ask you to report against us if you will not report for us. Just tell the world that we must not vote because we cannot fight, because it will destroy the home, anything you please, but break your long years of silence. Is it fair for you *not* to tell us why you are opposed to us? Women are not fools; on the contrary, they are very intelligent people and sure to be enfranchised before long. If this committee does not help some other will; it is going to be done and it is for you to decide whether your daughters will be able to say years from now, ‘My father was one of the men who helped get woman suffrage!’ While men of this country have been running after dollars at a terrific rate in recent years women have been studying and preparing themselves in clubs and all sorts of organizations for this right, so that they will be the most intelligent class—

if you call them a class—that was ever enfranchised in all history. Are you afraid of intelligence? All we ask is to let the mother heart, the home element, be expressed in the government. . . . I beg of you to let all the world know *why* the women of the United States, who by hundreds of thousands have petitioned you to submit this amendment, ought not have at least this request considered and a report on it made.”

Miss Laura J. Graddick, representing a labor union in the District of Columbia, said during an able and earnest address :

They say that politics is too corrupt for woman to enter the field as a voter but does she not live under a Government dominated by politics? Shame on the manhood of our country that our government housekeeping is so administered that woman can not come in contact with it and escape contamination. . . . If our Government is built on moral law it should be clean enough for a woman to have a voice in it. We assure you there are no better house-cleaners than women and the above statement certainly indicates the need of women in politics. There is no great cry on the part of men because of the contaminating influences which woman meets in the business and industrial world. They are not keeping her out of the various vocations of life because of the evil which she might encounter. Are not sweat-shop conditions and overwork and underpaid work evils far more destructive to the physical, mental and moral welfare of women than any condition in which suffrage might place them? Because of the great economic and political changes of the last century the working woman of to-day is entitled to the same rights accorded the working man in the political world. These changes have taken her from the home and brought her into business and industrial life, where she has become more and more man's equal and competitor, leaving behind those conditions which so long made her dependent upon him. This has not been of her choosing. Men, in their pursuit of wealth, have taken the work formerly done in the home, from the spinning and weaving even down to the baking and laundering, and massed it in great factories and shops. Instead of woman taking man's work, it is the reverse and he has appropriated to himself what was long supposed to be hers. Woman finds that what was formerly with her a work of love is now done under new conditions and strange environments.

This experience in the outside world is educating her, for she is studying conditions. She sees that she is forced to compete with those who have full political rights while she herself is a political nonentity. She finds that she must contend with and protect herself against conditions which are more often political than economic, thus forcing upon her the conviction that she too is entitled to be a voter. She sees that politics, business and industrial life gen-

erally are so united that one affects the other and that since she is a factor in two she should be granted the rights and privileges of the third. Think of the number of women wage-earners in this country who are without political representation, there being no men in the family, and at present laws all made without a woman's point of view! . . . The working woman does not ask for the ballot as a panacea for all her ills. She knows that it carries with it responsibilities but all that it is to man it will be and even more to woman. Let her remain man's inferior politically and unjust discriminations against her as a wage-earner will continue, but let her become his equal politically and she will then be in a position to demand equal pay for equal work.

In a speech of deep feeling Miss Laura Clay, president of the Kentucky Suffrage Association, said in part: "Gentlemen, when I hear our women making the pleas that they have made, brought up, as I have been, to believe that the manhood of the United States is the grandest in the world, I ask, 'Shall we not find any members of Congress except those who say, 'Can you not get some one else to protect you? Go to your States, go anywhere but do not come to us?' It has been said to me when I have spoken for childhood, 'You have no child?' And I have answered: 'No, I have no child, but just as surely as men in the order of nature are the protectors of womanhood, so surely in the order of nature women are the protectors of childhood. I would dishonor my womanhood to say that I will not do what I can for a child because I have none and I hope the time will never come when women must be ashamed of men because they are not willing to sacrifice something to take this action for women.' Think of it! Must we crawl on our knees to ask you for that which we feel we have a right to demand? You should see that every protection which every lifting hand that it is possible for manhood to offer to womanhood should be extended and your position gives you a great opportunity. I urge that, as far as your official power extends, you will show that the manhood of the United States responds to the pleas of the womanhood of the United States."

The closing address of Mrs. Kelley and the many questions it called for from the committee with her answers filled nearly twelve pages of the printed report of the hearing. A small part only can find space here.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is sixty years last month since my father, Judge William D. Kelley, became a member of the House of Representatives and in those days it took a great deal of courage for a man to do what he did year after year—introduce this resolution which you are considering to-day. He did it partly, I think, out of chivalrous regard for Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton and the few brave women who fifty years ago patiently came before your predecessors; but very much more he introduced that resolution because he believed it was essentially just. He saw in those days the beginnings of the industrial change in the midst of which we now live and they appalled him. He saw how difficult it had been for his widowed mother to get an education for himself and his sisters, and how infinitely difficult life was for the whole great class of women, not only widows but those who by the circumstances of our changing industries had been forced out into the industrial market. He believed they ought to have the same power to protect their own interests as had been given to the American workingman and which he helped give to the negro. . . .

Women now do not count in our communities at all in proportion to the responsibilities which they carry. One of the gentlemen has asked: "What is the relation of all this labor talk to the ballot?" I will give you some examples: I was for four years the head of the factory inspectors of Illinois. During that time we had an eight-hour law enacted for the protection of women and children employed in manufacturing industries. The Supreme Court held that it was contrary to the constitutions of the State and of the United States for women to be deprived of the right to work twenty-four hours whenever it suited the convenience of the employers. The court said—and it took 9,000 words to say it—that women could not be deprived of working unlimited hours, because they were citizens, although it said the term "citizenship" was limited; the Court said they could not be allowed to work underground in mines; they could not be allowed to work out their taxes on the roads, as farmers do; they could not be called to the militia; they could not vote except for school committees and once in four years for the trustees of the State University, but, with those minor deductions, they were citizens and could not be deprived of the freedom of contract.

The Supreme Court of the United States has proclaimed that the Judges of Illinois guessed wrong on that occasion, that it is not contrary to the Constitution of the United States to limit the working hours of women but that it is the obvious duty of every Legislature to do this in the interest of public health and morals. A year ago, largely through the efforts of Mrs. Robins, the Legislature tried it again and passed this time a ten-hour law for women. A Judge was found who held that it was a legitimate object for an injunction and he enjoined my successor, the present factory inspector, and the prosecuting attorney from enforcing this law. To-day under that injunction the women are again free to work twenty-four hours, as they do one day in the week quite regularly in the laundries in

Chicago, and to work sixteen hours a day as they do in the stores during the Christmas rush, and as they do in the box factories and candy factories. Yet the women of Illinois have not had one word to say as to the personnel of these courts which decide what is a matter of life and death for every woman who is rushed into her grave by work in the laundries and other sweat shops of that State.

Mrs. Kelley gave some tragic instances of occurrences during her eight years in Hull House with Miss Jane Addams, where the working of women overtime caused death and permanent invalidism, and continued:

During the fifteen years since that Illinois court so decided, the miners who work underground in sixteen States, from Missouri to Nevada and from Montana to Texas and Arizona, have been able to change the constitutions of their States so that they work but eight hours a day. They are voters, they have power, they have intelligence and organization; they obtained from the Supreme Court of the United States the famous decision of *Holden vs. Hardy*, in which it held that it is not only the right but the duty of the State to restrict the hours of those who work underground. In Illinois the women must have unlimited hours because they are not voting citizens. . . .

For twelve years a body of influential women of New York City appeared before the board of estimate and apportionment to ask for the pitiable sum of \$18,000 to be appropriated to pay the salaries of eighteen inspectors to look after the welfare of 60,000 women and girls in retail stores but we never got it. One candid friend, Mayor Van Wyck, in listening to our plea, told us the whole trouble. Said he: "Ladies, why do you waste your time year after year in coming before us and asking for this appropriation? You have not a voter in your constituency and you know it and we know it and you know we know it," and they never did give it to us. . . .

A spirited discussion ensued here between Representative Robert L. Henry (Tex.) and Mrs. Kelley as to whether Congress has the power to coerce a State through a Federal Amendment into giving women the right to vote. Representative Edwin Y. Webb (N. C.) asked if the majority of women wanted to vote and she answered that there was not the slightest doubt of it, that as reasoning beings women could not help desiring a full share in the Government under which they live. Representative Goebel (O.) said that at any time man might be called on to uphold the laws and the Constitution and asked: "Do you think that woman is physically and temperamentally fitted to give any

return to the Government for any privilege she might have in the exercise of her right as a citizen?" Mrs. Kelley answered: "Yes, I think we have always done it. We pay taxes, we teach the children to obey the laws, we fill their hearts with patriotism, but the principal thing is that we furnish the army at the risk of our own lives. Every time an army has been called for in the United States it has been the sons of American women on the whole who have carried the weapons and every son has been born at the risk of his mother's life. Her service is a very much greater contribution than the two or three years of the son's carrying a gun or perhaps dying of typhoid fever while in the service."

Miss Clay could not keep silent but asked if they realized how much the order of society depended on the teaching and the restraining influence of women, on their power to maintain decency of life, not alone by their presence but also by their high ideals of law and society. "When they are recognized as voting citizens," she said, "their idea of civic duty will reach a still higher point and they will have power to see that it is enforced." Members of the committee began to bring forward the stock misrepresentations about the voting of women in Colorado, which called Mr. Rucker to his feet with statistics to show that women voted in quite as large a proportion as men; that, instead of men's controlling the women's votes, women often controlled the men's; that in the hundreds of cases of election frauds only one or two women had been implicated; that less than 15 per cent. of the so-called "ostracized" women go to the polls.

In closing Chairman Parker said: "I wish to render the thanks of the committee for this large and representative audience, which is almost an American Congress. I am all the more pleased and interested to find such strong presentations by those whom I might call, possibly without offense, 'Daughters of the American Congress,' two of whom claim an acquaintance with this committee that goes back at least as far as any of us. I wish to offer all of you our thanks for the earnest consideration that you seem to have given to the great problems, industrial and social, as well as those of the family, which confront us all, and in comparison with which the political powers and actions of this country are

but as nothing. Those who think and work for the good of the family, the home, the workshop, the farm and the school are those to whom the American Congress always owes its thanks."

Although the speakers who addressed these committees represented the very highest of American womanhood; although it was conceded that their arguments had never been exceeded in logic, directness and force; although there was no doubt that they represented a large proportion of the women of the country in the homes, colleges, professions and trades, yet this committee, like that of the Senate, ignored the petitions and the hearing completely and made no report whatever, either favorable or unfavorable.

## CHAPTER XI.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1911.

The national convention which met in Louisville, Ky., Oct. 19-25, 1911, might well be called a "jubilee" meeting, for it celebrated two of the most important victories yet won for woman suffrage in the United States—the adoption of State amendments by a majority of the voters in Washington in November, 1910, and in California in October, 1911, giving the same franchise rights to women as possessed by men.<sup>1</sup> The sessions were held in the large De Molay Commandery Hall but it was far too small for the evening audiences. This was a new experience for Louisville but it rose finely to the occasion. A message to the *Woman's Journal* said: "Enthusiasm for equal suffrage runs high in Louisville this week as women from all parts of the country throng its spacious streets morning, afternoon and evening for the annual convention. . . . Altogether it is a most inspiring

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: Within the year the State of Washington has completed its work of fully enfranchising its adult citizens. Before the convention assembles, California will no doubt have accepted the idea of true democracy. We also rejoice because the Legislatures of Kansas, Wisconsin, Oregon and Nevada have voted to submit the question to their electors. Many States, however, still refuse to allow the voters to pass upon the question of giving political independence to women. Since the purpose of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is "to secure the right to vote to women citizens of the United States," we have called this national convention of suffragists. From every State will come delegates, who will bring with them the growing spirit of rebellion against injustice. . . .

We call upon every public-spirited woman to come and help devise methods of carrying on the fight, to strengthen the fire of revolt, to show by overwhelming numbers and determined earnestness that women will no longer be satisfied to be treated with political contempt by the legislators who are supposed to represent them. . . . Do your part to inspire our workers with courage, determination, fervor and consecration; to arouse them to put forth their full strength, even to the utmost sacrifice, to obtain universal recognition of the truth that every adult citizen should have a voice in the government of a free country.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.  
CATHERINE WAUGH McCULLOCH, First Vice-President  
KATE M. GORDON, Second Vice-President.  
MARY WARE DENNETT, Corresponding Secretary.  
ELLA S. STEWART, Recording Secretary.  
JESSIE ASHLEY, Treasurer.  
LAURA CLAY,  
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, } Auditors.



and encouraging convention and we are daily excited with news of the good prospects of more campaign States and more victories in the very near future. . . . We all have votes-for-women tags on our baggage, yellow badges and pins, California poppies and six-star buttons on our dresses and coats and dainty votes for women butterflies on our shoulders, and as we go about in dozens or scores or hundreds the onlookers receive the fitting psychological impression and we find them thinking of us as victors and conquerors."

The opening of this convention, with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, the national president, in the chair, was a proud moment for Miss Laura Clay, who was one of the organizers of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association in 1888 and had been continually its president. In her address of greeting she said:

We welcome you with hearts tender with the remembrance of the past, when two of the great historic figures which have made this convention possible gave their labors to Kentucky. In the early fifties, Lucy Stone, in the vigor and freshness of her lovely youth and enthusiasm for high ideals, spoke in the cities and towns on both sides of the Ohio River; and in 1881 she held in Louisville a convention of the American Woman Suffrage Association. She established the *Woman's Journal*, which is now edited, with all the noble moral principles and polished literary ability which have characterized it throughout, by her daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell, who is with us today. In 1879 that other heroic woman, Susan B. Anthony, made a tour through central Kentucky and left an enduring monument of her visit in the Equal Rights Association of Richmond, Madison County, which has had the longest continuous existence of any woman suffrage society in the State. . . .

We welcome you with hearts strong with hope for the future. The glorious victories that we have had inspire us and in all the harbingers of hope we see none greater than the Men's Leagues for Woman Suffrage. These prove to us that the men of our country are preparing to extend equal political rights to women, who, since the time when this vast continent was a wilderness, have stood side by side with them in the heroic labors which have made it blossom like the rose with the fairest civilization the world has ever known. In the great International Alliance Congress at Stockholm men of many nations formed themselves into a Suffrage League, and the Men's League of California did grand service in the glorious victory in their State. This noble land extends from California across the continent to Virginia where the latest league of men has just been formed. We see in this generous cooperation of the men of our nation a better exposition of the legend on Kentucky's shield, "United

we stand, divided we fall," when man and woman shall clasp hands and become a truer realization of the vision of the poet and the patriot.

Mrs. Patty Blackburn Semple, president of the Louisville Woman's Club, in offering its welcome, said: "When the Woman's Club was organized three subjects were tabooed—religion, politics and woman suffrage. We kept to the resolution for awhile but gradually we found that our efforts in behalf of civic improvements and the correcting of outrageous abuses were handicapped at every turn by politics. Last year an appeal came to the Woman's Club—to the women of Louisville—to take our schools out of politics. It was a gigantic fight but we won. As the climax of our struggle we spent the greater part of election day at the polls and I think at the close of that day every one of us had exhausted all the joys of 'indirect influence,' which is supposed to satisfy every craving of the female heart. Our club will be twenty-one years old in November, and—we want to vote! We will make you most heartily welcome and most of us will also welcome the principles for which you stand."

Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch (Ills.), first vice-president of the National Association, in responding said: "Now we know definitely that all the things we have heard about Kentucky are true; we have met her brave women and handsome colonels. While we remember all the tradition of the past we live in the present. Kentucky is proud of what her men named Clay have done in the past but it is a pleasure to us to know that today when Kentucky wants anything done she appeals to a woman who is either Clay by name or Clay by blood." Another chivalry is coming into the world besides that felt by a strong man for a beautiful woman. It is that felt by strong women for their weaker and less fortunate sisters. It is the chivalry foreshadowed by Spenser in *The Færie Queene*, in Britomart, the noble knight, herself a woman, who rescued Amoretta and devoted herself to the help of all weak and helpless women."

Assistant District Attorney Omar E. Garwood of Denver, a founder and the secretary of the Men's Defense League, to refute the misrepresentations of the practical working of woman

suffrage in Colorado, was introduced and outlined its work. Mrs. Alexander Pope Humphrey was presented and gave a cordial invitation to a reception for the convention at her home, Truecastle, at the close of the afternoon session, which was as cordially accepted. Mrs. Ben Hardin Helm, a sister of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, was greeted and expressed her sympathy with the work of the association.

After these pleasant ceremonies at the morning session the convention immediately proceeded to business and listened to the reports from the various committees. That of the new corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, gave a graphic illustration of the rapid increase in the size and scope of the work in her department. After describing the demands from almost every State and saying that the correspondence had doubled during the past year while the output of literature had tripled, she continued:

The correspondence with Canada has been very interesting and has steadily increased and we have sent a good deal of literature to British Columbia, Ontario and Nova Scotia. Literature and letters have gone to Switzerland, Finland and even Japan, in answer to requests, the Japanese correspondent being in the midst of writing a book on the rights of women, because, as he quaintly put it, he believed there was "undoubtedly a truth in it." We have a steadily increasing stream of requests for suitable programs for study clubs, also a sudden spurt of requests for suffrage speakers from the Federation of Women's Clubs. The example of the last Biennial, when woman suffrage appeared for the first time on the official program of the Federation, has precipitated almost an epidemic of suffrage meetings in the State federations and local clubs.

The Official Board of the association has made a serious recommendation to the State officers to push the plan of political district organization as the best and most systematic and reliable way of preparing for the submission of a suffrage amendment. A leaflet giving the details of the plan has been published and widely distributed and it has been accepted as scheduled or in modified form in ten States, in most of which the name Woman Suffrage Party has been adopted, following the example of New York City, which was the first to adapt the enrollment work long ago established by the National Association to the needs of modern political action. . . . The National office prepared reports of the work of the association for the meeting of the U. S. National Council of Women and for the congress of the International Suffrage Alliance in Stockholm. We have established an exchange of propaganda with the International Shop in London. At the suggestion of Mrs. Carrie

Chapman Catt we have cooperated with the Women's Enfranchisement League of Cape Colony, South Africa, by asking a large number of American women writers to send copies of their books to an exhibition and sale there of women's work.

Since our last convention there have been two annual meetings of the House of Governors, the first in Kentucky, at which Miss Laura Clay obtained a hearing and presented our cause in a most admirable address; the second in New Jersey, at which a hearing was obtained for Dr. Shaw, who was accorded every courtesy and received with heartiest enthusiasm by the Governors and afterwards by their wives. In Kentucky Governor Wilson was largely instrumental in securing the hearing; in New Jersey, although the governor is also a Wilson, he is unfortunately an "anti," but by the efforts of Governor Shafroth of Colorado, a place on the program was made for Dr. Shaw.

Two valuable compilations have been made, one showing how many times and when and what sort of suffrage bills have been introduced into Legislatures in the last ten years, and the other showing the exact procedure necessary for amending the constitutions of the various States. Under the direction of Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, our legal adviser, a series of questions on the legal status of women has been printed and sent with letters to the various States. The returns will be published in pamphlet form. At the suggestion of Miss Clay, letters were sent to all members of Congress urging their effort to include women as electors in the bill providing for the direct election of U. S. Senators. Copies of *Hampton's Magazine* for April were sent to special lists of people in Wisconsin, Kansas and California, which contained Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr's article on Colorado Women Voters.

We have published 30,000 copies of the "What to Do" leaflet, which have been sent out gratis, some States applying for 3,000 at once; California sent for 10,000 and evidently learned "What to Do" effectively. We issued 45,000 of the little convention seals and the supply has hardly held out. The drawing for the seal was the contribution of Miss Charlotte Shetter of New Jersey. Through the equally generous cooperation of Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley of New York we have been able to give free of charge for use on letters 13,000 "suffrage stamps." Another bit of cooperation in both labor and money was that between headquarters and Mrs. Raymond Brown, president of the Woman Suffrage Study Club, who with members of her association addressed and sent to about a thousand presidents of suffrage clubs all over the country two copies of Miss Blackwell's striking editorial in answer to Richard Barry's slanderous statements about Colorado, together with a note asking each president to send one copy to the editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, in which Barry's article had appeared, with her own personal protest, and the other to the editor of some paper in her vicinity. The result was a perfect avalanche of protests to the editor of the unfortunate magazine.

The treasurer's report was divided between Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, who had resigned the office, and Miss Jessie Ashley, her successor, and it showed the receipts from all sources, January, 1910, to January, 1911, to have been \$43,844; the disbursements, \$34,838. Pledges were made at this convention to the amount of \$12,251, including \$1,000 from Mrs. George Howard Lewis of Buffalo; \$1,000 from Mrs. Donald Hooker of Baltimore, and \$3,000 by Dr. Shaw from a contributor not named.

Miss Agnes E. Ryan, business manager of the *Woman's Journal*, reported the many changes made in the paper during the year since it became the official organ of the association and the removal of its offices from Beacon Street to 585 Bolyston Street in the building with the Massachusetts and Boston woman suffrage associations and the New England Woman's Club. The advertising had increased from \$256 a year to \$852 and the circulation from 4,000 to nearly 15,000. The methods by which the increase had been obtained were described. The contract with the association was renewed.

Miss Caroline I. Reilly gave her first report as chairman of the Press Committee in the course of which she said:

The annual reports of the National Press Bureau formerly made by Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, who so long and ably conducted this department, had reached so high a standard and the foundation laid by her was so substantial and solid that it was possible for us to meet the new conditions and increased volume of work with systematic and business-like methods. Then came Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, with her literary ability and historical knowledge, to open a new field for suffrage propaganda through the magazines, the great syndicates and Sunday papers in the large cities. Thus you will see that when the present chairman took charge of the bureau it had been so splendidly developed by her predecessors that she found only hard work and plenty of it.

During the eighteen months since the last convention the records show that we have written 5,584 letters. We are in constant receipt of letters from all over the world written in various languages, the majority containing inquiries regarding suffrage methods in this country and what has been accomplished by our enfranchised women. . . . We have furnished material for one hundred magazine articles, which have appeared in various periodicals. . . . Our list of newspaper syndicates has increased to nine, some of which are international, and since the last convention we have furnished

them 1,314 articles, many by special request. Every one of these syndicates asked for detailed accounts of this convention, together with personal sketches of the officers and speakers. The Associated Press has sent out suffrage news as occasion warranted and has solicited our cooperation. . . . Last December we resumed the weekly press bulletin and since then we have mailed 31,200. These weekly items are regularly mailed to press chairmen and newspapers in forty-one States, also to Canada, Alaska and Cuba, and every day brings requests for more. A number of monthly pamphlets issued by women's clubs use them. Papers devoted to the labor movement publish them regularly and very often give helpful suggestions. The bureau is impressed with the fact that in future the farm papers should receive serious consideration. . . . One of these, with a circulation of nearly 400,000 has offered us space for suffrage articles to be supplied regularly and this work should be carefully looked after, especially in agricultural States like Kansas and Wisconsin, where campaigns are now in progress.

We have responded to fifty requests from schools and colleges for information to be utilized in debates, lectures and school magazines. . . . The records show that we have replied to 1,214 adverse editorials and letters in papers from Maine to California and secured space in New York City papers for 2,163 notices and articles without any charge to us. We have received and read 62,519 clippings gathered for us by the press clipping bureau, 9,163 of them cut from New York papers alone. Representatives of newspapers and magazines from the following countries have come to us for material: Australia, Finland, Alaska, France, Germany, England, Sweden, Norway, Japan, Wales, Denmark, Russia, Italy, Mexico, Spain, Holland, Hawaii, South America and Canada, as well as from nearly every State in the Union. A number of Sunday papers in the large cities are devoting weekly space to suffrage departments, beginning by publishing the press items and gradually expanding. . . . Some of the more serious magazines have recently solicited our cooperation, notably the *Literary Digest* and the *American Review of Reviews*, whose political editor called personally a few days ago and requested that we send him regularly such suffrage news as we may have at hand, that the items may be embodied in reports of the world's political news. Another important feature of the work of the bureau consists in furnishing material to press chairmen and others to be used in answering attacks on suffrage in their local papers.

Miss Reilly complimented the work of the press chairmen in the States, speaking especially of Mrs. D. D. Terry of Little Rock, who furnished material to seventy-five papers in Arkansas and to a syndicate reaching the weekly papers of the southwest.

A conference was held in the afternoon on the Proper Function of the National Association, led by Dr. M. Carey Thomas of

Bryn Mawr and Dr. Anna E. Blount of Chicago. The first evening of the convention was designated as Jubilee Night and Dr. Shaw said in beginning her president's address: "The eighteen months which have elapsed since our last convention have been permeated with suffrage activity. Never in an equal length of time has there been such rapid progress in the enlistment of recruits and the development of active service. By an aggressive out-of-door campaign the message has been carried to a not unwilling people. Never was there a more signal example of manly loyalty to womanhood than in the three-to-one vote for woman suffrage in Washington in 1910. Following close upon it comes the signal victory of California, where as never before were the friends and foes of woman's freedom so equally lined up. Wherever vice, corruption and cupidity held sway, there the vote for woman suffrage was weak. Wherever refinement, education, industry and self-respecting manhood and womanhood dwelt, there the vote in favor of women was strong. These are the battles in this war for justice which have been victorious. Others have been and are being fought at the present time with equal courage."

Graphic accounts were given of the successful campaign in Washington, where the amendment was carried in every county, by Mrs. Caroline M. Smith of Seattle, Mrs. E. A. Shores of Tacoma and Mrs. May Arkwright Hutton of Spokane; and of the one in California by Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, president of the State Suffrage Association, and J. H. Braly, president of the Political Equality League. Later Miss Frances Wills of Los Angeles; Miss Florence Dwight of Pasadena; Mrs. Mary E. Ringrose, Mrs. Mary S. Sperry of San Francisco, former State president, and Mrs. Rose French were introduced. Mrs. Watson in an eloquent address showed how their success was the culmination of the campaign of 1896 and the result of the years of hard and constant work between that time and the present.

When Mr. Braly began speaking he presented the association with the State flag of California, saying: "The grizzly bear is the king of all American beasts. On the flag, you see, he has a beautiful golden star above his head—the star of hope that brought our Pilgrim fathers across the sea finally coming to rest

over the Golden State. There that star of hope and progress and freedom hung for more than sixty years, until Oct. 10, 1911, when it flamed forth with a wondrous brilliancy and started all the bells of heaven ringing." He predicted that Oregon, Arizona and Nevada would soon follow the example of California and said: "Then the star will cross the Rocky Mountains and in will come the States of the Middle West!" Continuing the story the speaker said:

In January, 1910, the last meeting of the last suffrage society in Southern California was held in the parlor of the Angeles Hotel in the city of Los Angeles. The women were discouraged and dispirited. I rode home alone in my car, my heart weeping and praying a prayer ten miles long, that being the distance to my home in Pasadena. That night I had a vision. I saw in panorama a future glory of my beloved State. I saw well-kept cities and churches filled with devout worshippers; I saw thousands of bright-faced, happy children going to clean schoolhouses and romping and laughing in their playgrounds. I saw, oh, so many sweet and happy homes! I saw no saloons, no drunken men, no places of vice. I saw men and women, husbands and wives, going up to the ballot booths, laughing and chatting as they went and placing their ballots in the boxes. Everything seemed beautiful. The vision passed and I said to myself, "There it is—the women of California will have the ballot and the blessings and glory will follow."

Now we come to the beginning of the movement that has had much to do in the enfranchisement of the women of California. I trust you will entirely lose sight of the speaker and see only the great cause away out in the West. A man sat in his room one night with pencil and paper before him. He began to write names of big men who ought to take an interest in the pending suffrage campaign. He wrote down about one hundred names and the next day started out alone to see them. Then followed two months of patient, personal work and about seventy good men and true had signed the league membership form, which read as follows: "The undersigned hereby associate themselves together under the name and style of the Political Equality League of California for the purpose of securing political equality and suffrage without distinction on account of sex." On April 5, 1910, they met around a banquet table and organized the league. Then followed earnest, enthusiastic, impromptu speaking by many of the members. . . .

Mr. Braly told of going to Washington to the national convention, visiting suffrage headquarters in New York and returning home in June, when "immediately the league's Board of Governors, consisting of nine men, met and proceeded to add to it



nine splendid women. Headquarters were fitted up and business began." He described the vigorous work of their Legislative Committee with the result that every member from the nine southern counties went to the Legislature pledged to vote for submitting a suffrage amendment.

Saturday morning was partly occupied by a conference on How to Reach the Uninterested, in which fifteen members from as many States took an animated part; and by one on Propaganda, led by Mrs. Grace Gallatin Seton (Conn.) and Miss Mary Winsor (Penn.). Throughout all the daytime sessions valuable and interesting reports on the work in the different States were read. The proposed new constitution was vigorously discussed whenever the time permitted. The delegation from Illinois came with a request that the national headquarters be removed to Chicago but the convention decided to have them remain in New York.

The College Equal Suffrage League held a business meeting in the Seelbach Hotel at ten o'clock followed by a luncheon for college and professional women. The president of the League, Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, was toast mistress and Dr. Shaw and Miss Jane Addams were guests of honor. One especially enjoyable feature was Miss Anita C. Whitney's account of the excellent work done by the College League of California in the recent campaign. [For all the above California reports see chapter for that State in Volume VI.]

The report of the National Congressional Committee by its chairman, Miss Emma M. Gillett, a lawyer of Washington, D. C., showed a decided advance in political work over all preceding years. She had placed on her committee Mrs. Upton, Mrs. Elizabeth King Ellicott (Md.), Miss Mary Gray Peck (N. Y.), Mrs. Katharine Reed Balentine (Me. and Cal.) and Miss Belle Kearney (Miss.). State presidents were invited to cooperate and lists of the nominees for Congress in their States were sent to them. The Democratic National Committee furnished the names of its nominees; the Republican National Committee practically refused to do so. Letters asking their opinion on woman suffrage were sent to 378 Democratic and 293 Republican candidates; 135 of the former and 88 of the latter answered; 93 Democrats and 65 Republicans were in favor of full or partial suffrage for women;

13 of the former and one of the latter were opposed; 29 and 23 non-committal. The letters received were almost without exception of a pleasant nature. The District Suffrage Association paid a stenographer and rent of headquarters for the work of sixteen months. Contributions of only \$214 were received for it, \$100 from U. S. Senator Isaac Stevenson of Wisconsin.

The report on official endorsements of conventions showed the usual large number, political, religious, agricultural, labor, etc. Mrs. Dennett estimated that such endorsements had now been given by organizations representing 26,000,000 members.

Mrs. Pauline Steinem, chairman of the Committee on Education, reported sub-committees in sixteen States working for suitable text books, encouraging the placing of women on school boards, organizing mothers' and parents' clubs, offering prizes for essays on woman suffrage, encouraging methods of self-government in schools, etc. The chairman for New Jersey announced that Governor Woodrow Wilson approved of School suffrage and that State Senator Joseph S. Frelinghuysen, president of the State Board of Education, recommended it in his last report.

College Women's Evening, as always, attracted one of the largest audiences of the week. In the course of an address on What Women Might Accomplish with the Franchise, Miss Jane Addams said:

Sydney Webb points out that while the wages of British working men have increased from 50 to 100 per cent. during the past sixty years the wages of working women have remained stationary. The exclusion from all political rights of five million working women in England is not only a source of industrial weakness and poverty to themselves but a danger to English industry. Working women can not hope to hold their own in industrial matters where their interests may clash with those of their enfranchised fellow workers or employers. They must force an entrance into the ranks of responsible citizens, in whose hands lies the solution to the problems which are at present convulsing the industrial world.

Much of the new demand for political enfranchisement arises from a passionate desire to reform the unsatisfactory and degrading social conditions which are responsible for so much wrong doing. The fate of all the unfortunate, the suffering, the criminal, is daily forced upon woman's attention in painful and intimate ways. It is inevitable that humanitarian women should wish to vote concerning

all the regulations of public charities which have to do with the care of dependent children and the Juvenile Courts, pensions to mothers in distress, care of the aged poor, care of the homeless, conditions of jails and penitentiaries, gradual elimination of the social evil, extended care of young girls, suppression of gambling, regulation of billboard advertising and other things.

Perhaps the woman who leads the domestic life is more in need of the franchise than any other. One could easily name the regulations of the State that define her status in the community. Among them are laws regulating marriage and divorce, defining the legitimacy of children, defining married women's property rights, exemption and homestead laws which protect her when her husband is bankrupt. Then there are the laws regulating her functions as mother to her children.

Dr. Thomas, who presided, spoke on What Woman Suffrage Means to College Women. Only fragmentary newspaper reports are available but she said in beginning: "We are entering an age of social reconstruction and general betterment and no class today are spending more of their strength and energy to eradicate the wrongs which have resulted from a defective system that denies woman her rights, than the class of women who have received a college education. These efforts, however, amount to little as long as the franchise is denied compared to what is in the reach of possibility. Our efforts have been rewarded to a great extent but until woman has come into her own and is recognized and treated as a citizen of the State on an equal footing with man, our work will continue to be a mere scratching on the surface. Between 30 and 40 per cent. of the college women today are supporting themselves. It is the educated woman who is making the fight for equality and our hope lies in education, the education of both men and women."

Dr. Shaw presided over the Sunday afternoon meeting at which four notable addresses were made. Miss Mary Johnston's subject was Wanted, an Architect, and in eloquent words she showed how woman might be developed physically, mentally and spiritually, with the conclusion: "She can do what she wills and now the thing above all others to be desired is that she wills to act. The time has passed when indifference on her part will be tolerated. Women must rouse themselves to action, the crying needs of the hour demand it. With the ballot in our hands and with the will to produce better conditions our achievements will

be unsurpassed." Professor Sophonisba Breckinridge, dean of the Junior College of Women in Chicago University, considered with keen analysis woman suffrage in its relation to the interests of the wage-earning woman. The Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane (Mich.) presented *A New Phase of Home Rule for Cities*, saying in conclusion: "Politics at its best is a noble profession in which we earnestly desire to engage. Woman's age-long experience in home-making and mothering of children has fitted her for politics just as well as have man's activities in trade fitted him."

Dr. Shaw introduced Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, Chief of the Government Bureau of Chemistry, as "the man who is trying to get us women a fair chance to live," and he jokingly answered that in view of the swift advance of the woman suffrage movement it was a question whether men would continue to have a chance to live. His topic was *Woman's Influence in Public Affairs*, "which," he said, "are the summing up of private affairs." In his address he said:

I am not a newcomer myself. My first suffrage address was made in 1877. I believe it is almost useless to work on us old folks. The reforms in our politics and ethics must begin with the children. Educate them to the right and justice of woman suffrage even before they are born. Instill the idea in them at school; see that they get the proper kind of an education. Women have done wonders in securing our splendid system of public schools. . . . Women have intellect enough and some to spare. What we want is more ethics. A sense of justice and right is just as important to this country as intellectual strength. Women have the instinct of right. I have never known an organized body of women to be on the wrong side of a public question, although as individuals women sometimes get the wrong point of view, just as men are prone to do. I want equal suffrage because it is right. I want it also because it would have a great effect on woman's influence in public affairs and would help powerfully to get the right thing done. The very fact that woman had the vote would be a restraining and elevating influence. The women have been a tower of strength to every official in this country who has tried to do his duty. Take the question of pure food: I could tell you by the hour of the support that I have had from women and women's organizations. I should despair if I thought that the women did not stand for pure food.

We have in this country problems which I almost fear to face. Among them is the great problem of the relation between the wage-

earner and the capitalist; that of the distribution of the necessities of life; that of the congestion in the cities and depopulation of the country districts. These and many others will take all the wisdom and sympathetic insight of men and women together to solve them. I am glad that men are to have the help of women. They are just entering on their career of greater usefulness in public affairs. With the ballot in their hands they will be endowed with a power much stronger than they have ever had before and they will wield it, I am sure, on the side of right and justice.

Sunday evening the officers of the association were "at home" to delegates, speakers and friends in the parlors of the Hotel Seelbach.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who, to the great happiness of suffragists on several continents, had entirely recovered her health, was now making a trip around the world in the interest of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, of which she was president. At one session a letter from her was read, dated at Kimberly, South Africa, which was enthusiastically received. It said in part:

At the very moment that you will be planning the work for the sixty-third year of the American suffrage campaign, the suffragists of this new-east of all nations will be sitting in their first national convention at Durban, the metropolis of Natal. The movement here is young but is wholly unlike the beginnings of the campaigns in England and America, for our revered pioneers fought their battle against the prejudice and intolerance of their time for the women of the whole world. These women are beginning at the very point where we of the older movements find ourselves today. The old-time arguments are not heard and here, as everywhere, expediency and political advantage are the causes of opposition.

No two cities could be more unlike than Louisville and Durban. The latter lies in a tropical country with its buildings buried in masses of luxuriant and brilliant flora, all unfamiliar to American eyes. The delegates will look out upon the placid waters of the Indian Ocean and will ride to and fro from their meetings in rickshas drawn by Zulus in the most fantastic dress imaginable, the chief feature being long horns bound upon the head. In Louisville it will be autumn, in Natal it will be spring. Yet, dissimilar as are the scenes of these two conventions, the women composing them will be actuated by the same motives, inspired by the same hopes and working to the same end. The rebellion fomented in that little Seneca Falls convention has overspread the wide earth and from the frigid lands above the North Polar Circle to the most southerly point of the Southern Temperate Zone, the mothers of our race are listening to the new call to duty which these new times are uttering.

It is glorious to be a suffragist today, with all the hard times behind us and certain victory before.

May wisdom guide us to do the right thing; may love unite us; may charity temper our differences and may we never forget the obligations we owe the blessed pathfinders of our movement who made the present position of our cause possible!

The election resulted in several changes in the board of officers. Dr. Shaw was re-elected. Mrs. McCulloch declined to stand for re-election as first vice-president and Miss Gordon as second and Miss Addams and Professor Breckinridge were chosen. For corresponding secretary Mrs. Dennett was re-elected. Mrs. Stewart withdrew as recording secretary and Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald (Mass.) was elected. Miss Ashley was re-elected treasurer. Mrs. Robert M. LaFollette was elected first auditor and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw (N. Y.) second. Later Mrs. LaFollette declined to serve and Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick was appointed by the board.

In all preceding conventions there had been such unanimity in the choice of officers that the secretary had been able to cast the informal ballot for the election. This new division of sentiment was frequently illustrated during the meetings and indicated that an element had come into the movement, which, as usual with newcomers, wanted a change to accord with its ideas. This was particularly noticeable in the discussion of the proposed new constitution but the differences of opinion were peaceably adjusted by compromise.

After the election Mrs. McCormick, who had recently come into close touch with the National Association, spoke on the Effect of Suffrage Work on Women Themselves, saying in part: "So much attention has been given to the growth and development of the movement for woman suffrage that the effect on the women themselves has been lost sight of or has been little considered but today it is becoming clear that the cause of suffrage is more valuable to the individual woman than she is to the cause. The reason is that this movement has the great though silent force of evolution behind it, impelling it slowly forward; whereas the individual is largely dependent for her development on her own powers and especially on those expressions of life with which she brings herself into contact. The woman suffrage

movement offers the broadest field for contact with life. It offers cooperation of the most effective kind with others; it offers responsibility in the life of the community and the nation; it offers opportunity for the most varied and far-reaching service. To come into contact with this movement means to some individuals to enter a larger world of thought than they had known before; to others it means approaching the same world in a more real and effective way. To all it gives a wider horizon in the recognition of one fact—that the broadest human aims and the highest human ideals are an integral part of the lives of women.”

The report of the Committee on Church Work by its chairman, Mrs. Mary E. Craigie, (N. Y.) began: “It is estimated that there is in the United States a total church membership of 34,517,317 persons. It would mean a great deal to the woman suffrage cause if this great organized force, representing the most thoughtful and influential men and women of every community, could be brought to endorse it and work for it. The experiences of this committee seem to prove that in the transition taking place in the world of religious thought this is the most propitious time to obtain such support.” She gave a résumé of the splendid work that had been done by the branch committees in the various States, the religious gatherings that had been addressed, often resulting in the adoption of a resolution for woman suffrage, and the hundreds of letters sent to ministers asking for sermons favorable to the cause, which were many times complied with. She closed by saying: “It needs neither figures nor argument to establish the fact that church attendance and church worship are in a condition of decline. It is a critical period in the history of the church, which is changing from the exercise of power to the employment of influence, and the appeals that are coming to the churches are for service from the men and women who are their real strength. The church is not appreciating the resources that are lying dormant, when two-thirds of its membership—the women—are left powerless to carry on the moral and social reform work, because, as a disfranchised class having no political status, they are not counted as a potential force.”

Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates (R. I.), chairman, made the report on Presidential suffrage. The report of the Committee

on Peace and Arbitration, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead (Mass.), chairman, spoke of the Ginn Endowment of a million dollars for the World's Peace Foundation and of Mr. Carnegie's great gift of ten million dollars, creating a fund to secure the peace of the world. It told of the vast work that was being done for peace by the women in the various States and said: "The world for the first time has seen the head of a great government declare that all questions between nations can be peacefully settled. President Taft's noble effort to secure treaties with other nations, to ensure arbitration between them of every justiciable question, should command the gratitude of every patriotic woman. I had hoped to felicitate you on the ratification of these treaties by the necessary two-thirds of the Senate, but in chagrin and disappointment I must instead appeal to you to endeavor instantly to create such public sentiment as shall result in December in the acceptance of the treaties without amendment. If they are thus ratified they will be secured not only with Great Britain and France but certainly Germany, and I have no doubt Japan and most other nations will agree to identical treaties."

Miss Florence H. Luſcomb (Mass.) gave an interesting report of the Sixth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance held in Stockholm in June, 1911. [See chapter on the Alliance.] Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, proxy for the president of the New Hampshire association, asked assistance in getting a clause for woman suffrage in the new constitution to be made for that State. Conferences were held throughout the week on legislative work, district organization, publicity, raising money and other branches of the vast activities of the association. The convention Monday afternoon adjourned early in order that the members might enjoy the hospitality of the Woman's Club of Louisville at a "tea" in their attractive rooms, and at another time take the beautiful Riverside Drive. One evening was devoted to light entertainment with two suffrage monologues by Miss Marjorie Benton Cooke; a suffrage slide talk by Mrs. Fitzgerald; a clever speech portraying the results if women voted, by Miss Inez Milholland (N. Y.) and the sparkling play, *How the Vote Was Won*, read by Miss Fola La Folette. A striking address was given one afternoon by Mrs. T. P. O'Connor, an



American woman but long a resident of England and Ireland, who took for her subject, Let Our Watchword be Unity.

One of the most valuable contributions to the convention was Mrs. McCulloch's report as Legal Adviser. This was the result of a list of forty-four questions sent to presidents of State suffrage associations, Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, Federations of Clubs and leading lawyers, followed up by many letters. One of these questions related to the guardianship of children, of which she said:

The subject of the guardianship of children could have been treated a century ago in a few words. The father of the legitimate child was his sole guardian and the mother had no authority or right concerning their child except such as the husband gratuitously allowed her. She had, however, all the duties which the husband might put upon her. This meant that the husband decided about the children's food, clothing, medicine, school, church, home, associates, punishments, pleasures and tasks and that he alone could apprentice a child, could give him for adoption and control his wages. Many mothers were kept in happy ignorance of such unjust laws because their husbands voluntarily yielded to them much of the authority over the children but this was not so in all families and many mothers took cases to Supreme Courts, protesting against the absolute paternal power. When mothers learned what this sole guardianship meant they urged legal changes. Our present guardianship laws, very few alike, show how women, each group alone in their own States, have struggled to mitigate the severest evils of sole fatherly guardianship, especially of the child's person. This to mothers was more important than the guardianship of the child's property.

Perhaps the greatest suffering came from the father's power to deed or to bequeath the guardianship to a stranger and away from the mother. Most of the States now allow a surviving mother the sole guardianship of the child's person with certain conditions. Six States have not yet thus limited the father's power and in those where the guardianship is not specifically granted to the surviving mother, the father's sole power of guardianship covers his child even if yet unborn.

The report gave a thorough digest of these guardianship laws filling eight printed pages and this and Mrs. McCulloch's digest of other laws were printed in the *Woman's Journal* and the Handbook of the convention.

Miss Alice Henry presented greetings from the National Women's Trade Union League; Miss Caroline Lowe from the Women's National Committee of the Socialist Party; Mrs. A. M.

Harrison from the State Federation of Woman's Clubs; Mrs. Charles Campbell of Toronto from the Canadian Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. W. S. Stubbs, wife of the Governor, and Mrs. William A. Johnston, wife of the Chief Justice and president of the State Suffrage Association, from Kansas. A letter of love and good wishes with regrets for her absence was ordered sent to Mrs. Catt and one of affectionate sympathy to Mrs. Susan Look Avery (Ky.) for the death of her son, which prevented her attendance. During the convention Mrs. Lida Calvert Obenchain, author of *Aunt Jane of Kentucky*, and Miss Eleanor Breckenridge, president of the Texas Suffrage Association, were introduced and said a few words. A telegram of greeting was read from Mrs. Caroline Meriwether Goodlett, a founder of the Daughters of the Confederacy.

The resolutions were presented by the chairman, Miss Bertha Coover, corresponding secretary of the Ohio Suffrage Association, the committee as usual consisting of one member from each State delegation. They urged the ratification of the Arbitration Treaties in the form desired by President Taft; expressed sympathy with Finland in its struggle for liberty; endorsed the proposed Federal Amendment for the election of U. S. Senators by popular vote and demanded that women should have part in this vote; endorsed the campaign for pure food and drugs; called for the same moral standard for men and women and the same legal penalties for those who transgress the moral law; asked the Government to erect a colossal statue of Peace at the entrance to the Panama Canal, and there were others on minor points. Greetings and appreciation were sent to "the justice-loving men of Washington and California, whose example will be an inspiration to the men of other States." Memorial resolutions were adopted for prominent suffragists who had died during the year, among them Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Dr. Emily Blackwell, Ellen C. Sargent, William A. Keith, the artist; Samuel Walter Foss, the poet; Lillian M. Hollister, Elizabeth Smith Miller, Eliza Wright Osborne and Dr. Annice Jeffreys Myers.

There was a long resolution of thanks for the courtesy and hospitality received in Louisville, which included the clergymen

who opened the sessions with prayer, the musicians, who gave their services, the press committees, the hostesses and others.<sup>1</sup>

On the last evening with a large audience present Mrs. Desha Breckinridge spoke on The Prospect for Woman Suffrage in the South. "Although Kentuckians are wont to boast that within these borders is the purest Anglo-Saxon blood now existing, the spirit of their ancestors has departed," she said, and continued:

Since 1838 Kentucky has retrograded. An effort to obtain School suffrage for a larger class of women has brought about a reactionary measure. Kentucky women at present have no greater political rights than the women of Turkey—for we have none at all—but the action of certain male politicians in defeating the School suffrage measure in the last two Legislatures has really been of advantage to the movement. It has put not only women but the progressive men of the State into fighting trim. . . . The opposition of the non-progressive element has made of this "scrap of suffrage" a live, political issue. It is likely to be carried in the next Legislature by the determination of the better men of the State even more than of the women, and the fight made against it has gone far to convince both that the full franchise should be granted to women. The action of the Democratic party, when leadership in it is resumed by the best element, shows a realization that the wishes of the women of the State are to be reckoned with and that the friendship of the women, which may be gained by so simple an act of justice in their favor, is a political asset of no small importance. It is quite possible that the party in Kentucky and throughout the South may eventually realize that by advocating and securing suffrage for women it may bind to itself for many years to come, through a sense of gratitude and loyalty, a large number of women voters, just as the Republican party since the emancipation of the negro has had without effort the unquestioning loyalty of thousands of negro voters; although the women would never vote so solidly as do the negroes, because they would represent a much more thoughtful and independent body. . . .

After showing what had been the results in the South from admitting a great body of illiterate voters she said:

A conference of southern women suffragists at Memphis a few years ago, in asking for woman suffrage with an educational qualification, pointed out that there were over 600,000 more white women

<sup>1</sup>Of the press the *Woman's Journal* said: "The Louisville papers gave the convention full and fair reports and the *Herald* and *Times* had editorials declaring woman suffrage to be inevitable. Colonel Henry Watterson in the *Courier-Journal* struggled between a sincere desire to be courteous and hospitable to a convention of distinguished women meeting in his city and an equally sincere belief that woman suffrage would be a bad thing. A rousing editorial in favor of it appeared in Desha Breckinridge's paper, the *Lexington Leader*.

in the southern States than there were negroes, men and women combined. If the literate women of the South were enfranchised it would insure an immense preponderance of the Anglo-Saxon over the African, of the literate over the illiterate, and would make legitimate limitation of the male suffrage to the literate easily possible. . . .

Conditions of life in the South have made and kept Southerners individualists. The southern man believes that he should personally protect his women folk and he does it. He is only now slowly realizing that, with the coming of the cotton mills and other manufacturing and with the growth of the cities, there has developed a great body of women, young girls and children who either have no men folk to protect them or whose men folk, because of ignorance and economic weakness, are not able to protect them against the greed and rapacity of employers or of vicious men. It is a shock to the pride of southern chivalry to find that women are less protected by the laws in their most sacred possessions in the southern States than in any other section of the Union; that the States which protect their women most effectively are those in which women have been longest a part of the electorate. . . .

In the community business of caring for the sick, the incurable, the aged, the orphaned, the deficient and the helpless, women of the South bear already so important a part that to withdraw them from public affairs would mean sudden and widespread calamity. Women in the South are in politics, in the higher conception of the word. "Politics," says Bernard Shaw, "is not something apart from the home and the babies—it is home and the babies." Women have long since gotten into politics in the South in the sense that they have labored for the passage and enforcement of legislation in the interest of public health, the betterment of schools and the protection of womanhood and childhood—for the preservation, in short, "of home and the babies."

Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst of England, received an ovation when she rose to speak and soon disarmed prejudice by her dignified and womanly manner. She began by pointing out the fallacy that the women of the United States had so many rights and privileges that they did not need the suffrage and in proof she quoted existing laws and conditions that called loudly for a change. She then took up the situation in Great Britain and explained how many years the women had tried to get the franchise by constitutional methods only to be deceived and spurned by the Government. She told how at last a small handful of them started a revolution; how they had grown into an army; how they had suffered imprisonment and brutality; how the suffrage bill had again and again passed the second reading by immense majorities and the Government had refused to let it come

to a final vote. "We asked Prime Minister Asquith to give us a time for this," she said. "For eight long hours in a heavy frost some of the finest women in England stood at the entrance to the House of Commons and waited humbly with petitions in their hands for their rulers and masters to condescend to receive them but the House adjourned while they stood there. The next day, while they waited again, there was an assault by the police, acting under instructions, that I do not like to dwell upon outside of my own country."

Dr. Shaw made the closing address, eloquent with hope and courage for the future and, as always, the final blessing at the convention as the benediction is at church.

In summing up the week the *Woman's Journal* said: "Only those who attended our national convention at Louisville can understand how really wonderful it was. For hospitality, for good management, for beautiful cooperation and self-effacement, the Kentucky women set a standard that will long be remembered and will be very hard to equal in the future. It made hard work easy and all work a joy. The gratitude of the National Association is theirs forever. They gave much to us, did we give anything to them? Here we can only say we trust that we did and accept with confidence what one of the State's great women said many times: 'This convention has done wonders for Kentucky; it has surpassed my hopes.'"

## CHAPTER XII.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1912.

The Forty-fourth annual convention, which met in Wither-  
spoon Building, Philadelphia, Nov. 21-26, 1912, celebrated three  
important victories. At the general election in the early part  
of the month, Oregon, Arizona and Kansas had amended their  
constitutions and conferred equal suffrage on women by large  
majority votes and the result in Michigan was still in doubt.  
It was the sentiment of the country that the eastward sweep  
of the movement was now fully under way. There was  
a new and vibrant tone in the Call and in the speeches and pro-  
ceedings.<sup>1</sup> The *Woman's Journal* said in its account: "Another  
new feature was the enormous crowds that turned out at the  
convention. Evening after evening, in conservative Philadelphia,  
ten or a dozen overflow meetings had to be held for the benefit  
of the people who could not possibly get into the hall. At the  
Thanksgiving service on Sunday afternoon, not only was the

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: This convention has big problems confronting it, interesting, stimulat-  
ing problems coincident with the tremendous expansion of our government, problems  
worthy the indomitable mettle of suffrage workers; but in spite of hard work, this week  
will be a gala week, a compensation for all the hard, dull, gray work during the past  
year and a stimulus for still harder work during the year to come. . . .

Let us listen to our fellow workers, and, listening and sympathizing with the unselfish  
labor being carried on everywhere, pledge ourselves to a flaming loyalty to suffrage and  
suffragists that will burn away all dross of dissension, all barriers to united effort. Let  
us come with high resolve that we will never waver in our effort to obtain the right to  
stand side by side with the men of this country in the mortal struggle that shall bid  
perish from this land political corruption, privilege, prostitution, the industrial slavery of  
men, women and children and all exploitation of humanity.

Let us come together, in this autumn of 1912, this unprecedented year of suffrage,  
consecrating ourselves anew on this, the greatest of all battlegrounds for democracy, the  
United States of America.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.

JANE ADDAMS, First Vice-President.

SOPHONISBA BRECKINRIDGE, Second Vice-President.

MARY WARE DENNETT, Corresponding Secretary.

SUSAN W. FITZGERALD, Recording Secretary.

JESSIE ASHLEY, Treasurer.

KATHARINE DEXTER MCCORMICK, } Auditors.

HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW, }

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Editor of the *Woman's Journal*.

great Metropolitan Opera House filled to its capacity but for blocks the street outside was jammed with a seething crowd, eager to hear the illustrious speakers. It looked more like an inauguration than like an old-fashioned suffrage meeting."

There was a great out-door rally in Independence Square at the beginning, such as had been witnessed many times on this historic spot conducted by men but never before in the hands of women. Miss Elizabeth Freeman was manager of this meeting, assisted by Miss Jane Campbell, the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Mrs. Camilla von Klenze, Mrs. Teresa Crowley and Miss Florence Allen. From five platforms over forty well-known speakers demanded that the principles of the Declaration of Independence signed in the ancient hall close by should be applied to women and that the old bell should ring out liberty for all and not for half the people. Mrs. Otis Skinner read the Women's Declaration of Rights, which had been written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage in 1876 and presented at the great centennial celebration in that very square,<sup>1</sup> and a little ceremony was held in honor of Mrs. Charlotte Pierce of Philadelphia, the only one then living who had signed it, with a remembrance presented by Mrs. Anna Anthony Bacon.

The convention was noteworthy for the large number of distinguished speakers on its program. On the opening afternoon, after a moment of silent prayer in memory of Lucretia Mott, the welcome of the city was extended by the widely-known "reform" Mayor Rudolph Blankenburg, who pointed out the vast field of municipal work for women and expressed his firm conviction of their need for the suffrage. He was followed with a greeting by Mrs. Blankenburg, a former president of the State Suffrage Association. Its formal welcome to the delegates was given by the president, Mrs. Ellen H. Price, who said in part: "We hope that you will feel at home in Pennsylvania, for the idea that has called this organization into being—that divine passion for human rights—actuated the great founder of our Commonwealth in setting up his 'holy experiment in government.'" After regretting that a State founded on so broad a conception had not applied it to women Mrs. Price said:

<sup>1</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, Volume III, page 31.

We welcome you in the name of William Penn, who, antedating the Declaration of Independence by nearly a century, enunciated in his Frame of Government the truth that the States of today are coming very rapidly to acknowledge: "Any Government is free to the people under it when the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; anything more than this (and anything less) is oligarchy and confusion." We welcome you in the name of our only woman Governor, Hannah Penn, who, as we are told, for six years managed the affairs of the infant colony wisely and well.

We welcome you in the name of the patriots who placed on our Liberty Bell the injunction, "Proclaim Liberty throughout the Land to all the Inhabitants Thereof"; in the name of those ancestors of ours (yours and mine) who here gave up their lives in that struggle to establish the principle that "taxation without representation is tyranny" for a nation; in the name of those uncompromising agitators who delivered their message of liberty even at the risk of life itself, till the shackles fell from a race enslaved; in the name of Lucretia Mott, that gentle, that queenly champion of the down-trodden and oppressed, that inspired preacher whose motto, "Truth for Authority, not Authority for Truth," should be the watchword of every soul that seeks for freedom.

We welcome you in the name of the pioneers in the education of women, of those who gave us the first Medical College for Women, Ann Preston, Emily Cleveland, Hannah Longshore, whose daughter is here today—our honorary president, Lucretia L. Blankenburg, wife of the chief executive of this city, to whose eloquent words of welcome you have just listened; in the name of the first president of our State association, of whom the poet Whittier wrote: "The way to make the world anew is just to grow as Mary Grew." We welcome you in the name of our national president, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, who, although a citizen of the world, comes back to her Pennsylvania home to get fresh strength and courage.

Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, a national officer, made a graceful response for the association. Fraternal greetings were given by Mrs. Barsels, from the Pennsylvania Woman's Christian Temperance Union; by Mrs. Branstetter of Oklahoma from the National Socialist Party; by Mrs. Campbell McIvor of Toronto from the Canadian Woman Suffrage Association and later by Miss Leonora O'Reilly from the New York Women's Trade Union League.

Miss Laura Clay, chairman of the Membership Committee, announced the admission of nine new societies to the National Association. There were 308 delegates in attendance. Mrs.



Mary Ware Dennett, corresponding secretary and chairman of the Literature Committee, said in the course of her report:

We are often asked at headquarters and by mail what the national headquarters is for and what it does. The briefest answer that can be given is that we furnish ammunition for the suffrage fight. The ammunition is of many sorts, from money, leaflets and buttons to historical data, slide lectures and advice on organization. . . . One decided advantage in making headquarters more useful to visitors has been the enlargement of the main office. A partition was removed which gave us a large, light room where all our publications are accessible for consultation or purchase, all the chief suffrage periodicals of the world are on file, the gallery of eminent suffragists is on exhibition and all the various kinds of supplies, like buttons, pennants, posters, etc., are shown. It serves as reference library as well, for beside the *History of Woman Suffrage*, the *Life of Susan B. Anthony* and the bound volumes of the *Woman's Journal*, there is a collection of books on interests allied to suffrage, which have been selected and approved by the board. These are also on sale. . . . During the summer of 1912 a questionnaire was sent to the States and the answers tabulated and printed in a folder showing conclusively the status of each regarding headquarters, press, membership, finance, political district, legislative and Congressional work. There is an increasing demand for suffrage facts rather than for suffrage argument. It was in response to this demand that it became necessary to appoint an editor for the literature department. Fully half of the publications needed revising and bringing up to date and new compilations of data were urgently needed. Mrs. Frances Maule Bjorkman, a trained newspaper and magazine writer, was chosen and has filled the position admirably.

Mrs. Dennett gave a detailed account of the pamphlets, speeches, leaflets, plays, magazine articles, etc., published by the association—250 kinds of printed matter—and said:

We have published over 3,000,000 pieces of literature in this year and our total receipts from literature and supplies have been \$13,000, or \$746 over the cost of the printing and purchase. Our record month was September, when our receipts were more than the entire receipts for the whole year of 1909. If we count our unsold stock and our uncollected bills as assets, we have a net gain for the year of \$3,578. About \$700 worth of literature has been sold in the office, the remainder having been ordered by mail.

Through the courtesy of the Illinois association and the generosity of Miss Addams and Miss Breckinridge, who paid for the rent and service, a sub-station for the supply of literature was established at the Chicago headquarters in April. The sales at this western branch have been \$1,924. It would seem well worth while to continue this service for western customers. Also for their benefit Mrs.

McCormick made a gift of a sample copy of every one of our new publications to the presidents of State associations in eighteen of the western States, as a means of bringing them in closer touch with the national office. . . . Aside from our own literature we have been grateful for a very serviceable congressional document, thousands of which have been distributed in the last few months, the speech of Congressman Edward T. Taylor of Colorado. It proved a successful and timely campaign document and we are indebted not only to Mr. Taylor but to a most efficient volunteer worker in Washington—Mrs. Helen H. Gardener—who gave unstinted personal service in seeing that the documents were obtained and franked when needed. . . .

The convention accepted the recommendation of the board that it should issue a monthly bulletin of facts and figures to be sent to every paying member, thus establishing a real bond between the association and its thousands of members. The report of the Press Bureau by its chairman, Miss Caroline I. Reilly, showed remarkable progress in public sentiment as expressed by the newspapers. It said in part:

The winning of California last year wrought so complete a change in the work of the national press bureau that it was like taking up an entirely new branch. Before that victory our time was employed in furnishing suffrage arguments, replying to adverse editorials and letters published in the newspapers and writing syndicate articles. Now this department has resolved itself into a bureau of information, news being the one thing required. Each week we send to our mailing list 2,000 copies of the press bulletin, giving brief items relative to suffrage activities the world over. These go into every non-suffrage State in the Union, to Canada, Cuba and England, and the demand for them increases daily. Almost every mail brings letters from newspapers asking to be placed on the regular mailing list. . . . Since the winning of the four States on November 5, newspapers and press associations from all over the United States have written us asking for help to establish woman suffrage departments. The time has come when our question is a paying one from a publicity point of view, . . .

We now have twenty syndicates on our list and are no longer obliged to write the articles ourselves but simply furnish the information which their own writers work up. These syndicates are both national and international and cover all of this country as well as some foreign countries. An interesting thing happened last week, when the representative of a European press syndicate came and said that he had been sent to America for the sole purpose of reporting the woman movement in the United States, the subject being regarded a vital one by the press of Europe. Special suffrage editions seem to be more popular than almost anything else and appeals come



COURT HOUSE OF WARREN, OHIO.

Headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1903 to 1910—on the ground floor.



HOME OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY IN ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association until 1895.

to us from all over the Union to help on them. . . . During the past year we have received and answered over 3,000 communications. The Italian papers have been on our mailing list for some time, also many French and Hebrew papers. . . . The editors and associate editors of twelve Italian newspapers in New York are enrolled in the city suffrage organization.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell made an extended report of the *Woman's Journal* since it became the official organ of the National American Association in June, 1910, and had been published under its auspices. The expenses had increased and funds had not been supplied to meet them. Committees of conference were appointed and eventually the deficit was paid and the paper was returned to Miss Blackwell, who offered the free use of its columns to the association. The report of the treasurer, Miss Jessie Ashley, was not encouraging. Under the old régime the year always closed with a balance in the treasury but this indebtedness to the *Woman's Journal* left the association \$5,000 in debt.<sup>1</sup> As its work broadened the expense became heavier and the income although far larger than ever before was not sufficient. During the past year it had contributed \$18,144 to campaigns in eight States. A very large part of this amount was paid by Dr. Shaw from a fund given to her personally for the purpose by Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw of Boston. At this time and later she gave to Dr. Shaw to be used for campaigns according to her judgment \$30,000 and the name of the donor was not revealed until after her death in 1917.

The first evening of the convention was devoted to the president's address and the stories of the successful campaigns for suffrage amendments at the November elections, related by Mrs. William A. Johnston and Miss Helen N. Eaker for Kansas and Mrs. M. L. T. Hidden for Oregon. No one being present from Arizona Dr. Shaw told of the victory there. Mrs. Clara B. Arthur and Mrs. Huntley Russell described the situation in Michigan, where the indications were that the amendment would be lost by fraudulent returns. Dr. Shaw's speech, as usual, was neither written nor stenographically reported but this floating paragraph was found in a newspaper:

<sup>1</sup> Later the total deficit of \$6,000 was paid by Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick of Boston, an officer of the National Association.

In all times men have entertained loftier theories of living than they have been able to formulate into practical experience. We Americans call our government a republic but it is not a republic and never has been one. A republic is not a government in which one-half of the people make the laws for all of the people. At first the government was a hierarchy in which only male church members could vote. In the process of evolution the qualification of church membership was removed and the word "taxpayer" substituted. Later that word was stricken out and all white men could vote. Then followed the erasure of the word "white" and now all male citizens have the ballot. The next measure is obvious and it is not a revolutionary one but the logical step in the evolution of our government. I believe thoroughly in democracy, the extension of the franchise to all men, for all have a right to a voice in the making of the laws that govern them, and no nation has a right to place before any of its people an insuperable barrier to self-government. We would make no outcry against an educational standard, the necessary age limit, a certain term of residence in any place—in fact there is no regulation women would object to that applied to all citizens equally. I make no criticism of the policy of the country in giving all men the ballot. The men are all right so far as they go—but they go only half way. The United States has subjected its women to the greatest political humiliation ever imposed upon the women of any nation. German women are governed by German men; French women by French men, etc., but American women are ruled by the men of every country and race in the world. . . . I do not belong to any political party and I have too much self-respect to ally myself with any party until my opinion is of enough importance to be counted at the polls.

The delegates heard reports from the chairmen of various committees—Ways and Means, Dr. M. Carey Thomas; Enrollment, Mrs. Jean Nelson Penfield; Presidential Suffrage, Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates; Laws for Women, Miss Mary Rutter Towle (D. C.). Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead made her usual comprehensive report as chairman of the Peace and Arbitration Committee. Mrs. Mary E. Craigie in her report of seven printed pages on the extensive and successful efforts of her Committee on Church Work told of a circular letter that had been sent to thousands of clergymen throughout the country asking for a special sermon in support of woman suffrage on Mothers' Day. It pointed out that in the vast moral and social reform work of the churches their women members are denied the weapon of Christian welfare, the ballot, while the forces of evil are fully

enfranchised and the influence of the churches is thus essentially weakened.

Mrs. William Kent, in her report as chairman of the Congressional Committee, said that it had not been necessary to request members to introduce a resolution for a Federal Suffrage Amendment as six were offered by as many Representatives of their own volition. Senator Works of her own State of California had been glad to present it. She told of the "hearings" before the committees of the two Houses on March 13, when the National Association sent representatives to Washington. The preceding day a reception for the speakers was given in her home and many of the guests became interested who had been indifferent. In May the Congressional Committee sent out cards for a "suffrage tea" in her house to the wives of Senators and Representatives; many were present and interesting addresses were made.

Among the resolutions submitted by the chairman of the committee, Mrs. Raymond Brown, and adopted were the following:

We reaffirm that our one object and purpose is the enfranchisement of the women of our country.

We call upon all our members to rejoice at the winning of the School vote by the women of Kentucky and at the full enfranchisement of four more States, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona and Michigan<sup>1</sup>; and in the fact that at the last election the electoral vote of women fully enfranchised was nearly doubled, and to rejoice that all the political parties are now obliged to reckon with the growing power of the woman vote; and be it resolved

That this association believes in the settlement of all disputes and difficulties, national and international, by arbitration and judicial methods and not by war.

That we commend the action of those State Federations of Women's Clubs which have founded departments for the study of political economy and we congratulate those clubs which have endorsed our movement to gain the ballot for all women.

That we deeply deplore the exploiting of the children of this country in our labor markets to the detriment and danger of coming generations; that we commend the action of Congress in the creation of a National Children's Bureau and President Taft's appointment of a woman, Miss Julia Lathrop, as head of the bureau.

That we commend the efforts of our National Government to

<sup>1</sup> It was supposed at this time that the suffrage amendment had been carried in Michigan but the final returns indicated its defeat, apparently due to fraudulent voting and counting.

end the white slave traffic; that we urge the passage in our States of more stringent laws for the protection of women; that we demand the same standard of morals for men and women and the same penalties for transgressors; that we call upon women everywhere to awake to the dangers of the social evil and to hasten the day when women shall vote and when commercialized vice shall be exterminated.

A unique feature of the convention was Men's Night, with James Lees Laidlaw of New York, president of the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage of 20,000 members, in the chair and all the speeches made by men. Miss Blackwell said editorially in the *Woman's Journal*: "From the very beginning of the equal rights movement courageous and justice-loving men have stood by the women and have been invaluable allies in the long fight that is now nearing its triumph but never before have been actually organized to work for the cause. Men old and young, men of the most diverse professions, parties and creeds, spoke with equal earnestness in behalf of equal rights for women." The speakers were the Hon. Frederick C. Howe, Judge Dimner Beeber, president of the Pennsylvania League; A. S. G. Taylor of the Connecticut League; Joseph Fels, the Single Tax leader; Julian Kennedy of Pittsburgh; George Foster Peabody of New York; the Rev. Wm. R. Lord of Massachusetts; Jesse Lynch Williams, J. H. Braly of California and Reginald Wright Kauffman. The last named, whose recently published book, *The House of Bondage*, had aroused the country on the "white slave traffic," discussed this question as perhaps it never before had been presented in public and he found a sympathetic audience.

The Rev. James Grattan Mythen, of the Prince of Peace Church, Walbrook, Md., made a strong demand for the influence of women in the electorate, in which he said: "Whatever wrongs the law allows must not be laid entirely at the door of paid public servants whom by the franchise we employ to do our public will. Where there are criminals in public office they represent criminals. They represent the active criminals whose debased ballots put them in office, and they represent the passive criminals whose ballot was not cast to keep them out! 'That ye did it not' merits as great a condemnation as 'That ye did it.' What is needed in politics is the reassertion of the moral ideal,

and as men we know that this moral ideal has been, is now and always will be the possession of womankind. For this reason men ought to demand that women come into the body politic and bring with them the same moral standard that they hold for themselves in the home, in the Church, in the hospitals, in the great reform movements which are voiced by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and all other endeavors for righteousness that are always championed by women."

This was not the time and place arranged for taking a collection but the enthusiasm was so great that Mr. Fels started the ball rolling and \$2,000 were quickly subscribed. Later at the regular collection the amount was increased to \$6,908. Among the largest pledges were those of Miss Kate Gleason of Rochester, N. Y., for \$1,200; Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, \$1,000; Mrs. Bowen of Chicago, \$600; New York State Association, \$600; Pennsylvania State Association, \$500; Miss Emily Howland, \$300. The treasurer, Miss Ashley, stated that the receipts from April 1 to November 1 had been \$55,197.

Dr. Shaw had telegraphed the congratulations of the association to the Governors of the four victorious States and telegrams of greetings to the convention were read from Governors Oswald West of Oregon; George P. Hunt of Arizona; W. R. Stubbs of Kansas; and Chase S. Osborn of Michigan. Greetings were received from Miss Martina G. Kramers of Holland, editor of the international suffrage paper; the U. S. National Council of Women, and from Mrs. Champ Clark and her sister, Mrs. Annie Pitzer of Colorado, sent through Miss Nettie Lovisa White of Washington. Telegrams of congratulation were sent to the State presidents, Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway of Oregon and Mrs. Frances W. Munds of Arizona, and of sympathy to the Rev. Olympia Brown and Miss Ada L. James for the defeat in Wisconsin.

It was voted to continue the national headquarters in New York. There was a flurry of discussion over a proposed amendment to the constitution changing the present method of voting, which allowed the delegates present to cast the entire number of votes to which the State was entitled by its paid membership. The convention finally adopted the amendment that hereafter



the delegates present should cast only their individual votes. The election resulted in a change of but two officers. Professor Breckinridge and Miss Ashley did not stand for re-election and Miss Anita Whitney of California was chosen for second vice-president and Mrs. Louise De Koven Bowen of Chicago for second auditor.

A serious controversy arose during the convention in regard to the deviation of some of the national officers from the time-honored custom of non-partisanship. It had always been the unwritten but carefully observed law of the association that no member of the board should advocate or work for any political party. Mrs. George Howard Lewis, a veteran suffragist of Buffalo, N. Y., sent a resolution to the convention declaring that officers of the association must remain non-partisan and Mrs. Ida Husted Harper presented it and led the contest for it. Dr. Shaw announced before it was discussed that the board recommended that it should not pass.

Women had taken a larger part in the political campaign which had just ended than ever before and one of the officers and many of the delegates present had spoken and worked for the Progressive party because of the suffrage plank in its platform. Other members had done the same for the Socialist and Prohibition parties for a like reason. As a result, while the resolution had some warm support it was defeated by a vote of ten to one, although it applied only to the officers and left individual members free. The consequences of this vote soon began to be realized by the board and the delegates and in the official resolutions was one which said: "The National American Suffrage Association reaffirms the position for which it always has stood, of being an absolutely non-partisan, non-sectarian body." When asked for an interpretation the officers answered that "the association must not declare officially for any political party."<sup>1</sup>

One of the most enjoyable evenings of the convention was the one in charge of the National College Equal Suffrage League, the program consisting of a debate between groups of clever speakers, each with one or more university degrees, half of them

<sup>1</sup> It is a noteworthy fact that although woman suffrage was a leading issue in the presidential campaign of 1916 no officer of the National American Suffrage Association took any public part in it, although the platform of each of the parties contained a plank endorsing woman suffrage.

posing as anti-suffragists, with Dr. Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College and of the league, in the chair. A suffrage meeting which touched high water mark was that of Sunday afternoon, when the immense opera house was filled to overflowing and literally thousands stood on the outside in the intense cold and listened to speakers who were hastily sent out to address them. Dr. Shaw presided. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rt. Rev. Philip Mercer Rhinelander and the music was rendered by the choir, under its director, Samuel J. Riegel, with the audience joining. An eloquent address was given, the Democracy of Sex and Color, by Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, and one by Miss Addams on the Communion of the Ballot, the necessity for cooperative work by men and women, in which she said: "Take a still graver subject. Everywhere vice regulation is coming up for government action. The white slave traffic is international and it goes on from city to city. I ask you, in the name of common sense, is it safe or wise or sane to entrust to men alone the dealing with this age-long evil? Our laws are superior to those of most European countries. In England, because women have been obliged to appeal to the pity of men against these evils, (for the appeal to chivalry seems to have fallen), there is a disposition to divide into two camps, men in one and women in the other. Any sex antagonism thus engendered arises because these grave moral questions have not been taken up by men and women together. By debarring women from suffrage, we are failing to bring to bear on these questions that vast moral energy which dwells in women. . . . Whenever there is a great moral awakening it is followed by an extension of the movement for women's rights. The first wave came with the anti-slavery agitation; the second with the prohibition movement and Frances Willard, and now there is coming all over the world this irresistible movement of government to take up great social and industrial questions."

The very fine address of Miss Julia Lathrop, Chief of the National Children's Bureau, on Woman Suffrage and Child Welfare filled over five columns of the *Woman's Journal* and contained a sufficient argument for the enfranchisement of women if no other ever had been or should be made. "My purpose,"

she began, "is to show that woman suffrage is a natural and inevitable step in the march of society forward; that instead of being incompatible with child welfare it leads toward it and is indeed the next great service to be rendered for the welfare and ennoblement of the home. A little more than one-third of all the people in this country, something over 29,500,000 in actual numbers, are children under the age of fifteen—that is, still in a state of tutelage; and it is of unbounded importance that nothing be done by the rest of us which will injure this budding growth. So it is right to judge in large measure any proposed change in our social fabric by its probable effect on that dependent third of the race to whom we are pledged, for whose succession it is the work of this generation to prepare. What we propose is to give universal suffrage to women."

Answering the question, "Do we propose a mad revolution?" she traced the development in the position of woman, every step of which was condemned at the time as a dangerous innovation. "It was a revolution when women were given equal property rights over their goods and equal rights over their children," she said. "We must blush that there are States in this country where that revolution is still to be accomplished. I have heard an old Illinois lawyer describe the early efforts to secure equal property rights for women in that State and the constant objection that such laws would destroy the family, that there could be no harmony unless the ownership were all in one person and that person the man. It was feared then, as now, that women would become tyrannical and unbearable if they were allowed too much independence. Do children suffer because their mothers own property?" She pointed out the necessity for woman's political influence on humanitarian movements and said: "Suffrage for women is not the final word in human freedom but it is the next step in the onward march, because it is the next step in equalizing the rights and balancing the duties of the two types of individuals who make up the human race."

Miss Lathrop showed the need of legislation for all social reforms and how the experience of women beginning with domestic duties carried them forward to a sense of their obligations in community life and a fitness for it. Referring to the

uneducated women she said: "The ignorant vote is not the working vote. Working women in great organized factories have been having, since they began that work, an education for the suffrage. They are not the ignorant voters nor are wives of workingmen; at least, they know in part what they need to safeguard themselves and their homes. The ignorant vote is the complacent, blind vote of men and of the feminine 'influence' that moves them, which disregards the real problems of setting safe and wholesome standards of life and labor and education and spends its strength in looking backward, insisting upon precedents without seeing that, good and enduring as they may be, all precedents must be daily retranslated into the setting of today. "Women must vote for their own souls' good," she said, "and they must vote to protect the family. The newer conception of the family is one which depends upon giving to both parents the fullest expression on all those matters of common concern."

The address closed with a fine peroration—Pass on the Torch! In the evening the officers of the association gave a largely attended reception to delegates and friends in the banquet hall of Hotel Walton.

The closing night of the convention was one long to be remembered. There was the same vast, eager audience: Dr. Shaw presided and on the platform was the distinguished Apostle of Peace, winner of the Nobel prize, Baroness Bertha von Suttner, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, just returned from a two-years' trip around the world. The meeting was opened by the Rt. Rev. James Henry Darlington, bishop of central Pennsylvania, whose brief address was of great value to the cause. He congratulated the American people on the fact that four more States had been added to the ever-growing list of those which had given the suffrage to women and he called upon all observers to notice that no State which had once voted in woman suffrage had ever voted it out. Once in use, local opposition to it ceased by reason of the self-evident good results. He offered congratulations to those who were humble privates in the ranks and to the famous and brave leaders who organized the victories. "As the Elizabethan and Victorian eras are the most distinguished for philanthropic, literary and economic advancement in the whole

history of Great Britain, though the Kings were many and the Queens were few in the long line," he said, "so no man need be ashamed to follow feminine leadership when it means advancement in every good word and work," and he offered congratulations to little children of the future generations of this and all lands. "When our anti-suffrage sisters throw aside their complacency and selfish ease," he said, "to strive side by side with men to formulate and pass necessary laws to protect and develop the bodies, minds and souls of our present little children and all that are to come through the passing centuries, then will dawn a new day for humanity."

Brief addresses were made by Mrs. Blankenburg, Miss Jane Campbell and Professor Breckinridge of Chicago University. Miss Crystal Eastman gave a graphic account of why the amendment failed in Wisconsin and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, State president, told in her inimitable way of the campaign that failed in Ohio. Baroness von Suttner made a magnificent plea for the peace of the world and asked for the enfranchisement of women as an absolutely necessary factor in it. The dominant note of Mrs. Catt's speech was the great need for political power in the hands of women to combat the social evil, which she had found entrenched in the governments of every country. These last two addresses, which carried thrilling conviction to every heart, were made without notes and not published.

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From the early days of the National Suffrage Association its representatives had appeared before committees of every Congress to ask for the submission of an amendment to the Federal Constitution and during many years this "hearing" took place when the annual convention met in Washington. As it was to be held elsewhere this year and at a time when the Congress was not in session a delegation of speakers had gone before the committees the preceding March by arrangement of Mrs. William Kent, chairman of the association's Congressional Committee.

At the hearing before a joint committee of the Senate Judiciary and Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage March 13 six of the members were present: Senators Overman (N. C.), chair-

man; Brandegee (Conn.); Bourne (Ore.); Brown (Neb.); Johnston (Ala.); Wetmore (R. I.). Senator John D. Works of California, who had introduced the resolution in the Senate, presented Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as "one of the best known and most distinguished of those connected with the movement for the enfranchisement of women." As she took charge of the hearing she said in part:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee, this is the forty-third year that the women suffragists have been represented by delegations appointed by the national body to speak in behalf of resolutions which have been introduced to eliminate from the Constitution of the United States in effect the word "male," to eliminate all disqualifications for suffrage on account of sex. The desire of our association is not so much to put on record the opinions of this committee in regard to woman suffrage as to plead with it to give a favorable report, so that the question can come before the Congress, be discussed on its merits and then submitted to the various States for ratification. The Federal Constitution guarantees to every State a republican form of government—that is, a government in which the laws are enacted by representatives elected by the people—and we claim that it has violated its own principle in refusing to protect women in their right to select their representatives, so we are asking for no more than that the Constitution shall be carried out by the U. S. Government. As the president of the National Suffrage Association, I stand here in the place of a woman who gave sixty years of her life in advocacy of that grand principle for which so many of our ancestors died, Miss Susan B. Anthony. There is not a woman here today who was at the first hearing, nor a woman alive today who was among those that struggled in the beginning for this fundamental right of every citizen. I now introduce Mrs. Susan Walker Fitzgerald of Massachusetts. It has been said that women cannot fight. Mrs. Fitzgerald's father was an Admiral of the Navy and if she can not fight her father could.

Mrs. Fitzgerald spoke at length in the interest of the home and the family, showing the evolution that had taken place until now "the Government touches upon every phase of our home life and largely dictates its conditions while at the same time the woman is held responsible for them and is working with her hands tied behind her back and she asks the vote in order to do her woman's work better." Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw of New York spoke beautifully of the desire of the mothers of the rising generation that their daughters should not have to enter the hard struggle for the suffrage and pictured the need for the high-

est development of the womanly character. Mrs. Elsie Cole Phillips of Wisconsin showed the standpoint of the so-called working classes, saying in part:

The right to vote is based primarily on the democratic theory of government. "The just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed." What does that mean? Does it not mean that there is no class so wise, so benevolent that it is fitted to govern any other class? Does it not mean that in order to have a democratic government every adult in the community must have an opportunity to express his opinion as to how he wishes to be governed and to have that opinion counted? A vote is in the last analysis an expression of a need—either a personal need known to one as an individual as it can be known to no one else, or an expression of a need of those in whom we are interested—sister-women or children, for instance. The moment that one admits this concept of the ballot that moment practically all of the anti-suffrage argument is done away with. . . . Is it to strengthen the hands of the strong? Oh, no; it is to put into the hands of the weak a weapon of self-protection. And who are the weak? Those who are economically handicapped—first of all the working classes in their struggle for better conditions of life and labor. And who among the workers are the weak? Wherever the men have suffered, the women have suffered more.

But I would also like to point out to you how this affects the home-keeping woman, the wife and mother, of the working class, aside from the wage-earning woman. Consider the woman at home who must make both ends meet on a small income. Who better than she knows whether or not the cost of living advances more rapidly than the wage does? Is not that a true statement in the most practical form of the problem of the tariff? And who better than she knows what the needs of the workers are in the factories? Take the tenement-house woman, the wife and mother who is struggling to bring up a family under conditions which constantly make for evil. Who, better than the mother who has tried to bring up six or seven children in one room in a dark tenement house, knows the needs of a proper building? Who better than the mother who sees her boy and her girl playing in the streets knows the need of playgrounds? Who better than a mother knows what it means to a child's life—which you men demand that she as a wife and a mother shall care for especially—who, better than she, knows the cruel pressure that comes to that child from too early labor in what the U. S. census report calls "gainful occupations"?

There is a practical wisdom that comes out of the pressure of life and an educational force in life itself which very often is more efficient than that which comes through textbooks of college. . . . The ignorant vote that is going to come in when women are enfranchised is that of the leisure-class woman, who has no responsibilities and knows nothing of what life means to the rest of the world, who has

absolutely no civic or social intelligence. But, fortunately for us, she is a small percentage of the women of this land, and fortunately for the land there is no such rapid means of education for her as to give her the ballot and let her for the first time feel responsibilities. . . .

Now the time has come when the home and the State are one. Every act, every duty of the mother in the home is affected by something the State does or does not do, and the only way in which we are ever going to have our national housekeeping and our national child-rearing done as it should be is by bringing into the councils of the State the wisdom of women.

James Lees Laidlaw of New York was introduced as president of the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage and after stating that such leagues were being organized throughout the country he spoke of the great change that had taken place in the status of women and said:

Most important of all is the change of woman's position in industrial, commercial and educational fields. We are all familiar with the exodus of millions of women from the home into the mill and the factory. Today they may enter freely into business either as principal or employee. I was astonished to hear reported at a recent meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in New York that in the commercial high schools of that city, where a business education is given, 85 per cent. of the pupils are girls. We have today a great body of intelligent citizens with many interests in the Government besides their primary interests as mothers and home-keepers. If men are not going to take the next logical step they have made a great mistake in going thus far. Why give women property rights if we give them no rights in making the laws governing the control and disposition of their property and no vote as to who shall have the spending of tax money? Why give women the right to go into business or trades, either as employees or employers, without the right to control the conditions surrounding their business or trades? Why train women to be better mothers and better housekeepers and refuse them the right to say what laws shall be passed to protect their children and homes? Why train women to be teachers, lawyers, doctors and scientists and say to them: "Now you have assumed new responsibilities, go out into the world and compete with men," and then handicap them by depriving them of political expression? Women now have the opportunity for equal mental development with men. Is it right or is it politically expedient that we should not avail ourselves of their special knowledge concerning those matters which vitally affect the human race? . . .

Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, president of the Illinois Suffrage Association and member of the national board, contrasted the old academic plea for the ballot with the modern demand for it to



meet the present intensely utilitarian age and continued: "Today we know that the ballot is just a machine. In fact it impresses us as being something like the long-distance telephone which we in this scientific age have grown accustomed to use. We go into the polling booth and call up central (the Government) and when we get the connection we deliver our message with accuracy and speed and then we go about our business. Women have been encouraged during the past to have opinions about governmental matters and there is no denying that we do have opinions. If we could submit to you today the list of bills which the Federations of Women's Clubs of the various States have endorsed and for which they are working you would know that women have a large civic conscience and an intelligent appreciation of the measures which affect both women and the homes. They have been encouraged to have these opinions but to try to influence legislation only in indirect ways. Today, being practical and scientific, we are asking ourselves all the time why should we be limited to expressing our opinion on governmental affairs in our women's clubs? Why should we breathe them only in the prayer meeting or in the parlors of our friends? Why not directly into the governmental ear—the ballot box? Why do we not go into that long-distance telephone booth, get connection with central, and then know that our message has been delivered in the only place where it is recorded. The Government makes no record whatever of the opinions which we express in our women's clubs and our prayer meetings."

Mrs. Caroline A. Lowe of Kansas City, Mo., spoke in behalf of the 7,000,000 wage-earning women of the United States from the standpoint of one who had earned her living since she was eighteen and declared that to them the need of the ballot was a vital one. She gave heart-breaking proofs of this fact and said:

From the standpoint of wages received we wage earners know it to be almost universal that the men in the industries receive twice the amount granted to us although we may be doing the same work. We work side by side with our brothers; we are children of the same parents, reared in the same homes, educated in the same schools, ride to and fro on the same early morning and late evening cars, work together the same number of hours in the same shops and we have equal need of food, clothing and shelter. But at 21 years of

age our brothers are given a powerful weapon for self-defense, a larger means for growth and self-expression. We working women, because we find our sex not a source of strength but a source of weakness and a greater opportunity for exploitation, have even greater need of this weapon which is denied to us. Is there any justice underlying such a condition?

What of the working girl and her employer? Why is the ballot given to him while it is denied to us? Is it for the protection of his property that he may have a voice in the governing of his wealth, of his stocks and bonds and merchandise? The wealth of the working woman is far more precious to the welfare of the State. From nature's raw products the working class can readily replace all of the material wealth owned by the employing class but the wealth of the working woman is the wealth of flesh and blood, of all her physical, mental and spiritual powers. It is not only the wealth of today but that of future generations which is being bartered away so cheaply. Have we no right to a voice in the disposal of our wealth, the greatest that the world possesses, the priceless wealth of its womanhood? Is it not the cruelest injustice that the man whose material wealth is a source of strength and protection to him and of power over us should be given the additional advantage of an even greater weapon which he can use to perpetuate our condition of helpless subjection? . . . The industrial basis of the life of the woman has changed and the political superstructure must be adjusted to conform to it. This industrial change has given to woman a larger horizon, a greater freedom of action in the industrial world. Greater freedom and larger expression are at hand for her in the political life. The time is ripe for the extension of the franchise to women.

We do not come before you to beg of you the granting of any favor. We present to you a glorious opportunity to place yourselves abreast of the current of this great evolutionary movement.

Mrs. Donald Hooker of Baltimore gave striking instances of the conditions in that State regarding the social evil, of the hundreds of virtuous girls who every year are forced into a life of shame, of the thousands of children who die because mothers have no voice in making laws for their protection. "There was never a great act of injustice," she said, "that was not paid for in human life and happiness. A great act of injustice is being perpetrated by denying women the right to vote."

Miss Leonora O'Reilly, a leader among the working women of New York, made an impassioned plea that carried conviction. "I have been a wage-earner since I was thirteen," she said, "and I know whereof I speak. I want to make you realize the lives of hundreds of girls I have seen go down in this struggle for

bread. We working women want the ballot as our right. You say it is not a right but a privilege. Then we demand it as a privilege. All women ought to have it, wage-earning women must have it." After plainer speaking than the committee had ever heard from a woman she concluded: "You may tell us that our place is in the home. There are 8,000,000 of us in these United States who must go out of it to earn our daily bread and we come to tell you that while we are working in the mills, the mines, the factories and the mercantile houses we have not the protection that we should have. You have been making laws for us and the laws you have made have not been good for us. Year after year working women have gone to the Legislature in every State and have tried to tell their story of need in the same old way. They have gone believing in the strength of the big brother, believing that the big brother could do for them what they should, as citizens, do for themselves. They have seen time after time the power of the big interests come behind the big brother and say to him, 'If you grant the request of these working women you die politically.'

"It is because the working women have seen this that they now demand the ballot. In New York and in every other State, we plead for shorter hours. When the legislators learn that women today in every industry are being oversped and overworked, most of them would, if they dared, vote protective legislation. Why do they neglect the women? We answer, because those who have the votes have the power to take the legislator's political ladder away from him, a power that we, who have no votes, do not have. . . . While the doors of the colleges have been opened to the fortunate women of our country, only one woman in a thousand goes into our colleges, while one woman in five must go into industry to earn her living. And it is for the protection of this one woman in every five that I speak. . . ."

Mrs. Jean Nelson Penfield, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York numbering 60,000 members, said in part:

In the few moments given me I will confine myself to the handicapped women have found disfranchisement to be in social-service work. It is supposed by many that because our so-called leisure women have been able to do so much apparently good community betterment work without the ballot we do not need it. I should like to ask

you to remember that the important thing is not that women succeed in this kind of work but that where they do succeed it is at tremendous and needless expenditure of energy and vital strength and at the cost of dignity and self-respect.

The dominant thought in the world today is that of conservation; the tendency of the whole business world is toward economy. How to lessen the cost of production; how to improve the machinery of business so as to reduce friction—these are the questions that are being asked not only in the business world but in the affairs of state. No intelligent man in this scientific day would try to do anything by an indirect and wasteful method if he could accomplish his purpose by a direct and economic method. Even the bricklayer is taught how to handle his bricks so that the best results may be secured at the least possible expenditure of time and energy. Women alone seem to represent a great body of energy, vitality and talent which is unconserved, unutilized and recklessly wasted. If a man wants reforms he goes armed with a vote to the ballot box and even to the Legislature with that power of the vote behind him; but if women want these things they are asked to take the long, questionable, roundabout route of personal influence, of petition, of indirection. Women have accomplished a great deal in this way but it has required a long time. . . . Take, for instance, one class of work—the establishment of manual training, domestic science, open-air schools, school gardens and playgrounds—all once just “women’s notions” but now established institutions. Women have had to found and finance and demonstrate them before municipalities would have anything to do with them, but when city or State adopts these institutions the management is immediately and entirely taken out of the hands of women and placed in the hands of men. . . .

Among thinking women there is a growing consciousness of being cut off, shut out from the civic life in which they have an equal stake with men. We ask you to recognize that the time is here for you to submit an amendment to the States for ratification which will give women the influence and power of the suffrage.

In closing Dr. Shaw asked that her association might have some printed copies for distribution and was assured that it might have fifteen or twenty thousand if it desired them. She also urged that the committee would report the resolution to the Senate for discussion and as a third request said: “We are told that men are afraid to grant women suffrage lest fearful results should come to the Government and to the women. We have asked for years that Congress would appoint a committee to investigate its practical working in the States where it exists—there are now six of them—and we are entirely willing to risk our case on that investigation. We feel that its results would be

such that we would not have to come here much longer and take up your time with our arguments on the subject."

Franklin W. Collins of Nebraska spoke in opposition, presenting his case in a series of over fifty questions but not attempting to answer any of them. Among the questions were these: If woman by her ballot should plunge the country into war, would she not be in honor bound to fight by the side of man? Will the ballot in the hands of women pour oil on the troubled domestic waters? Has not this movement a strong tendency to encourage the exodus from the land of bondage, otherwise known as matrimony and motherhood? Is it not true that every free-lover, socialist, communist and anarchist the country over is openly in favor of female suffrage?

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage sent from its bureau in New York a letter of "earnest protest" against the amendment signed by its president, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge. Its auxiliary in the District of Columbia sent another of greater length signed by its chairman, Mrs. Grace Duffield Goodwin, which not only protested against a Federal Amendment but against the granting of woman suffrage by any method.

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Six members of the House of Representatives had introduced the resolution for a Federal Suffrage Amendment—Raker of California; Lafferty of Oregon; Mondell of Wyoming; Berger of Wisconsin; and Taylor and Rucker of Colorado. The hearing before the Judiciary Committee proved to be of unusual interest. Sixteen of this large committee of twenty-one were present and a reason given for the absence of the others. They were an imposing array as they sat in a semi-circle on a raised platform. The chairman, Judge Henry D. Clayton of Alabama, treated the speakers as if they were his personal guests, assured them of all the time they desired and at the close of the hearing was photographed with Miss Addams and Mrs. Harper. Instead of listening in a perfunctory way the members of the committee showed much interest and asked many questions. Miss Jane Addams, first vice-president of the National American Suffrage Association, presided and in presenting her with words of high-

est praise Representative Taylor said that all who had introduced the resolution would be pleased to speak in support of it at any time and that personally he wished to put in the record a statement of the results of woman suffrage in Colorado during the past eighteen years with a brief mention of 150 of the wisest, most humane and progressive laws in the country for the protection of home and the betterment of society, which the women of Colorado had caused to be put upon its statute books.

Miss Addams called the attention of the committee to the fact that more than a million women would be eligible to vote for the President of the United States in November. She named the countries where women could vote, saying: "America, far from being in the lead in the universal application of the principle that every adult is entitled to the ballot, is fast falling behind the rest of the world," and continued:

As I have been engaged for a good many years in various philanthropic undertakings, perhaps you will permit me, for only a few moments, to speak from my experience. A good many women with whom I have been associated have initiated and carried forward philanthropic enterprises which were later taken over by the city and thereupon the women have been shut out from the opportunity to do the self-same work which they had done up to that time. In Chicago the women for many years supported school nurses who took care of the children, made them comfortable and kept them from truancy. When the nurses were taken over by the health department of the city the same women who had given them their support and management were excluded from doing anything more, and I think Chicago will bear me out when I say that the nurses are not now doing as good work as they did before this happened. I could also use the illustration of the probation officers who are attached to the juvenile court. For a number of years women selected and supported these probation officers. Later, when the same officers, paid the same salary, were taken over by the county and paid from the county funds, the women who had been responsible for the initiation and beginning of the probation system and for the early management of the officers, had no more to do with them and at the present moment the juvenile court has fallen behind its former position in the juvenile courts of the world. I think the fair-minded men of Chicago will admit that it was a disaster when the women were disqualified by their lack of the franchise to care for it. The juvenile court has to do largely with delinquent and dependent children and there is no doubt that on the whole women can deal with such cases better than men because their natural interests lie in that direction. I could give you many other examples.

. . . So it seems fair to say that if women are to keep on with the work which they have done since the beginning of the world—to continue with their humanitarian efforts which are so rapidly being taken over into the Government, and which when thus taken over are often not properly administered, women themselves must have the franchise. . . .

Introducing Representative Raker Miss Addams said smilingly that while the women speakers were allowed ten minutes the men were to have but five. Judge Raker of California referred to the fact that he had pledged himself to this Federal Amendment when he was first a candidate for Congress eight years before and said: "This matter, as it appears to me, has passed beyond the question of sentiment; it has passed beyond the question of advisability; it has passed beyond the question of whether or not women ought to participate in the vote for the benefit of the home or the benefit of the State. As I view it it is a clean-cut question of absolute right and upon that assumption I base my argument—that we today are depriving one-half of the intelligence, one-half of the ability of this republic from participating in public affairs and that from the economic standpoint of better laws, better homes, better government in the country, the city, the State and the nation, we need our wives', our sisters' and our mothers' votes and assistance."

"May I introduce one of my own fellow townswomen, Miss Mary E. McDowell," said Miss Addams, "who has had what I may call a distressing life in the stockyards district of Chicago for many years, and she will tell you what she thinks of the franchise for women." Miss McDowell said in part:

We are all together very human, it seems to me, both men and women, and it is because we are human, because this is a human proposition and not a woman proposition, that I am glad to speak for it and believe in it so firmly. Giving the vote to women is not simply a woman's question, it has to do with the man, the child and the home. Women have always worked but within much less than a century millions of women and girls have been thrust out of the home into a man-made world of industry and commerce. We know that in the United States over 5,500,000, according to the census of 1900, are bread winners. . . . Do we not see that the working women must be given every safeguard that workingmen have and now as they stand side by side with men in the factory and shop they must stand with them politically? The ballot may be but a

small bit of the machinery that is to lift the mass of wage-earning women up to a higher plane of self-respect and self-protection but will it not add the balance of power so much needed by the workmen in their struggle for protective legislation, which will in the end be shared by the women? Today women are cheap, unskilled labor and will be until organization and technical training and the responsibility of the vote in their hands develop a consciousness of their social value. . . .

The vote and all that it implies will awaken this sense of value. It will give to the wage-earning woman a new status in industry, for men will help to educate her when she is a political as well as an industrial co-worker. As man gave strength to the developing of the institution of the home so woman must be given the opportunity to help man humanize the State. This can be done only when she has the ballot and shares the responsibility.

Representative A. W. Lafferty of Oregon said in his brief five minutes: "I believe it is not only practicable but that it would be profitable to the United States to extend equal suffrage to men and women. We have had here this morning a practical demonstration of the ability of the women of this country to participate intelligently in the discussion of public questions. I think that we could not make a mistake in placing the ballot in the hand that rocks the cradle. Having only the best interests of this republic at heart, I believe it would be a good thing if fifty of the mothers of this country were in the House of Representatives today and I wish that at least twenty-five of them were in the Senate. You should consider, as lawyers, as statesmen and as historians that in the history of the civilized world in monarchies women have participated in the Government; it is a shame that in a republic like ours, the best form of government that has ever yet been established, women can not, under the present law, actively participate in it."

The address which Representative Edward T. Taylor put into the *Congressional Record* on this occasion was also printed in a pamphlet of forty pages and until the end of the movement for woman suffrage was a standard document for distribution by the National Association. He said in the introduction:

I want to recite in a plain, conversational way some of my personal experiences and individual observations extending over a period of thirty years of public life, during nearly nineteen years of which we have had equal suffrage in Colorado. . . .



When I came to Congress I did not realize and I have not yet been able fully to understand the deep-seated prejudice, bias and even vindictiveness against woman suffrage and the astounding amount of misinformation there is everywhere here in the East concerning its practical operation. I have been equally amazed and indignant at the many brazen assertions I have seen in the papers and heard that are perfectly absurd and without the slightest foundation in fact, and I have had many heated discussions on the subject during the past three years. When I hear men and women who have never spent a week and most of them not an hour in an equal suffrage State attempt to discuss the subject from the standpoint of their own preconceived prejudices and idle impressions, I feel like saying: "May the Lord forgive them for they know not what they do." Let me say to them and to my colleagues in the House that it will not be ten years before the women of this country from the Pacific to the Atlantic will have the just and equal rights of American citizenship.<sup>1</sup>

Since coming here I have been frequently asked by friends what we think of woman suffrage in Colorado, and when I tell them that it is an unqualified success and that I doubt if even five per cent. of the people of the State would vote to repeal it, they ask me what it has accomplished. I believe it is generally conceded by enlightened people that the laws of a State are a true index of its degree of civilization. I will, therefore, give a brief catalogue of some of the most important of the 150 legislative measures that have been either introduced by the women or at the request of the various women's organizations and enacted into law.

Then followed under the head of different years, beginning with 1893, that in which women were enfranchised, a roster of Colorado's unequalled laws. These were followed by a complete analysis of the practical working of woman suffrage during the past eighteen years, with comprehensive answers to all the stereotyped questions and objections.

Several who had addressed the Senate Committee came over to the House office building and spoke to the Judiciary Committee. Mrs. William Kent, wife of a Representative from California, was introduced by Miss Addams as one who was not a member of the House but was eligible. In the course of a winning speech she said: "The United States is committed to a democratic form of government, a government by the people. Those who do not believe in the ideals of democracy are the only ones who can consistently oppose woman suffrage. The hope of democracy is in education. There is food for thought in the

<sup>1</sup> It was eight and a half years.

fact that the early education of all the citizens is now administered by a class who have no vote. . . . Our recent California Legislature when it submitted the amendments which were to be referred to the voters on October 10 did a very sensible and intelligent thing. Speeches for and against each one of these amendments were published in a little pamphlet which was sent to every voter. One man—and he was a good man, too—who argued against woman suffrage said that women should not descend into the dirty mire of politics, that the vote would be of no value to them. In the same speech he said that the women should teach their sons the sacred duties of citizens and to hold the ballot as the most precious inheritance of every American boy. Can we really bring up our sons with a clear sense of the civic responsibility which we ourselves have not? We believe that our children need what we shall learn in becoming voters and that the State needs what we have learned in being mothers and home makers.”

“May I present next,” said Miss Addams, “Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, of New York? She has been before other Congressional committees with Miss Susan B. Anthony, who for so many years came here to present this cause. Mrs. Harper has written a history of the equal suffrage movement and a very fine biography of Miss Anthony and it is with special pleasure that I present her. She will make the constitutional argument.”

Mrs. Harper said in beginning: “This argument shall be based entirely on the Federal Constitution and the only authorities cited will be the utterances of two Presidents of the United States within the past month.” She then quoted from speeches of President Taft and former President Roosevelt extolling the Constitution as guaranteeing self-government to all the people with the right to change it when this seems necessary, and she showed the utter fallacy of this statement when applied to women. In closing she said: “Forty-three years in asking Congress for this amendment of the Federal Constitution to enfranchise women they have followed an entirely legal and constitutional method of procedure, which has been so absolutely barren of results that in the past nineteen years the committees have made no report whatever, either favorable or unfavorable. How much longer

do you expect women to treat with respect National and State constitutions and legislative bodies that stand thus an impenetrable barrier between them and their rights as citizens of the United States?" A long colloquy followed which began:

The Chairman: The committee will be very glad to have you extend your remarks to answer a question propounded by Mr. Littleton awhile ago. I wish to say that this committee, during my service on it, has always been met with this proposition when this amendment was proposed, that the States already have the authority to confer suffrage upon women, and, therefore, why is it necessary for women to wait for an amendment to the Federal Constitution when they can now go to the States and obtain this right to vote, just as the women of California did last year?

Mrs. Harper: Mr. Chairman, the women are not waiting; they are keeping right on with their efforts to get the suffrage from the States. They began in 1867 with their State campaigns and have continued them ever since, but in sending the women to the States you require them to make forty-eight campaigns and to go to the individual electors to get permission to vote. After the Civil War the Republican party with all its power and with only the northern States voting, was never able to get the suffrage for the negroes. The leaders went to State after State, even to Kansas, with its record for freeing the negroes, and every State turned down the proposition to give them suffrage. I doubt if the individual voters of many States would give the suffrage to any new class, even of men. The capitalists would not let the working people vote if they could help it, and the working people would not let the capitalists vote; Catholics would not enfranchise the Protestants and the Protestants would not give the vote to Catholics. You impose upon us an intolerable condition when you send us to the individual voters. What man on this committee would like to submit his electoral rights to the voters of New York City, for instance, representing as they do every nationality in the world? If we could secure this amendment to the Federal Constitution, then we could deal with the Legislatures, with the selected men in each State, instead of the great conglomerate of voters that we have in this country, such as does not exist in any other.

The Chairman: But if one of these suffrage resolutions should be favorably reported and both Houses of Congress should pass it of course it would be referred to the States and then before it became a law it would have to have their approval.

Mrs. Harper: Only of the Legislatures, not the individual voters.

The Chairman: You use an expression which a member of the committee has asked me to have you explain—"conglomerate of voters," which you said does not exist elsewhere. The desire is to know to whom you refer.

Mrs. Harper: I mean no disrespect to the great body of electors

in the United States but in every other country the voters are the people of its own nationality. In no other would the question have to go to the nationalities of the whole world as it would in our country. For instance, we have to submit our question to the negro and to the Indian men, when we go to the individual voters, and to the native-born Chinese and to all those men from southern Europe who are trained in the idea of woman's inferiority. You put upon us conditions which are not put upon women anywhere in the world outside the United States.

Mr. Littleton (N. Y.): You would have to convince every legislator of the fact that this amendment to the National Constitution ought to be adopted. If you could convince the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States you could get three-fourths of them to grant the suffrage itself.

Mrs. Harper: They could only grant it to the extent of sending us to the individual voters, while if this amendment were submitted by Congress and the Legislatures endorsed it we would never have to deal with the individual voters. We would not have to convince every legislator but only a majority.

Mr. Higgins (Conn.): In other words, as I understand you, you have more confidence in the Legislatures than in the composite citizenship.

Mrs. Harper: The composite male citizenship, you mean. We suppose, of course, that the Legislatures represent the picked men of the community, its intelligence, its judgment, the best that the country has. That is the supposition.

The Chairman: That supposition applies to Congress also, does it?

Mrs. Harper: In a larger degree.

Representative Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, who was out of the city, sent a statement which Miss Addams requested Mrs. Elsie Cole Phillips of Wisconsin to read to the committee. It said in part:

Woman suffrage is a necessity from both a political and an economic standpoint. We can never have democratic rule until we let the women vote. We can never have real freedom until the women are free. Women are now citizens in all but the main expression of citizenship—the exercise of the vote. They need this power to round out and complete their citizenship. . . . In political matters they have much the same interests that we men have. In State and national issues their interests differ little, if at all, from ours. In municipal questions they have an even greater interest than we have. All the complex questions of housing, schooling, policing, sanitation and kindred matters are peculiarly the interests of women as the home makers and the rearers of children. Women need and must have the ballot by which to protect their interests in these political and administrative questions.

The economic argument for woman suffrage is yet stronger. Eco-

nomics plays an increasingly important part in the lives of us all and political power is absolutely necessary to obtain for women the possibility of decent conditions of living. The low pay and the hard conditions of working women are largely due to their disenfranchisement. Skilled women who do the same work as men for lower pay could enforce, with the ballot, an equal wage rate.

The ideal woman of the man of past generations (and especially of the Germans) was the housewife, the woman who could wash, cook, scrub, knit stockings, make dresses for herself and her children and take good care of the house. That ideal has become impossible. Those good old days, if ever they were good, are gone forever. . . . Moreover, then the woman was supported by her father first and later by her husband. The situation is entirely different now. The woman has to go to work often when she is no more than fourteen years old. She surely has to go to work sometime if she belongs to the working class. She must make her own living in the factory, the store, the office, the schoolroom. She must work to support herself and often her family. The economic basis of the life of woman has changed and therefore the basis of the argument that she should not vote because she ought to stay at home and take care of her family has been destroyed. She cannot stay at home whether she wants to or not. She has acquired the economic functions of the man and she ought also to acquire the franchise.

Mr. Berger called attention to the fact that "the Socialist party ever since its origin had been steadfastly for woman suffrage and put this demand of prime importance in all its platforms everywhere." Representative Littleton made a persistent effort to ally woman suffrage with Socialism, saying that he "had noticed the identity during the past two years" and Mrs. Harper answered: "I wish to remind Mr. Littleton that the Socialist party is the only one which declares for woman suffrage and thereby gives women an opportunity to come out and stand by it. The Democratic and Republican parties do not stand for woman suffrage and that is why there seem to be more Socialist women than Republican or Democratic women. If the two old parties will declare for woman suffrage, then the women in general will show their colors."

Miss Ella C. Brehaut, member of the executive committee of the District Anti-Suffrage Association, stated that she also represented the National organization and when questioned by Representative Sterling as to the size of its membership answered: "It is too new for us to know the figures." Miss Brehaut's address filled six printed pages of the stenographic report and was an

attempt to refute all the favorable arguments that had been made and to show that not only were the suffrage leaders Socialists but "free lovers" as well. "Conservative women can see nothing but danger in woman suffrage," she concluded. Mrs. Julia T. Waterman, of the District association, sent to be put in the report a statement which filled ten pages of fine print, a full summary of the objections to woman suffrage as expressed in speeches, articles and documents of various kinds, with quotations from prominent opponents in the United States and Great Britain. It was a very complete presentation of the question.

Miss Addams in closing urged the appointment of a commission by Congress to make a thorough investigation in the States where woman suffrage was established and the chairman answered that "the committee would probably wish to take this matter under advisement in executive session." She thanked him for their courtesy and asked if the National Suffrage Association might have 10,000 copies of the hearing for distribution. This request was cheerfully granted by the committee and the chairman offered to "frank" them as a public document. [Later the committee increased the number to 16,000.]

Apparently the matter never was considered, as no report, favorable or unfavorable, ever was made by either committee. In so far as bringing the Federal Amendment before Senate or House for action was concerned the hearings might as well never have taken place, but 26,000 franked copies of the splendid arguments before the two committees went forth to accomplish the mission of educating public sentiment.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1913.

The Forty-fifth annual convention of the National American Suffrage Association met in Washington, November 29-December 5, 1913, in response to the Call of the Official Board.<sup>1</sup> The first day and evening were given to meetings of the board and committees, so that the convention really opened with a mass meeting in Columbia Theater Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock and it was cordially welcomed by District Commissioner Newman. Dr. Shaw presided and a large and interested audience heard addresses by Miss Jane Addams, State Senator Helen Ring Robinson of Colorado, Miss Margaret Hinchey, a laundry worker, and Miss Rose Winslow, a stocking weaver of New York; Miss Mary Anderson, member of the executive board of the National Boot and Shoemakers' Union, and others. It was a comparatively new thing to have women wage-earners on the woman suffrage

<sup>1</sup> Call: For the forty-fifth time in its history the National American Woman Suffrage Association summons its members together in council. By thus assembling, one more united step toward the final emancipation of the women of this country is made practicable. . . . To the wise and courageous, to those not fearful of the changes demanded by the vital needs of growing humanity, this Call will have two meanings: first, it will speak of loyalty to work and to comrade workers; of large undertakings worthily begun and to be worthily finished; of the stimulus of difficulty; of joy in the exercise of talents and strength; of the self-control and ability required for cooperation.

Second, it will express—like other summons of women to women throughout the ages—the need not alone for counsel and comfort but also for the preservation of all they hold most high—for that to which they gladly give their lives. It will speak of the struggle for development which individual women have made; of the opportunities they have won for each other; of the unequivocal demand for the best, to which the few have led the many. . . .

To you who grasp the underlying meaning of this struggle; to you who know yourselves akin to those who have preceded and to those who will follow; to you who are daily making this ideal a reality, this Call is sent.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.

JANE ADDAMS, Vice-President.

CHARLOTTE ANITA WHITNEY, Second Vice-President.

MARY WARE DENNETT, Executive Secretary.

SUSAN WALKER FITZGERALD, Recording Secretary.

KATHARINE DEXTER MCCORMICK, Treasurer.

HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW, {  
LOUISE DEKOVEN BOWEN, { Auditors.

platform and their speeches made a deep impression, as that of Miss Hinchey, for instance, who said in part:

When we went to Albany to ask for votes one member of the Legislature told us that a woman's place was at home. Another said he had too much respect and admiration for women to see them at the polls. Another went back to Ancient Rome and told a story about Cornelia and her jewels—her children. Yet in the laundries women were working seventeen and eighteen hours a day, standing over heavy machines for \$3 and \$3.50 a week. Six dollars a week is the average wage of working women in the United States. How can a woman live an honorable life on such a sum? Is it any wonder that so many of our little sisters are in the gutter? When we strike for more pay we are clubbed by the police and by thugs hired by our employers, and in the courts our word is not taken and we are sent to prison. This is the respect and admiration shown to working girls in practice. I want to tell you about Cornelia as we find her case today. The agent of the Child Labor Society made an investigation in the tenements and found mothers with their small children sitting and standing around them—standing when they were too small to see the top of the table otherwise. They were working by a kerosene lamp and breathing its odor and they were all making artificial forget-me-nots. It takes 1,620 pieces of material to make a gross of forget-me-nots and the profit is only a few cents.

Four years ago 30,000 shirtwaist girls went on strike and when we went to Mayor McClellan to ask permission for them to have a parade he said: "Thirty thousand women are of no account to me." If they had been 30,000 women with votes would he have said that? We have in New York 14,000 women over sixty-five years old who must work or starve. What is done with them when their bones give out and they cannot work any more? The police gather them up and you may then see in jail, scrubbing hard, rough concrete floors that make their knees bleed—women who have committed no crime but being old and poor. Don't take my word for it but send a committee to Blackwell's Island or the Tombs and see for yourselves. We have a few Old Ladies' Homes but with most of them it would take a piece of red tape as long as from here to New York to get in. Give us a square deal so that we may take care of ourselves.

Miss Addams devoted her address to the great change that was taking place in the conception of politics. She called attention to the practical investigations which were being made in the education of children, in immigration, in criminology, in industrial conditions, and said: "This whole new social work can be translated into political action, and, with this, politics will be transformed and women will naturally have a share in it." She



called attention to the pioneer days in various countries where women bore a full part in their hardships and to the revolutions in older countries where women fought by the side of the men, "and yet," she said, "when popular governments are established, women for considerations of expediency are left out. . . . But in the final program for social problems men and women will solve them together with ballots in the hands of both." Senator Robinson gave a keen and comprehensive account of Women as Legislators. The officers of the association held the usual Sunday evening reception to delegates and friends at Hotel Bellevue.

The 456 delegates, the largest number ever present at a convention, representing 34 States, were officially greeted Monday afternoon by Mrs. Nina Allender, president of the District of Columbia Association, and Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the National Congressional Committee. Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, president of the Alabama Suffrage Association, responded in behalf of the national body. The excellent arrangements for the convention had been made by the new Congressional Committee: Miss Paul, chairman; Miss Lucy Burns, Mrs. Mary Beard, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, who raised the funds for all its expenses, including those of the national officers, and secured hospitality for the delegates. The report of the corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, described the granting of woman suffrage by the Territorial Legislature of Alaska the preceding January and said: "The bulk of suffrage legislation this year is quite unprecedented. Bills were introduced in twenty-five Legislatures and in the U. S. Congress; bills were passed by ten Legislatures and received record-breaking votes in seven others, and for the second time in history there has been a favorable report from the Woman Suffrage Committee of the U. S. Senate. It continued:

There are three suffrage decisions on record for the year just passed—victory in Alaska and Illinois by act of the Legislature and temporary defeat in Michigan by vote of the electorate. There are four actual campaign States where the amendment will be submitted to the voters next autumn, Nevada (where the bill has passed two Legislatures), Montana, North and South Dakota; and there are three other States where initiative petitions are now in circulation and if the requisite number of signers is secured the amendment

will be submitted next autumn, Ohio, Nebraska and Missouri. Then there are three half-way campaign States where the amendment has passed one Legislature and must pass again, in which case the decision will be made by the voters in 1915—New York, Pennsylvania and Iowa, in the first two of which the amendment has the very promising advantage of having been endorsed by all parties.

The full number of twelve delegates and twelve alternates went from the National Association to the Congress of the International Alliance in Budapest last June, and there were many more applicants. . . . During the year the national president, Dr. Shaw, has spoken at many large meetings in New Hampshire, Nebraska, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Florida, Missouri, Kansas, New Jersey, Maryland, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Michigan. She also spoke in England, Holland, Germany, Austria and Hungary.

A mass meeting was held under the auspices of the association in Carnegie Hall, New York, where the international president, Mrs. Catt, and all but one of the national officers made addresses. Every ticket was sold and a good sum of money was raised. The headquarters cooperated with the New York local societies in the big suffrage benefit at the Metropolitan Opera House the night before the May parade, where a beautiful pageant was given and Theodore Roosevelt spoke. There was a capacity audience and many people were turned away. The headquarters have taken part so far as possible in all the suffrage parades; that of March 3, in Washington; those of May and November in New York and Brooklyn; that of October in Newark, New Jersey. The association was represented at the annual meeting of the House of Governors in Richmond, Va., last December by Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine, the State president, and Miss Mary Johnston, whose admirable speech was published in pamphlet form by our literature department.

The association has cooperated as fully as was possible with the Congressional Committee in all its most creditable year's work. This committee is unique in that its original members volunteered to give their services and to raise all the funds for the work themselves. Their singlemindedness and devotion have been remarkable and the whole movement in the country has been wonderfully furthered by the series of important events which have taken place in Washington, beginning with the great parade the day before the inauguration of the President. Several of the national officers have made special trips to Washington to assist at these various events—the March parade, the Senate hearing, the April 7th deputation to Congress, the July 31st Senate demonstration and the Conference of Women Voters in August. An automobile trip was made from headquarters the last week in July, with outdoor meetings held all the way to Washington, to join the other "pilgrims" who came from all over the country. Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, Miss Helen Todd, Mrs. Frances Maule Bjorkman and the corresponding secretary were the speakers for the trip.

Petitions to Congress were circulated, special letters on behalf

of the association were sent to the members of the Senate Committee before the report was made, and to the Rules Committee urging the appointment of a Woman Suffrage Committee for the House. Miss Elinor Byrns, assisted by another lawyer, Miss Helen Ranlett, has made a chart of the legislation in the suffrage States since the women have been enfranchised. A collection of all the State constitutions has been made with the sections bearing on amendments and the qualifications for voting marked and indexed.

The following telegram was sent by the National Board April 4 to Premier Asquith: "We urge that the British Government frankly acknowledge its responsibility for the present intolerable situation and remove it by introducing immediately an emergency franchise measure."

The report of Miss Byrns, chairman of the Press Committee, which filled eight printed pages, showed the usual vast amount of press work, as described in other chapters. "There now exists," she said, "a most remarkable and unprecedented demand for information about suffragists and suffrage events. We are 'news' as we have never been before. Moreover, we are not only amusing and sometimes picturesque but we are of real intellectual and political interest." Mrs. Bjorkman, editor and secretary of the Literature Committee, devoted a full report of ten pages to the recent and widely varied publications of the association, to the vastly increasing demands for these, which could not be entirely met, and to the pressing need for a properly equipped research bureau. The report of Miss Jeannette Rankin (Mont.), field secretary, told of a year of unremitting work under four heads: legislative, visiting of States, work with the Congressional Committee and special work in campaign States. Delaware, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Missouri, Nebraska and South Dakota were visited. She travelled by automobile from Montana to Washington City with petitions for the Federal Amendment, stopping at thirty-three places for meetings, and two weeks were given to interviewing Senators. Among the campaign States three weeks were spent in Saginaw, Michigan; organizing the city into wards and precincts; five in North Dakota and the rest of the time in Montana, organizing, arranging work at State and county fairs, visiting State Central Committees and State Federations of Women's Clubs.

Among the recommendations presented from the board and

adopted were two of prime importance: 1. That in order that the convention may give its support to the Federal Amendment before Congress, it shall instruct the affiliated organizations to carry on as active a campaign as possible in their respective States and to see that all candidates for Congress be pledged to woman suffrage before the next election. 2. That the convention endorse the Suffrage School as a method of work and the National Association offer to organize and send out a traveling school when requested by six or more States, provided they agree to share the expense. To the Official Board was referred the question of appointing a committee to devise and put into operation a scheme for establishing more definite connection between the enfranchised women of the States and the National Association.

After all the years of patient effort to persuade Legislatures to grant Presidential suffrage to women under the inspiration of Henry B. Blackwell, chairman of the committee, his successor, Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, could announce the first success and she emphasized the important bearing which this and others would have on securing a Federal Amendment. Her report said:

The extraordinary victory in Illinois has emphasized the fact, not duly apprehended hitherto, that State Legislatures have power to grant Presidential suffrage to women. No man derives his right to vote for presidential electors from the constitution of his State but the U. S. Constitution delegates the power and duty to qualify citizens to vote for them to the Legislatures, in the first section of Article II, in these words: "Each State shall appoint in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress." Probably U. S. Senator George F. Hoar was the first to discover that this power given to Legislatures involved the possibility of the enfranchisement of women for presidential electors.

The conspicuous position that women suddenly attained in American politics in 1912 was due to the fact that in six States women were able to determine the choice of thirty-seven presidential electors. The large interests involved in a presidential administration, among which are 300,000 offices of honor and emolument, cause keen political concern from the fact that women voters may hold the balance of power in a close election. The whole number of electoral votes in the nine States where women now have full suffrage is fifty-four. These were attained by campaigns for constitutional amendments that involved vast outlay of time and treasure. Simply by act of Legislature, Illinois has added twenty-nine to the list, an increase

of over thirty-three per cent., thus bringing an incalculable influence and power into the arena of national politics. . . .

Mrs. Mary E. Craigie made her usual report of the excellent work done by her Church Committee. She gave a list of the Catholic clergy who had declared in favor of woman suffrage and told of the cordial assent by those of other denominations to include it in their sermons on Mother's Day. She named some of the many questions of social reform to which pulpits were freely opened—temperance, child labor, pure food, the white slave traffic and others—and asked: "Why does not woman suffrage, the reform that would bring two-thirds more power to all such movements, receive the same cooperation and support from the churches? The answer plainly is: Because of the apathy of women in demanding it."

The changing character of the national suffrage conventions is illustrated by the reports in the *Woman's Journal*, whose editors had for a generation collected and preserved in its pages the unsurpassed addresses which had delighted audiences and inspired workers. As the practical work of the association increased and spread throughout the different States, more and more of the time of the conventions had to be given to reports and details of business and the number of speeches constantly lessened. The first evening of the convention was devoted to the victory in Illinois, with delightful addresses by Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, long the State president, who twenty years before had discovered the loophole in the Illinois constitution by which the Legislature itself could grant a large measure of suffrage to women and had tried to obtain the law that had just been gained; by Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, another president, who had carried on this work; and by Mesdames Ruth Hanna McCormick, Grace Wilbur Trout, Antoinette Funk and Elizabeth K. Booth, the famous quartette of younger workers, who had finally succeeded with a progressive Legislature. As there was no representative from far-off Alaska, Dr. Shaw told how its Legislature had given full suffrage to women. [See Illinois and Alaska chapters.] Miss Lucy Burns gave a clear analysis of the situation in regard to the Federal Suffrage Amendment and the evening closed with one of Dr. Shaw's piquant addresses, which began: "I know the

objections to woman suffrage but I have never met any one who pretended to know any reasons against it," and she closed with a flash of the humor for which she was noted:

By some objectors women are supposed to be unfit to vote because they are hysterical and emotional and of course men would not like to have emotion enter into a political campaign. They want to cut out all emotion and so they would like to cut us out. I had heard so much about our emotionalism that I went to the last Democratic national convention, held at Baltimore, to observe the calm repose of the male politicians. I saw some men take a picture of one gentleman whom they wanted elected and it was so big they had to walk sidewise as they carried it forward; they were followed by hundreds of other men screaming and yelling, shouting and singing the "Houn' Dawg"; then, when there was a lull, another set of men would start forward under another man's picture, not to be outdone by the "Houn' Dawg" melody, whooping and howling still louder. I saw men jump up on the seats and throw their hats in the air and shout: "What's the matter with Champ Clark?" Then, when those hats came down, other men would kick them back into the air, shouting at the top of their voices: "He's all right!" Then I heard others howling for "Underwood, Underwood, first, last and all the time!" No hysteria about it—just patriotic loyalty, splendid manly devotion to principle. And so they went on and on until 5 o'clock in the morning—the whole night long. I saw men jump up on their seats and jump down again and run around in a ring. I saw two men run towards another man to hug him both at once and they split his coat up the middle of his back and sent him spinning around like a wheel. All this with the perfect poise of the legal male mind in politics!

I have been to many women's conventions in my day but I never saw a woman leap up on a chair and take off her bonnet and toss it up in the air and shout: "What's the matter with" somebody. I never saw a woman knock another woman's bonnet off her head as she screamed: "She's all right!" I never heard a body of women whooping and yelling for five minutes when somebody's name was mentioned in the convention. But we are willing to admit that we are emotional. I have actually seen women stand up and wave their handkerchiefs. I have even seen them take hold of hands and sing, "Blest be the tie that binds." Nobody denies that women are excitable. Still, when I hear how emotional and how excitable we are, I cannot help seeing in my mind's eye the fine repose and dignity of this Baltimore and other political conventions I have attended!

One evening session was devoted to Women and Children and the Courts. Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen of Chicago presided and made a stirring plea for better conditions in the courts of the large cities. She told of the outrageous treatment of women and

urged the need of women police, women judges and women jurors. "From the time of the arrest of a woman to the final disposition of her case," Mrs. Bowen said, "she is handicapped by being in charge of and surrounded by men, who cannot be expected to be as understanding and considerate as those of her own sex. The police stations in most of our cities are not fit for human beings." Judge of the Juvenile Court Julian Mack of Chicago described its methods and their results; and Justice Harry Olsen of the Court of Domestic Relations and the Court of Morals, gave an illuminating address on its functions and their results; Miss Maude Miner of New York spoke from experience of the Women's Night Court and the Work of a Probation Officer. The delegates were deeply moved and determined to investigate and improve the conditions in their own localities.

There had for some time been need of revising the constitution to meet new requirements and a revision committee had been appointed the preceding year with Mrs. Catt chairman, but as she had been in Europe her place had been taken by Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees (Conn.), who was assisted by attorneys Helen Hoy Greeley and Jessie Ashley. The discussion was as long and earnest as if the fate of nations were involved but the principal changes adopted concerned representation, dues, assessments, methods of election and similar details. The report of Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick, treasurer, showed the total receipts of the year to be \$42,723; disbursements, \$42,542; balance on hand from preceding year, \$2,874. A carefully prepared "budget" of \$42,000 was presented to the convention and quickly oversubscribed. The legal adviser, Miss Mary Rutter Towle (D. C.), reported two lawsuits in progress to secure legacies that had been left the association, the usual fate that attended similar bequests. The literature had become so large a feature that it was decided to form a company to publish it. Mrs. Raymond Brown, president of the New York State Suffrage Association, proposed a corporation with a capital stock of \$50,000, of which \$26,000 should be held by the National American Association, the rest sold at \$10 a share. The first \$10,000 were at once subscribed and later the Woman Suffrage Publishing Company was organized with Mrs. Cyrus W. Field president.

The election took place under the new primary system and required two days for completion. The only change was the electing of Mrs. Desha Breckinridge second and Miss Ruutz-Rees third vice-presidents. The majorities for most of the officers were very large. The report of the delegates to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Budapest was made by Mrs. Anna O. Weeks (N. Y.). The demand for congressional documents, hearings, speeches, etc., had become so extensive that Mrs. Helen H. Gardener (D. C.) had been appointed to report in regard to it and she shed a good deal of light on the subject. She showed that some documents are free for distribution and some have to be paid for. Hearings are usually limited to a small number but the committee strains a point for those on woman suffrage and prints about 10,000, which may be had without charge. If a member is kind enough to "frank" them nothing else must be put in the envelope under penalty of a \$300 fine. If more are wanted they must be ordered in 5,000 lots and a member can get a reduced rate, but, while he is always willing to pay the Government for printing his speech, those who want it for their own purposes should send the money for it. The speech of Representative Edward T. Taylor of Colorado in 1912 was cited as an example, of which the suffragists circulated 300,000 copies.

The resolutions presented by Mrs. Helen Brewster Owens (N. Y.), chairman, were brief and to the point. They called on the Senate to pass immediately the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the National Constitution, which had been favorably reported; they urged President Wilson to adopt the submission of this amendment as an administration measure and to recommend it in his Message; they urged the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives to report favorably the proposition to create a Committee on Woman Suffrage; and they demanded legislation by Congress to protect the nationality of American women who married aliens.

Strong pressure had been made on the President to mention woman suffrage in his Message, his first to a regular session of Congress, but it was delivered on Tuesday, December 2, with no reference whatever to the subject. At the meeting of the convention that evening Dr. Shaw said with the manifest approval



of the audience: "President Wilson had the opportunity of speaking a word which might ultimately lead to the enfranchisement of a large part of the citizens of the United States. Even Lincoln, who by a word freed a race, had not such an opportunity to release from bonds one-half of the human family. I feel that I must make this statement as broad as it is for the reason that we at Budapest this year realized as never before that woman-kind throughout the world looked to this country to blaze the way for the extension of universal suffrage in every quarter of the globe. President Wilson has missed the one thing that might have made it possible for him never to be forgotten. I am saying this on behalf of myself and my fellow officers."

The next morning Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick, a clever politician like her father, Mark Hanna, offered the following motion: "Since President Wilson omitted all mention of woman suffrage in his Message yesterday, and since he has announced that he will send several other messages to Congress outlining the measures which the administration will support, I move that this convention wait upon the President in order to lay before him the importance of the woman suffrage question and urge him to make it an administration measure and to send immediately to Congress the recommendation that it proceed with this measure before any other. I also move that a committee of two be appointed to make the arrangements with the President." The motion was unanimously carried and the Chair appointed Mrs. McCormick (Ills.) and Mrs. Breckinridge (Ky.) to arrange for the interview and for a committee of fifty-five, representing all the associations auxiliary to the National, to wait upon the President at his pleasure. To finish the story here—he expressed entire willingness to receive them but was not well enough to do so during the convention. Nearly a hundred of the delegates waited until the next Monday, December 8, when they met in the rooms of their Congressional Committee, a few blocks from the White House and marched two by two to the executive offices, attracting much attention, as this was the first time a President had ever received a woman suffrage delegation officially.<sup>1</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> The first delegation received by President Wilson after his inauguration was a group of eight or ten suffragists. It was arranged by Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National Suffrage Association. They stated their case in a

met them cordially and gave them as much time as they desired. Dr. Shaw spoke as follows:

As president of the National Suffrage Association I have come with this delegation, authorized by the association, to present to you the object for which we are organized—to secure equal suffrage for the women citizens of the United States. We have made these pilgrimages to Washington for many, many years and committees have received us with graciousness and have listened to our arguments, but the difficulty is that they have not permitted our claims to come before Congress, so that body itself might act upon them. Our wish is that we may have a national constitutional amendment, enfranchising the women citizens and preventing the States from depriving them of representation in the Government. Since the Judiciary Committee has not reported our measure for many years and has not given the House an opportunity to discuss it we have asked that a special committee shall be appointed to consider it. The Senate some years ago did appoint a special committee and our question has been referred to it. We have appeared before it this year and it has again reported favorably. We hope that the administration of which you are the head may use its influence to bring the matter before the Senate and House.

We ask your assistance in one of two ways or in any other way which may appeal to your judgment: First of all that you shall send a special message to Congress to submit to the Legislatures of the States an amendment to the National Constitution enfranchising women citizens of the United States; if, however, this does not appeal to you, we ask that you will use the administration's influence on the Rules Committee to recommend the appointment in the Lower House of a committee corresponding with the Suffrage Committee in the Upper House, one which will have leisure to consider our subject and report on it.

We appeal to you in behalf of the women citizens of the country. Many of them have cast their ballots for the President already and have an influence in the Government; many are very eager to take an equal part and they appreciate the just manner in which since your administration began you have weighed public questions. Recognizing your splendid stand on the liberties and rights of the people, we appeal to you because we believe you will bring to ours that same spirit of justice which you have manifested toward other great issues.

The President gave close attention and in his answer seemed to weigh every word carefully:

I want you ladies, if I can make it clear to you, to realize just what my present situation is. Whenever I walk abroad I realize

few words and quoted freely from his book, *The New Freedom*. The President was very courteous but his attitude was one of amused curiosity.

that I am not a free man; I am under arrest. I am so carefully and admirably guarded that I have not even the privilege of walking the streets alone. That is, as it were, typical of my present transference—from being an individual, free to express his mind on any and every subject, to being an official of a great government and incidentally, or so it falls out under the system of government, the spokesman of a party. I set myself this very strict rule when I was Governor of New Jersey and have followed and shall follow it as President—that I am not at liberty to urge upon Congress in messages policies which have not had the organic consideration of those for whom I am spokesman. In other words I have not yet presented to any Legislature my private views on any subject and I never shall, because I conceive it to be part of the whole process of government that I shall be spokesman for somebody, not for myself. To speak for myself would be an impertinence. When I speak for myself I am an individual; when I am spokesman of an organic body, I am a representative. For that reason, you see, I am by my own principles shut out, in the language of the street, from “starting anything.” I have to confine myself to those things which have been embodied as promises to the people at an election. That is the strict rule I set for myself.

I want to say that with regard to all other matters I am not only glad to be consulted by my colleagues in the two Houses but I hope they will often pay me the compliment of consulting me when they want to know my opinion on any subject. One member of the Rules Committee did come to me and ask me what I thought about this suggestion of yours of appointing a Special Committee for the consideration of woman suffrage and I told him that I thought it was a proper thing to do. So that, so far as my personal advice has been asked by a single member of the committee it has been given to that effect. I wanted to tell you this to show that I am strictly living up to my principles. When my private opinion is asked by those who are cooperating with me, I am most glad to give it, but I am not at liberty until I speak for somebody besides myself to urge legislation upon the Congress.

The following conversation then took place: “May I ask you a question?” said Dr. Shaw. “Since we are not members of any political party, who is going to speak for us—there is no one to speak for us——” “I realize that,” interjected the President, “——unless we speak for ourselves?” “And you do that very admirably,” rejoined Mr. Wilson. A general laugh broke up the somewhat solemn occasion and as the delegates went away Dr. Shaw said exultingly: “He is in favor of a House Woman Suffrage Committee and that was our chief object in coming to see him.”

An interesting evening's program had been prepared under the auspices of the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage with addresses by seven or eight Senators and Representatives, all staunch supporters of the "cause," but all were prevented from coming by one reason or another except Representatives J. W. Bryan of Washington and Victor Murdock of Kansas. They made up for all failures, however, by their strong arguments. James Lees Laidlaw of New York, president of the league, gave a dignified, earnest address and the Hon. Gifford Pinchot made a logical and unanswerable demand for the enfranchisement of women because of the nation's great need for their votes.

An excellent report was presented at this time by Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Committee. From the founding of the National Association in 1869 prominent representatives had appeared before committees of every Congress and during many winters Miss Susan B. Anthony had remained in Washington until she obtained a report from these committees, but after she ceased to do this, although the hearings were still granted, nobody made it an especial business to see that the committees made reports and so none was made and action by Congress seemed very remote. In 1910, when the movement entered a new era, the association appointed a special Congressional Committee to look after this matter. By the time of the convention of 1911 the two great victories in Washington and California had been gained and the prospect of a Federal Amendment began to grow brighter. A large committee was appointed consisting chiefly of the wives of Senators and Representatives with Mrs. William Kent (Calif.) chairman. No busier women could have been selected and beyond making excellent arrangements for the hearings, the committee was not active. In 1912, when Kansas, Oregon and Arizona enfranchised women, the whole country awoke to the fact that the turning point had been reached and universal woman suffrage through an amendment to the Federal Constitution was inevitable.

At this time Miss Paul and Miss Burns returned from England, where they had been studying and doing social welfare work and had been caught in the maelstrom of the "militant" suffrage movement, then at its height. Both had taken part in demonstra-

tions before the House of Commons and been sent to prison and they came back to the United States filled with zeal to inaugurate a campaign of "militancy" here. The idea was coldly received by the suffrage leaders and they modified it to the extent of asking the National Association to cooperate in organizing a great suffrage parade to take place in Washington the day before the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson. Dr. Shaw had seen and taken part in such parades in London and was favorably inclined to the project. She put Miss Paul at the head of the Congressional Committee with power to choose the other members to organize the parade, with the proviso that they must themselves raise all the money for it but they could have the authority of the National Association letterheads. Headquarters were opened in a basement on F Street near the New Willard Hotel in Washington. They displayed astonishing executive ability, gathered about them a small army of women and during the next twelve months raised \$27,378, the larger part of it in Washington and most of the remainder in Philadelphia. The parade was long, beautiful and impressive, women from many States participating. The report of the Congressional Committee presented to the convention by Miss Paul slightly condensed, read as follows:

#### Work for Federal Amendment:

Headquarters were opened in Washington, Jan. 2, 1913.

Hearings were arranged before the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate; before the Rules Committee of the House, when members of the National Council of Women Voters were the speakers; before the Rules Committee during the present convention.

Processions: March 3, when from 8,000 to 10,000 women participated; April 7, when women from congressional districts went to Congress with petitions and resolutions; July 31, when an automobile procession met the "pilgrims" at the end of their "hike" and escorted them through the streets of Washington to the Senate. This procession was headed by an automobile in which rode several of the Suffrage Committee of the Senate.

Pilgrimages coming from all parts of the country and extending over the month of July were organized, about twelve. These all ended in Washington on July 31, when approximately 200,000 signatures to petitions were presented to the Senate.

Deputations: Three deputations to the President were organized immediately preceding the calling of the special session of Congress in order to ask him to give the administration support to the suffrage amendment during the special session. One of these was

from the National Association, one from the College Suffrage League and one from the National Council of Women Voters. On November 17 a fourth deputation, composed of seventy-three women from New Jersey, was sent to the President to urge him to take up the amendment during the regular session of Congress.

Local arrangements were made for the conventions of the National Council of Women Voters and the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

A campaign under a salaried organizer was conducted through the resort regions of New Jersey, Long Island and Rhode Island during July, August and September; and one through New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland during July. A month's campaign was carried on in North Carolina. On September 1 permanent headquarters were opened in Wilmington in charge of a salaried organizer and since that time a vigorous campaign has been carried on in Delaware in the attempt to influence the attitude of the Senators and Representatives from that State.

A salaried press chairman has been employed throughout the year, who has furnished daily press copy to the local papers, to the Washington correspondents of the various papers throughout the country and to all of the telegraphic bureaus in Washington. Approximately 120,000 pieces of literature have been printed and distributed. A weekly paper under the editorship of Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr was established on November 15. This now has a paid circulation of about 1,200 and is self-supporting from its advertisements.

A Men's League was organized, General Anson Mills, U. S. A., being the temporary and Dr. Harvey W. Wiley the permanent chairman. A large number of Congressmen are members.

Eight theater meetings, exclusive of those during this convention, have been held in Washington. Smaller meetings both indoor and out have been held almost daily and frequently as many as five or ten a day. A tableau was presented on the Treasury steps at the time of the suffrage procession of March 3 under the direction of Miss Hazel Mackaye. A suffrage play was given, also two banquets, a reception and a luncheon, and a benefit and a luncheon were given for the purpose of raising funds.

A delegation in two special cars went to New York for the procession of May 3. An even larger delegation went to Baltimore for the procession of May 31. The play given in Washington was reproduced in Baltimore for the benefit of one of the suffrage societies there. A week's campaign was conducted in the four southern counties of Maryland prior to the primary election, at the request of one of the State's societies.

The Congressional Union was formed during the latter part of April and now numbers over a thousand members.

### Congressional Work.

Senate and House Joint Resolution Number One for Federal Amendment introduced in Congress April 7, 1913.

Woman Suffrage Committee of Senate voted on May 14 to report the resolution favorably and did so unanimously, one not voting. On July 31 twenty-two Senators spoke in favor of the resolution and three against it. On September 18 Senator Andrieus Jones (N. M.) spoke in favor and asked for immediate action. On the same day Senator Henry F. Ashurst (Ariz.) announced on the floor of the Senate that he would press the measure to a vote at the earliest possible moment.

Three resolutions were introduced in the House for the creation of a Woman Suffrage Committee and referred to the Rules Committee and are still before it.

The amendment resolution is awaiting third reading in the Senate and is before the Judiciary Committee of the House.

The action of the Senate was due to the fact that under the new administration a committee had been appointed which was favorable to woman suffrage instead of one opposed as heretofore, with a chairman, Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado, who had helped the women of his own State to secure the suffrage twenty years before. The resolutions in the Lower House were introduced by old and tried friends and the association's new Congressional Committee had arranged hearings, brought pressure to bear on members and not permitted them to forget or ignore the question. Miss Agnes E. Ryan, business manager of the *Woman's Journal*, said in her account: "The convention received the report with enthusiastic applause, giving three cheers and rising to its feet to show its appreciation."

This report was signed by Miss Paul as "chairman of the Congressional Committee and president of the Congressional Union" and she said at the beginning that it was impossible to separate the work of the two. At its conclusion Mrs. Catt moved that the part of the report as from the Congressional Committee be accepted, which was done by the convention. She then asked what was the relation between the two and why, if this was a regular committee of the National American Association, no appropriation had been made for its work during the coming year and why there was no statement in the treasurer's report of its expenditures during the past year. It developed that the committee had raised and expended its own funds, which had not passed through the national treasury, and that the Congressional Union was a society formed the preceding April to assist the work

of the committee. It was moved by Mrs. Catt and carried that the convention request the Official Board to continue the Congressional Committee and to cooperate with it in such a way as to remove further causes of embarrassment to the association. The motion was amended that the board should appropriate what money could be spared for the work of this committee.<sup>1</sup>

The movement for woman suffrage was now so plainly centering in Congress, which had been the goal for over forty years, that there was a widespread feeling that the national headquarters should be established in Washington. Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, a delegate from New York, through whose generosity it had been possible to take them to that city in 1909, offered a motion that they now be removed to Washington. She had given notice of this action the preceding day and the opponents were prepared. A motion to lay it on the table was quickly made and all discussion cut off. The opposition of the national officers was so apparent that many delegates hesitated to express their convictions for the affirmative but nevertheless the vote stood 134 ayes, and 169 noes.

The National Association had now so many auxiliaries and so much work was being done in all the States that the day sessions were largely consumed in hearing reports from them and the usual conferences and symposiums were almost crowded off the program. For the first time Hawaii took her place among the auxiliaries, a suffrage society having been formed there during

<sup>1</sup> When the board met after the convention it was disclosed that the Congressional Union, instead of being merely a local society to assist the committee in its efforts with Congress, as Miss Paul had said, was a national organization to work for the Federal Amendment. That is, it was to duplicate the work which the National Association had been formed to do in 1869 and had brought to its present advanced stage. The association's letterheads had been used for this purpose and persons from all parts of the country had sent their names and money, many supposing they were assisting the National Association. Miss Paul had been obtaining names for membership in the Union during all the sessions of the convention. The board decided that there must be complete separation of the work of the committee and the Union; that the same person could not be at the head of both and that the plans of the Union must be regularly submitted to the Board. Miss Paul refused to accept these conditions and she was at once relieved from the chairmanship of the Congressional Committee and the other members resigned. The Union was continued as a separate organization. Another committee was appointed by the National American Association consisting of Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick, chairman; Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Mrs. Sherman Booth, all of Illinois, Mrs. Desha Breckinridge (Ky.), Mrs. Helen H. Gardener (D. C.), Mrs. H. Edward Dreier (N. Y.), Mrs. James Tucker (Calif.). Headquarters were opened in the Munsey Building, Washington, with the Illinois women in charge.



the year. At one of the morning sessions U. S. Senator Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota was presented to the convention and extended a pressing invitation to hold its next meeting in St. Paul. Later this invitation was repeated in a cordial invitation from Governor Adolph O. Eberhard. At another morning session Representative Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee addressed the convention and invited it to meet in Chattanooga the next year. The last evening there was not standing room in the large theater. Miss Harriet May Mills, president of the New York State Suffrage Association, took for her subject A Prophecy Fulfilled and gave convincing reasons for believing that the successful end of the long contest was near. Mrs. Katharine Houghton Hepburn made a strong arraignment of Commercialized Vice, using her own city of Hartford, Conn., for an example. Mrs. Catt gave the last address, a comprehensive review of the advanced position that had been attained by women and the great responsibilities it had brought. Dr. Shaw, who presided, spoke the final inspiring words.

A delightful ending of the week was the reception the last afternoon in the hospitable home of Senator and Mrs. Robert M. LaFollette. Three members of the Cabinet were among the guests, Secretaries Lane, Houston and Daniels. Those in the receiving line were: Senator and Mrs. LaFollette, Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt; also Mrs. Franklin K. Lane, Mrs. Josephus Daniels, Mrs. Albert Sidney Burleson, Mrs. David Franklin Houston, Mrs. Miles Poindexter, Mrs. Reed Smoot, Mrs. Victor Murdock, Mrs. Wm. L. LaFollette, Mrs. J. W. Bryan, Mrs. John E. Raker, Mrs. James A. Frear, Mrs. Henry T. Rainey, Mrs. Albert B. Cummins, Mrs. John D. Works and Mrs. William Kent, all members of the Cabinet and Congressional circles, and the husbands of most of them were present. To the older members of the association it recalled the conventions of olden times when even the wives of members of Congress, with a few rare exceptions, feared to attend the social functions lest it might injure the political status of their husbands.

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The Senate committee of the Sixty-third Congress had already granted three hearings on woman suffrage during its extra ses-

sion: on April 10, 1913, to representatives of the Anti-Suffrage Association; on April 21 to those of the Federal Women's Equality Association and on April 26 to those of the National American Suffrage Association. This new committee, which the advocates of the Federal Suffrage Amendment will always remember with deep appreciation for its firm and favorable action, consisted of the following Senators: Charles S. Thomas (Colo.), chairman; Robert L. Owen (Okla.); Henry F. Ashurst (Ariz.); Joseph E. Ransdell (La.); Henry P. Hollis (N. H.); George Sutherland (Utah); Wesley L. Jones (Wash.); Moses E. Clapp (Minn.); Thomas B. Catron (N. M.). The last named was an opponent of woman suffrage by any method and was the only member who did not sign the favorable report. Senator Ransdell at first said that he had an open mind but he soon placed himself on the suffrage side, signed the report and later voted several times in favor of the amendment.

The immediate object of the National American Association at the present moment was to secure a Committee on Woman Suffrage in the Lower House such as had long existed in the Senate. A resolution to create such a committee had been introduced April 7 by Edward T. Taylor (Colo.) and referred to the Committee on Rules. The hearing at the regular session during this convention, therefore, was before this committee, which would have to recommend the Woman Suffrage Committee to the House, and it was set for 10:30 A.M., December 3. As soon as the application was made the National Anti-Suffrage Association also asked to be heard, and Chairman Henry, who was opposed to the proposed new committee and to woman suffrage, announced that he proposed to allow both sides all the time they wanted. The leaders of the National Suffrage Association stated that they would ask for only the usual two hours and would not discuss the general question of woman suffrage but only the need of a special committee. Their arguments were concluded at the morning session. The "antis" began after luncheon with massed forces and talked the entire afternoon and all of the next day and part of the third, covering the whole subject of woman suffrage, with the appointment of the committee only one feature of it. Several of their men speakers consumed nearly an hour

each and were repeatedly requested by the chairman to face the committee instead of the audience, which filled the largest room in the House office building. The first morning all of the committee were present but they gradually dwindled until during the latter part of the "antis" arguments only two or three were in their seats, not including the chairman.<sup>1</sup> Only limited extracts of the speeches are possible. Dr. Shaw presided and said:

Our purpose in coming before you this morning is not to make any attempt whatever to convert the members of the Rules Committee, if they should need converting, to the democratic principle of the right of the people to have a voice in their own government. It is to ask you to appoint a committee in the House on woman suffrage, which corresponds with the one in the Senate, in order that we may have hearings before a committee which is not so burdened with other business as is the Committee on the Judiciary. . . . It seems to the women of the United States that a question of so much importance that the parliaments of Europe feel under obligations to discuss and act upon it, is at least of sufficient importance in this great republic of ours for the committee which has it under consideration to take time for a report. Year after year we have asked the Judiciary Committee not that they should believe in woman suffrage or express any opinion on it but only to report the measure either favorably or unfavorably so as to bring it before the House, in order that the representatives of the men of this country might be able to consider it, but thus far it has been impossible to secure any sort of a report. . . .

Mrs. Helen H. Gardener (D. C.), after showing that woman suffrage was a mere side issue with the Judiciary Committee and that it would be busier than ever the coming session, said: "Those of us who live here and have known Congress from our childhood know that an outside matter has less chance to get any real consideration by such a committee under such conditions than the proverbial rich man has of entering the kingdom of heaven." She pointed out that over one-fifth of the Senate and one-seventh of the House were elected by the votes of women and continued:

You will remember that there is a committee on Indian Affairs. Are the Indians more important than the women of America? They did not always have a special committee, they used to be a mere incident, as we now are. They used to be under the War Depart-

<sup>1</sup> Robert L. Henry (Tex.), Chairman; Edward W. Pou (N. C.); Thomas W. Hardwick (Ga.); Finis J. Garrett (Tenn.); Martin D. Foster (Ills.); James C. Cantrill (Ky.); Henry W. Goldfogle (N. Y.); Philip P. Campbell (Kans.); Irvine L. Lenroot (Wis.); Edwin A. Merritt, Jr. (N. Y.); M. Clyde Kelly (Penn.).

ment and so long as this was the case nobody ever doubted for an instant that the "only good Indian was a dead Indian"—just as under the incidental administration of the Judiciary Committee it is not doubted by some that the only good woman is a voteless woman. When the Indians secured a committee of their own they began to get schools, lands in severalty and the general status of human beings. . . . It became the duty of that committee to investigate the real conditions, the needs, the grievances and the best methods of promoting the interests of the Indians. That was the beginning of the end of Indian wars; the first hope of a possibility—previously sneered at—of making real and useful citizens of this race of men who now have Representatives in Congress. It was precisely the same with our island possessions, only in this case we had profited by our experience with Indian and labor problems, and it did not take so long to realize that a committee whose duty it should be to utilize, develop and conserve the best interests of these new charges of our Government and to develop them toward citizenship as rapidly as possible was the safe and sane method of procedure. . . .

We want such a committee on woman suffrage in the House. We do not ask you to appoint a partisan committee but only one open-minded and honest, which will really investigate and understand the question, its workings where it is in effect—a committee which will not accept wild statements as facts, which will hear and weigh that which comes from the side of progress and change as well as that which is static or reactionary. . . . The recommendation that we have such a committee does not in any way commit you to the adoption of a belief in the principle of self-government for women. This is not much to ask and it is not much to give, nor will it be needed for very many more years.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper was introduced as one of the authors of the four-volume *History of Woman Suffrage* and the biographer of Susan B. Anthony and began: "This is not the time or place to enter into an argument on the merits or demerits of woman suffrage and we shall use the valuable hours you have so graciously accorded us simply to ask that you will give us a committee of our very own, before which we may feel that we have a right to discuss this question. In making this request we ask you to decide, first, whether the issue of woman suffrage is sufficiently national in its character to justify a special committee for its consideration; second, whether it has been so fairly treated by the committee which has had it in charge for forty-four years that another is not necessary; and, third, whether justice requires that it should come under the jurisdiction of Congress."

The national status of the woman suffrage movement was

sketched and then the question asked: "Has the treatment of this subject by the committee to which it has always been referred been such as to warrant a continuance of this custom?" which she answered by saying:

The National Woman Suffrage Association was formed in 1869 for the express purpose of obtaining an amendment to the Federal Constitution. Its representatives went before the congressional committees that year and have continued to do so at each new Congress since that time, never having been refused a hearing. At the beginning of 1882 both Senate and House created special Woman Suffrage Committees. The Senate has continuously maintained this committee, but in 1884 the House declined to renew it by a vote of 124 nays, 85 yeas; 112 not voting. The debate was long and heated and almost wholly on the question of woman suffrage itself. Thenceforth the women appeared before the House Judiciary Committee, which, although busy and overworked, had always a good representation present and was respectful and often cordial.

The ablest women this country has produced have appeared before this committee. . . . Repeatedly the eminent members of this Judiciary Committee have said that no hearings before them were conducted with such dignity and ability as those of the advocates of woman suffrage. And what is the result? Six reports in forty-four years and five of these unfavorable! Does the record end here? No; for there has been no report of any kind since 1894. For the last twenty years the women of this nation have made an annual pilgrimage to Washington to plead their cause before a committee which has forgotten their existence as soon as they were out of sight. . . . Gentlemen of the Committee on Rules, will you not give to women a committee of their own that will not ignore them for half a century? . . .

The entire status of woman has changed since the Federal Constitution was framed, and ethical and social questions have entered into politics which could not have been foreseen. It is inevitable that this Constitution must occasionally be amended to meet new conditions, while leaving its fundamental and vital provisions undisturbed. The advocates of woman suffrage believe that it should now be changed so as to give a voice in governmental affairs to a half of the people which has become an important factor in the public life of the nation. By the only means now available the half which possesses the ballot has the absolute authority over its further extension and no ruling class likes to divide its power. State rights are desirable to a very large extent when all the people of the State have a voice, but it is not in harmony with the spirit of our republic that one half of the citizens of a State should have complete power over the political liberty of the other half.

Instance after instance was given from different States showing how this power had been abused after the women had strug-

gled long and heroically for even a partial franchise and the speaker concluded: "Women have been defeated over twenty times in the strongest campaigns they were able to make for full-suffrage amendments to State constitutions. From 1896 to 1910 they were not once successful. Sometimes they were sold out by the party 'machines' at the last moment; sometimes they were counted out after they had really secured a majority; but, whatever the reason, they lost. The victories of the last three years may be cited as evidence that henceforth they will succeed. Those victories were largely due to political conditions which do not exist in many other States and against them must be set the crushing defeats these same years in Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan, where the woman suffrage amendment was fought by every vicious interest which menaces the body politic. . . ."

Miss Jane Addams was presented by Dr. Shaw as one who did not need to be introduced to any civilized being, "not because of any political agitation by her but for the service she has rendered humanity, one which is distinctly woman's service, and she long ago came to realize that it was impossible to do this work as it should be done unless she and the women associated with her had the ballot." Miss Addams referred to a committee hearing once before when she was able to give but one precedent for the jurisdiction of Congress over the franchise—the 15th Amendment—but now, she said, she could give nine more. She cited the case of the Indians, the Confederate soldiers, foreigners who fought in the Civil War, naturalized foreigners, Federal prisoners, American women marrying aliens, election of U. S. Senators, etc. Each point brought questions or objections from the committee and the discussion was very interesting.

Members of the committee asked Dr. Shaw if the association would be willing to have the matter of a Federal Suffrage Amendment referred to the Committee on Election of President, Vice-President and Representatives in Congress but after consultation with members of her board it was decided to stand for a special committee. Mrs. Desha Breckinridge was introduced as the great granddaughter of Henry Clay and in the course of a speech worthy of her ancestry she recalled the early history of Kentucky, the part of her grandfather in preserving the Union, the fact that

the State had not maintained its prestige and that if this was to be regained the women must be permitted to help and said :

I do not feel that I am doing any injustice to the men of my State in asking this Federal Amendment, in asking the help of the Congress of the United States. Some years ago, after we had worked for our School-suffrage law at three sessions of the Legislature and had at last gotten it past the House and up to the Senate, only three days before adjournment a letter was sent to the members by the German-American Alliance, calling upon the men of Kentucky to protect the homes and womanhood of the State by defeating it and saying that the Alliance believed the home was the sphere for women. When we investigated we found that the German-American Alliance was the brewers' alliance, with headquarters at Louisville. . . . I would suggest to the men of this committee, who I understand are mostly southern, that if they object to having the suffrage for women forced upon them by the U. S. Government, there is still time in which they may go home and get it for their women in the States.

Representative John E. Raker (Calif.), speaking with a full knowledge of the inner machinery of Congress, brushed aside all objections, showed that it was the custom to appoint special committees for special subjects, stood up against the heckling of the Rules Committee and put the necessity for this desired committee beyond argument. Dr. Shaw joined him in refuting the reiterated charge that the suffragists would insist on having it composed entirely of their supporters. Mrs. Mary Beard (N. Y.) addressed the committee as Democrats and from the standpoint of party expediency with such a knowledge of politics as they never had met in a woman. She said in a scathing arraignment :

This committee is composed of thirteen men and seven constitute the deciding vote on our appeal for the Woman Suffrage Committee. These seven belong to the majority, the Democratic party. One of them comes from a partial suffrage State, Illinois, and another from a campaign State, New York, where the Legislature has declared in favor of submitting this question to the voters. I shall, therefore, limit my examination to the remaining five gentlemen whose point of view will in all probability decide the women's destiny in the House of Representatives at least for the moment. These five all represent one section of the country and my analysis of them is made in the hope that they will take a national point of view and help us obliterate sectional feeling. Who are you that hesitate to promote, if you do not actually obstruct this Federal Amendment? In looking over various public records I find that the honored chairman of this committee holds his strategic position as a result of the will expressed at the polls of 7,623 men. Opposite his name

should be written: "No opposition." Another of the five comes here through the vote of 13,906 men. Another is sent by the very small group of 6,474 men, and the remaining two represent respectively 18,000 and 16,000 men. The total vote behind all five of these gentlemen is 63,570. These 63,570 voters, therefore, have the decision of this momentous question. . . .

You know the fight that you Democratic men put up against the combination by the Committee on Rules under the leadership of Speaker Cannon and you led that fight against the domination of the committee over the House. You are today in this same position of political power. Can you consistently oppose now the things for which you fought so bitterly a short time ago? We know how rapidly you have appointed committees when changed economic conditions demanded it. I have here the report of the Committee on the Judiciary for the special session, showing what work it did, how many sittings it held, which proves conclusively that it has not time for the consideration of our question. . . .

This part of the hearing closed with the address of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who was introduced as president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, representing the organized womanhood of twenty-six nations. She said in the course of her address:

A few weeks ago a dispatch was sent out from Washington, saying that the Judiciary Committee for the next year was going to be more overworked than ever before. It was accompanied by a letter from the President to Mr. Clayton, begging him to continue as chairman of that committee and to withdraw from his candidacy for the Senate from Alabama because this committee was going to do more work than it had ever been required to do before. He called attention to the fact that the Ways and Means Committee had been obliged to work day and night, sometimes spending the whole night on their particular business, and he warned Mr. Clayton that this might be the expectation of the Judiciary Committee in this coming Congress. When this committee has only worked during the day, we suffragists have not been able to get the attention which we think our cause demands and with this additional work it is quite impossible to expect more attention than we have had in the past. Since the suggestion was offered that possibly our business might go before the Elections Committee, the information has come that the President's plan for presidential primary legislation will make this committee also a very busy one this coming session. . . . We pride ourselves on our democracy, but while the Judiciary Committee has been refusing to report our measure and bring it before the House for discussion the question of woman suffrage has been considered by the Imperial Parliaments of twelve European countries. This has been done in fact within the past two years.



Mrs. Catt gave particulars from each and said the only ones where it had not been discussed were those of Germany, Austria, Turkey and the United States. This assertion stung the committee and Representative Hardwick (Ga.) asked if there was not the wide difference that in this country State laws reached the suffrage while in others the Parliament regulated the vote, and she answered: "Of course there is that difference but I wish to add my opinion to that of Miss Addams, that while the States have the right to extend the vote it is the most outrageously unfair process through which any class of unenfranchised citizens of any land have ever been called upon to obtain their enfranchisement and that is the reason why we come to Congress. The overwhelming majority of the men of this country have not secured their suffrage by any vote at the polls in the States. The only class that I have ever been able to find in our history so enfranchised are the working men in the original thirteen colonies, and they got the vote by the process long ago when the population was exceedingly small. There are more men today voting on the basis of their citizenship under naturalization than for any other reason and yet our State constitutions compel us to go to these men and ask our vote at their hands. They say whether the women who have been born and bred here and educated in our schools shall have the vote. We believe we have the right to have our question considered by Congress and that is why we ask for a special committee."

A spirited discussion followed in which the 15th Amendment played a part and Mr. Hardwick said all the women had to do in order to vote was to add the word "sex" to it and Dr. Shaw answered: "This would require a constitutional amendment and what we are asking is such an amendment to our National Constitution, which shall forbid the States to deprive women citizens of the right which it grants to every man born in the United States and to every man imported from any country under the light of the sun. No nation has subjected its women to the humiliating position occupied by those of this nation today. There is no race which is not represented in the citizenship of this country and these citizens are made the governing power which determines the destinies of our women. While women are dis-

franchised in Germany, yet German women are governed by German men; French women are governed by Frenchmen; in all the nations of Europe where women are disfranchised it is by the men of their own nation but in the United States men of every race may go to the polls and vote that American-born women may not have a voice in their own government. Therefore we claim that it is the business of the Government to protect women citizens in this right of suffrage as it protects men citizens, and we ask for this committee because we believe that if our question can be brought before Congress and discussed freely, it will be submitted to the Legislatures and decided favorably."

Two anti-suffrage associations were represented, the National, headed by its president, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge of New York, and the Guidon Club, headed by its president, Mrs. William Force Scott of New York. Mrs. Dodge presented as speakers Miss Alice Hill Chittenden and Miss Minnie Bronson (N. Y.), Mrs. Robert Garrett (Md.), Miss Emily P. Bissell (Del.), Mrs. A. J. George (Mass.), Miss Annie Bock (Calif.), Mrs. O. D. Oliphant (N. J.), Miss Ella Dorsey (D. C.), Mrs. R. C. Talbot and Miss Lucy Price (O.), Miss Eliza Armstrong, Miss Emmeline Pitt and Miss Julia Harding (Penn.), Miss Alice Edith Abell, president "Wage-earners' Anti-Suffrage League" (N. Y.); Everett P. Wheeler and Charles L. Underhill, representing the Men's Anti-Suffrage Leagues of New York and of Massachusetts. Letters were read from Miss Elizabeth McCracken (Mass.) and Arthur Pyle (Minn.). Mrs. Scott introduced as speakers Dr. and Mrs. Rossiter Johnson and John C. Ten Eyck of New York. Representative J. Thomas Heflin (Ala.) spoke over an hour on his own initiative.

As the anti-suffragists had entirely disregarded the agreement to confine the hearing to the purpose of obtaining a special committee and had covered the whole field of woman suffrage itself, the Committee on Rules willingly granted time for a rebuttal. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell (Mass.), editor of the *Woman's Journal*, was selected as the principal speaker because of her extensive knowledge of the subject and another large audience assembled for the fifth time, both suffragists and oppo-

nents. Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch (Ills.) presided and Miss Blackwell said in beginning:

Gentlemen of the committee, it is difficult in a short time to review the arguments that have been made during nine or ten hours, therefore I shall take up only the most important points. The argument has been made over and over that you ought not appoint this committee because there is not a sufficient public demand and because the number of women who oppose suffrage is greater than the number who favor it. It is an actual fact that we represent a very much larger number. The opponents say that only 8 per cent. of the women of this country favor suffrage. They have no authority for this, nobody knows how many there are, but it is a fact that less than one per cent. of the women of the United States have expressed any objection to equal suffrage. The anti-suffragists claim to be organized in seventeen States. The suffragists are organized in forty-seven; the only State without an organization is New Mexico. The anti-suffrage movement maintains only three periodicals—two monthlies and one quarterly. The suffrage movement maintains seven weekly papers, one fortnightly and four or five monthlies.

In every State where petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the Legislature, the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants and generally by 50 or 100 to one. At the time of the last New York constitutional convention as far back as 1894 the suffragists obtained more than 300,000 individual signatures to their petitions. Suppose only one-half of those were women, that would make 150,000. At the same time the anti-suffragists obtained only 15,000, men and women. In Chicago, a few years ago, 104 organizations, with an aggregate membership of more than 100,000 women, petitioned for a municipal woman-suffrage clause in the new city charter, while only one small organization of women petitioned against it. . . .

One of the opposing speakers claimed that the majority of the grangers were opposed to suffrage. The National Grange passes a strong resolution in favor of woman suffrage every year and a long list of State granges have done the same. Individual working women have appeared before this committee and have said that they believed that the majority of working women were opposed to suffrage, but all the great organizations of working men and working women have repeatedly passed strong resolutions in favor of it.

We have been told that all kinds of terrible things will happen if suffrage is granted. With the exception of Illinois, every State that has adopted it borders directly upon some State which has it. If, as has been claimed here, homes were broken up and made desolate, if husbands found that their wives were neglecting their home duties and their children, it is not likely that suffrage would spread from the State which first adopted it to one adjoining State after another. You have had one California woman here who claimed that woman suffrage there does not work well. California adopted the initiative

and referendum at the same time with woman suffrage. The "antis" immediately started an initiative petition for the repeal of woman suffrage. They said that 80 per cent. of the women of California were opposed to it and that they would repeal it. Both men and women were eligible to sign the repeal petitions; but out of the 1,591,783 men and women they failed to get the 32,000 signatures necessary. It has been asserted that the women in all the equal suffrage States would like to repeal it. In any one of these States they could repeal it if they wished to. A great effort was made by the editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal* to find Colorado women who would express themselves against it and the fact that he wanted adverse opinions was widely announced in the papers. Out of the more than 200,000 women he succeeded in finding only nineteen who said they did not think much of woman suffrage and of these three said it had not done any harm.

A few years ago Mrs. Julia Ward Howe took a census of all the ministers of four leading denominations in the four oldest suffrage States—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho—and of all the editors, asking them whether the results of woman suffrage were good or bad. She received 624 answers, of which 62 were unfavorable, 46 undecided and 516 in favor. The answers from the editors were favorable more than 8 to 1; those from the Episcopal clergymen more than 2 to 1; from the Baptist, 7 to 1; from the Congregationalists about 8 to 1; from the Methodists more than 10 to 1; and from the Presbyterians more than 11 to 1.

Miss Blackwell disproved thoroughly the charges made by the opposition disparaging to the laws for working women in the equal suffrage States and many other charges, giving full proof of the accuracy of her statements. The committee asked her many questions and gave her leave to print as much of her argument as she wished. Her carefully prepared data filled thirty-five pages of fine print in the published hearing.

James Lees Laidlaw (N. Y.), president of the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage, showed that the attitude of the opponents expressed a distrust of democracy. He refuted many of their assertions, among them the one that U. S. Senator John D. Works (Calif.) had declared woman suffrage a failure in that State. He read a letter received from the Senator the preceding day as follows: "I did not make any statement anywhere that woman suffrage in California has proved a failure. Such a news item was sent out over the country but it was entirely without foundation and was based on a false headline in a newspaper not borne out by the quotation from my speech even in that

paper. You may say for me that the statement is wholly without foundation and that woman suffrage has not proved to be a failure in my State."

Mrs. McCulloch referred to the "poor, misguided working girl" among the "antis" who said wage-earning women didn't want the vote and asked Miss Rose Winslow, a prominent working woman, to read the resolution demanding the suffrage which was passed by the National Women's Trade Union League. She did so and in a few sentences scored one of the flowery anti-suffrage speakers, saying: "I have not had any choice as to whether I should walk on the Bowery or on Fifth Avenue, because I walk nowhere in the sunshine. I am one of the millions of women who work in the shadow of these women of whom men speak as though they are the only ones in the country, in order that they may parade the avenue in all the beauty and glory of everything brought from all over the world for their decoration, but I do not come with merely my personal opinion and experience. I have the opinion of the organized working women of America in convention assembled. These women represent all the trades that women work at in the United States and they have passed this resolution demanding the ballot without a dissenting vote."

Mrs. Emma S. South, wife of former Representative Oliver South of Illinois, said the opponents had given alleged facts that would require weeks of investigation to prove or disprove. She answered their favorite assertion that women had more influence without the vote by convincing illustrations of what the women of Chicago had been able to accomplish with even their partial suffrage, retaining Mrs. Ella Flagg Young as superintendent of schools, for instance. She showed how in the appointment of the new school board the fact that their power had been doubled and trebled by the recently granted Municipal vote was manifest. Mrs. William Kent, after showing why the women of California had asked for the ballot, gave her time to Miss Helen Todd, who said in the course of an impassioned speech: "My conversion to suffrage came through six years of work as factory inspector in Illinois. I have always thought that the reason there could be such a thing as women 'antis' was simply that the screen of ignorance and the comfort and protection of home

were so thrown around them that they never had to face the realities. . . . No one can go, as I have gone, through the factories of a great State and see the suffering just of the children and not want the women who create human life to have the power to protect that life."

Mrs. Ella S. Stewart (Ills.), Mrs. John Rogers, Jr. (N. Y.), Mrs. Katharine Houghton Hepburn (Conn.), Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer (Penn.) and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton (O.) spoke briefly but strongly and an effective letter was read from Miss Constance Leupp (D. C.). The women present from the South were deeply incensed at the long, opposing speech of Representative Heflin, who claimed to represent the women of that section, and he was severely answered by Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, Mrs. Oscar Hundley and Mrs. Felix Baldwin of his own State; Mrs. S. D. Meehan of Louisiana; Mrs. L. Crozier French and Miss Catharine J. Wester of Tennessee and Mrs. Lulu Loveland Shepherd of Utah, formerly of Tennessee. Mrs. Harper cited the three classes enfranchised since the founding of the Government, the working men, the negroes and the Indians, and said: "There was never any question as to whether they would improve things or hurt things; now, in the President's Message, he asks you to bring in the Porto Rican men. Are you going to do this because you think they are needed in the electorate and because they will make conditions better? We women are the only class who have ever asked for suffrage in this country to whom all these objections have been made and in regard to whom all these fears have been expressed. There is not a class of voters in the United States today which has lifted one finger to get the ballot, yet the women of this country have been struggling sixty-five years for the right to a voice in the Government. You must admit that they are the best-equipped class that have ever asked this privilege and yet you have kept them out. All we ask of you is to make it a little less hard than it has been by giving us a committee from whom we can get some consideration."

Mrs. Frank W. Mondell, wife of the Representative from Wyoming, said in the course of a very comprehensive address: "We do not desire to base our request for the appointment of a Committee on Woman Suffrage solely on the proposition that the

subject is one of greater importance than those included within the jurisdiction of many committees of the House but rather on the ground that it has never, so far as my recollection and information go, failed to provide by general or special committee for the study and consideration of any vitally important question that has arisen in the growth and development of the nation." A review of the different committees was made and she concluded: "We do not ask or expect a committee constituted to represent our views but we ask for one whose special duty it shall be to consider the question. We feel that we are only asking the House of Representatives to follow its usual rule and procedure."

Mr. Mondell closed the hearing with a sarcastic review of the objections made by the opponents during which he said: "I had the privilege and pleasure of listening to the exceedingly strong and forceful argument in favor of woman suffrage made this morning by the gentleman from Alabama, or was it intended for an argument against it? I think, taking it as a whole, that it was the most conclusive argument I have ever heard in favor of it. . . . We have a committee whose business it is to inquire how much further we should extend the franchise to the little brown brother over in the Philippines, some six or seven millions of him, and the President considers that a sufficiently important matter to refer to it in his Message. I hope it was through forgetfulness and not deliberate intent that he seemed to fail to realize that it is of vastly less importance than the question of granting the franchise to the mothers, wives and sisters among the 95,000,000 of the folks here in the United States." Mr. Mondell ridiculed the sentimental effusion of Mr. Heflin and his solicitude lest the harmony of family life might be disturbed and said: "If the testimony of one who speaks from experience is worth while I can say with full realization that it is a sweeping statement: In twenty-seven years' wide knowledge of a people where woman suffrage prevails I have never known a solitary case where a difference of political opinion resulted in family quarrels or misunderstanding, not a single one. . . . Are we to understand that men elsewhere—in Alabama, for instance—are less considerate than with us and that they would make trouble if their women folks did not vote as they wanted them to? . . . The exercise of

the franchise is a privilege and a right but above and beyond the question of right or privilege stands the fact that as time goes on and we are attempting to meet wisely the multitude of questions that arise in government, many of them social and economic, we need the assistance of the best half of mankind."

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The Rules Committee met January 24, 1914, with eight of the fourteen members present and Mr. Lenroot moved to report favorably the resolution for a Woman Suffrage Committee. Representatives Foster (Ills.), Campbell (Kans.) and Kelly (Penn.) joined him; Representatives Hardwick (Ga.), Pou (N. C.), Cantrill (Ky.) and Garrett (Tenn.) opposed. Mr. Lenroot then moved to report it without recommendation and there was a tie vote. Enough signatures were secured for the calling of a Democratic caucus on February 3 but just before it convened a meeting of Democrats was held in the office of Representative Oscar J. Underwood (Ala.) and it was decided by a vote of 123 to 55 that suffrage was a State and not a Federal question and no further action on a special committee was taken.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1914.

The Forty-sixth annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association had the honor and privilege of holding its sessions in Representatives' Hall at the State Capitol in Nashville, Tenn., Nov. 12-17, 1914.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was in the chair and it was officially and cordially welcomed in the name of the city by Mayor Hilary Howse; of the State Suffrage Association by its president, Mrs. L. Crozier-French, and of the Nashville Equal Suffrage League by the president, Mrs. Guilford Dudley. As Dr. Shaw rose to respond she was presented by Miss Louise Lindsey, vice-regent of the Ladies' Hermitage Association, with a gavel made from the wood of a hickory tree planted by General Jackson at the Hermitage, his home.

<sup>1</sup> Part of Call: Our task will be to formulate judgment on those great issues of the day which nearly concern women; to choose the leaders who during the coming year are to guide the fortunes of our cause; and finally, to deliberate how the whole national body may on the one hand best give aid and succor to the States working for their own enfranchisement and on the other press for federal action in behalf of the women of the nation at large. . . .

Since the last convention met all the horror of a great war has fallen upon the civilized world. The hearts of thousands of women have been torn by the death and wounds of those they bore, of those they love, yet never has their will and power to help been greater, never man's need of such help been more clearly seen. We, who are spared the anguish of war, well understand that as weight is given in the world's affairs to the voice of women, moved as men are not by all the tragic waste of battles, the chances of such slaughter must perpetually diminish. Now is the time when all things point to the violence that rules the world, now is the very time to press our claim to a share in the guidance of our country's fortunes, to urge that woman's vision must second and ratify that of man. Let us then in convention assembled kindle with the thought that, as we consider methods for the political enfranchisement of our sex, our wider purpose is to free women and to enable their conception of life in all its aspects to find expression. . . . Let us set a fresh seal upon the great new loyalty of woman to woman; let our response be felt in the deep tide of fellowship and understanding among all women which today is rising around the world.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.

JANE ADDAMS, First Vice-President.

MADLINE BRECKINRIDGE, Second Vice-President.

CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES, Third Vice-President.

SUSAN WALKER FITZGERALD, Recording Secretary.

KATHARINE DEXTER McCORMICK, Treasurer.

HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW, }  
LOUISE DEKOVEN BOWEN, } Auditors.

She spoke of memories which made Nashville dear to the whole country; referred to the merry barbecue which had been held for their entertainment the preceding day "at the old mansion of that great Democrat, Andrew Jackson," and continued:

When his Honor the Mayor spoke of the hope that if women entered into the political life of our country conditions would be made better, I forgot the North and turned back in memory to the great South, where no stronger argument in favor of our cause can be found than the women themselves. It is not the men who have made this nation what it is, it is the men and the women, and in no part of it have women contributed more than in the South. When we look back over its past history; when we see the land barren, the desolation everywhere; when we see the homes left destitute and the women prostrate by the graves of their dead; when we realize that the men were nearly all swept away—we know that the power which kept the South steadfast, which held the homes together, which cherished the traditions, which made the South what it is today was the loyalty, the patriotism, the unconquerable courage and the devotion of Southern women in that hour of darkness and despair. Had it not been for the new spirit of action born of the necessity of the times in the character of Southern women to inspire Southern men with hope and courage, desolation would still be over the South. They evolved from within themselves a power which no one knows that women possess until some hour of extreme trial calls it forth. Never has there been a test of human endurance and wisdom to which women have not responded and become the inspiration and the strength of manhood. If any women of this nation have ever bought their freedom and paid a dear price for it, it is the women of the Southland.

I cannot see how any man who calls himself a Democrat can fail to recognize that the fundamental principle of democracy is the right of the citizen to a voice in the government under which that citizen lives; much less can I understand how any southern man can look unmoved into the face of southern women knowing that they are branded as no other body of intelligent people in this country are—by disfranchisement—that they are deprived of that one symbol of power which elevates the citizens of a democracy out of the class of the defective and unfit. The only way men can redeem themselves, the only way they can be honest American citizens and Democrats is to stand by the fundamental principle of democracy—that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"—"governed" women as well as "governed" men. When Nashville and Tennessee and the South and the North and the East and the West shall stand on this basic principle of just government, then we shall have a republic, a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

At the close of the address this resolution was enthusiastically

adopted: "The National American Woman Suffrage Association in convention assembled hereby expresses its heartfelt thanks and deep appreciation to our national president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, for her devoted and unremitting work for woman suffrage and for this association during the past year; for her splendid services in the campaigns which did so much to lead to victory two States; for her willingness to stand for re-election in order that she may lead us to new victories in the coming year."

Greetings were brought from the recently formed National Suffrage Association of Canada by Miss Ida E. Campbell, who said that although it was only eight months old it represented many affiliated societies in all the Provinces. She spoke of the splendid war work that was being done by women and said: "Our national president, Mrs. L. A. Hamilton of Toronto, is at the head of the relief work in that city and the feeling is general that the patriotic activities of the suffragists are doing much to enhance the cause of woman suffrage in the eyes of the Canadian public.<sup>1</sup> May we now express the hope that when the war is over we may welcome many of our American sisters to what we have been looking forward to—our first Canadian National Suffrage Convention. Canada salutes you." Greetings were read from the Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs and were presented from the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference by its president, Miss Kate M. Gordon (La.).

The large hall was crowded at the first evening meeting and the convention was formally welcomed by Governor B. W. Hooper, who said in the course of his address:

It is highly appropriate that your progressive movement should unfurl its banners in this, the most progressive State in the South. Our people are not swift in their pursuit of strange doctrines, but they are as a rule open to conviction and tolerant of differences of opinion. Whatever may be our views of the necessity and efficacy of woman suffrage most of us have sense enough to know that it is surely coming in every State in the republic. . . . When it comes to Tennessee I trust that there will be no faltering compromise, giving only the limited right to vote in the election of certain classes of officials. The suffrage, if granted at all, should not be grudgingly given but should be the complete and comprehensive right to participate in all elections. When suffrage comes to the

<sup>1</sup> Complete, universal suffrage was conferred by the Parliament in 1917.

women of Tennessee I shall derive one substantial pleasure from it if I am still living, the joy and exultation of my little daughter, who has been a pronounced and persistent suffragist since she was nine years old. She has taken a keen and intelligent interest in all of my struggles, has rejoiced in the hour of my victory and wept in the hour of my defeat. She is the connecting link between me and the woman suffrage cause.

In behalf of all the good people of Tennessee, I extend greetings to your great association and express the hope that your sojourn in the historic Volunteer State may be filled with pleasure and profit to each and every member of your convention.

The Governor's daughter was introduced to the convention and it settled itself in anticipation of the stories of the campaigns for woman suffrage amendments which had ended with the general election the preceding week, in some of them with victory, in others with defeat. Miss Anne Martin, president of the Nevada Suffrage Association, was heartily applauded as she told of the triumph in her State, saying:

The suffrage victory in Nevada means not only a solid equal suffrage West and another step toward equal suffrage for the United States but a triumph for better government in Nevada. It is the most "male" State in America, perhaps in the world. The census of 1910 shows that there are two men to every woman. Law, custom, social life are more nearly man-made than those of any other country; consequently Nevada needs the help of her women to modify law, custom and social life, the help of those women whose pioneer mothers stood shoulder to shoulder with the men in building up a great commonwealth out of a wilderness. Owing to the transitory character of many of the industries, such as the construction of irrigation works, railway construction and mining, there are nearly three times as many unattached men living outside of home influences as there are married women in the State.

The male population is over 50 per cent. transient; the population of women is only 20 per cent. transient, as they have permanent occupations on the farms and in the schools. The argument of the anti-suffragists that "the women do not want it" was answered by a house-to-house canvass throughout the counties of the State. In many of them at least 90 per cent. of the women enrolled themselves in favor of equal suffrage and their signatures are on file at the headquarters of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society. The fact that out of a voting population of only 20,000 a majority of 3,400 votes was cast to give women the franchise shows not only that men all over the State were just and fair-minded but that they must have instinctively felt the need of women's help. . . .

The story of victory for Montana was related by Miss Mary

Stewart, as the president, Miss Jeannette Rankin, had been detained to prevent a tampering with the election returns, but she afterwards arrived and was enthusiastically welcomed. Mrs. Clara Darrow, president of the North Dakota association, gave an account of how the amendment had been lost in that State through political tricks. Mrs. Draper Smith, president of the Nebraska association, gave a report on the loss of that State and paid tribute to William Jennings Bryan, who had made sixteen strong speeches for it. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, president of the Missouri association, told of the effort through the hot summer to get the necessary 38,000 signatures to an initiative petition, after the Legislature had refused to submit the amendment, and the tactics used to defeat it at the polls. Her mention of the name of Champ Clark, Speaker of the National House of Representatives, who had recently declared for woman suffrage, was applauded. As Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, president of the Ohio Suffrage Association, was not at the convention, the loss of the amendment in that State was described by Mrs. Myron Vorce. [See State chapters.]

The evening closed with the president's address. The report said: Dr. Shaw declared she had some sympathy for the anti-suffragists, as they were bound to lose. "When the campaign for woman suffrage was begun," she said, "the 'antis' had all of the earth and the suffragists had only hope of heaven but now many nations of the world and half of the United States have been converted to the cause of votes for women." She ridiculed the arguments of the anti-suffragists and said: "Until you grant the right of a vote to all persons, you haven't a democracy—you have an aristocracy and the worst of all—an aristocracy of sex. Soon the divine right of sex here will be as obsolete as the divine right of Kings in Europe." Answering the argument that if women have the ballot they ought also to have the musket, Dr. Shaw said in telling of the sufferings of the women during the war: "It is said that 300,000 of the flower of Europe's manhood have been killed in the last nine weeks of the war. I can't grasp the thought of that many dead men but I can look into the face of one dead soldier and know that he had a mother. If this woman had escaped death at childbirth she had watched

over him day by day until she had to look up into the eyes of her boy. And then that boy was called by his country and soon he was dead—he was in the happy peace of glory and she was facing the empty years of agony. Then they ask what a woman knows about war! . . . The very flower of a country perishes in a war, leaving the maimed and diseased to father the children of future generations. Women ought to have the ballot during war and during peace, for we know that if they had had it in all countries this war would not have occurred.”

The report of Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, corresponding and executive secretary, covered much of the work of the National Association during 1914, which was more extensive probably than in any preceding year in its history. It said in part:

This year has completely broken all records in the number of campaign States—seven in all. In four of them—Nevada, Montana, North and South Dakota—the amendment was submitted by legislative act; in three—Nebraska, Missouri and Ohio—by initiative petition. It is noteworthy that in all of the last the suffragists consider the work of securing the requisite number of signatures, although it was exceedingly arduous, an invaluable asset to the campaign, each signer being practically guaranteed to vote right on the amendment itself. In Ohio, Nevada, Montana and South Dakota, only a simple majority vote on the amendment is necessary to pass it, but in Nebraska 35 per cent. of all the votes cast at the election is required and in North Dakota and Missouri a majority of all the votes cast.

The year 1914 has been what suffragists call an “off year,” since most of the State Legislatures meet biennially in the odd years. Nevertheless, what acts of Legislatures there have been are of the greatest significance. Those of Massachusetts and New Jersey submitted the suffrage amendment by overwhelming votes and in both States the suffragists are confident of the approval of the 1915 Legislatures, which is necessary before final submission to the voters. An amendment was introduced into the Legislatures of eight others. The national legislative record shows that never before has the Congressional atmosphere been so thoroughly permeated with woman suffrage. The anxiety of some members of Congress to show that they stood right with their constituents on the question and the agility of others in side-stepping every possible necessity for meeting the issue, have unerringly indicated that they all recognize the fact that the time has come when national politics must reckon with woman suffrage.

All through the year there has been the most hearty cooperation between national headquarters and the Washington and Chicago offices of our Congressional Committee. . . . It is impossible to men-

tion this committee without expressing on behalf of the officers of the association a most thorough appreciation of the service of its chairman, Mrs. Medill McCormick, who has not only given money generously to the work but has added what is more valuable still—steady, hard, personal labor, coupled with an indefatigable good humor, frequently under most trying circumstances. . . .

The new State associations formed and the many suffrage organizations applying for affiliated or auxiliary membership were named and an account was given of the large sums of money, the vast amount of literature and the many workers supplied to the seven State campaigns of the year. These facts and the other activities of the association were related in part as follows:

Miss Harriet Grim of Wisconsin was sent by request to North Dakota to cover the series of Chautauqua meetings in June and July. Miss Katharine Devereux Blake of New York offered her services for only expenses for a month of campaign work in July. Hurried arrangements were made by telegram and as the promptest, most urgent pleas came from Montana, it won her, although later she did some work in North Dakota also. Miss Shaw's special fund was the backing which provided for both tours. Miss Blake made the wonderful record of obtaining from the collections at her meetings enough to cover all her travelling and living expenses. Miss Shaw's fund,<sup>1</sup> which has often seemed like the miraculous pitcher, also provided part of the expense of sending Mrs. Jennie Wells Wentworth to Ohio and Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon to Nevada. Miss Addams has contributed several weeks of campaigning and Dr. Shaw herself has made an itinerary, giving ten days to each of the campaign States, starting August 27 and ending with Election Day. . . .

Another noteworthy feature of the year's work was the establishment of Woman's Independence Day on the first Saturday of May, initiated by Mrs. McCormick and phenomenally successful. There was a wonderful response to the ringing call sent out by the National Board to all the suffragists of the country to meet together in every city and town at a given time and sing a suffrage hymn, declare their faith, pass a resolution and have a speech. A woman's version of the Declaration of Independence was prepared for the occasion and President Wilson was asked by Dr. Shaw to proclaim the day a legal holiday to be celebrated in recognition of the right and necessity that the women of the United States should become citizens in fact as well as in name. The President did not heed Dr. Shaw's request but the women of the country did. Not a State

<sup>1</sup> For a number of years Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw of Boston gave Dr. Shaw a fund for campaign work.

was silent, not even the equal suffrage States, and many added parades and other events to the regular program.

The story was told of the National Junior Suffrage Corps to enroll the young people, the idea of Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees (Conn.); of the large amount of Congressional documents distributed, among them 1,000 copies of the speech of Senator Henry F. Ashurst (Ariz.) before the Senate on the Federal Amendment, presented by him; the travelling schools organized; lists prepared of many thousand active members and an infinite variety of details. Mrs. Dennett had severed her connection with the association the preceding September after four years' invaluable service.

Mrs. Dennett made also the report of the Literature Committee, whose duties had now been merged in the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. The latter reported through its chairman, Mrs. Cyrus W. Field. The greatly needed Data Department had been established under the cooperation of Miss Elinor Byrns, chairman also of the Press Department; Mrs. Frances Maule Bjorkman and Mrs. Dennett. The volunteer services of Miss Helen Raulett, like Miss Byrns a lawyer, had been obtained, and while its great need and possibilities had been demonstrated it was evident that it must be put on a paid, business basis to be effective. Miss Byrns gave an interesting account of the ramifications of the Press and Publicity Department and its important accomplishments. "In my opinion," she said, "it is almost impossible to have suffrage news given out successfully by any one who is not an earnest suffragist. Knowledge of publicity does not make up for the lack of conviction and enthusiasm," and she gave this instance: "A few months ago a writer for one of the New York newspapers—the worst 'anti' paper we have—telephoned me, saying, 'I have been told to write an editorial on the menace of woman suffrage. Can you help me?' I said, 'Yes, I can prove to you that the majority of the presidential electors in 1916 may represent equal suffrage States and that in all probability every political party will have to endorse woman suffrage before that time. What could be worse than that?' He agreed with me and his editorial based on the facts Dr. Shaw and I gave him has been a most successful campaign document for us."



Among other valuable suggestions Miss Byrns said: "While there are some editors who give us space because they have to—that is because we are always doing something 'different' and making news which cannot be ignored—there are perhaps even more who have a real interest in the suffrage movement and are therefore eager to give us all the space which the business department of their paper permits. And, by the way, one of the most valuable kinds of press work is that which can be done by every suffragist individually. Newspaper and magazine offices are most sensitive to the praise and blame of readers. Suffrage departments are sometimes stopped because no readers write their approval. Individual newspaper policies, belittling or perverting the suffrage issue, are sometimes persisted in because no readers write their disapproval. It is discouraging to an editor when a reader writes a letter complaining of one opposing news item or one cartoon although she has ignored everything which has been printed in favor of suffrage."

Miss Jane Thompson, field secretary, told of the 8,000 miles she had travelled in the campaign States since early in April; of her experiences pleasant and unpleasant; of the excellent opportunities it had afforded of establishing thorough understanding and cordial relations between the National Association and the States. She spoke of the long and arduous work of the national president and presented the following expression of loyalty and appreciation from those who had conducted the campaigns in Ohio, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Montana and Nevada:

To Dr. Anna Howard Shaw:

When service of the highest type has been faithfully and loyally rendered it is the pleasure of those most benefited by that service to express, though inadequately, their deep appreciation. We, the representatives of the Campaign States, feel that to you we owe much for the splendid way in which you and your Executive Board stood by us in our efforts, but even more do we appreciate your personal labor, your untiring, beautiful spirit. Always ready to meet whatever situation arose, regardless of fatigue, you encouraged the believers, braced up the uncertain and converted the unbelieving. Your service, in our estimation, is invaluable and cannot be dispensed with.

The legal adviser announced the settlement at last of the bequest of Mrs. Sarah J. McCall of Ohio, including 100 shares of Cincinnati Street Railway stock, worth from \$5,000 to \$6,000, and \$705 interest; also the receipt of a legacy of \$4,750, after the inheritance tax was paid, from former U. S. Senator Thomas W. Palmer of Michigan.

Miss Elizabeth Yates said in her report on Presidential suffrage: "The favorable decision the past year by the Supreme Court of Illinois leaves no room for any further contention regarding its constitutionality. It can be granted by any Legislature by a bare majority vote and this can be obtained by many States that could not secure the large vote necessary to submit a constitutional amendment for full suffrage." She strongly urged that any State contemplating a campaign for full suffrage should first secure the Presidential franchise. In her usual excellent report on Church Work, Mrs. Mary E. Craigie told of her visits to the Methodist Ministerial Associations of Atlanta, Tampa and New Orleans with most gratifying results, as a friendly spirit towards woman suffrage was developed and the last named recommended the General Conference to give laity rights to women. In cooperation with Dr. Nina Wilson Dewey, her chairman for Iowa, arrangements were made during the Mississippi Valley Conference in Des Moines with the clergymen of eighteen Protestant churches to have their pulpits filled at some service on Sunday by women delegates and the combined audiences by actual count numbered 6,000. Four thousand copies of the annual letter asking for a mention of the need of women's influence in State affairs in their Mothers' Day sermons were sent to as many clergymen.

One of the most valuable sessions was Voters' Evening, under the auspices of the National Men's League, with its president, James Lees Laidlaw (N. Y.) in the chair. The opening address was made by U. S. Senator Luke Lea (Tenn.), who received a great ovation when he began and the audience rose with cheers and waving handkerchiefs when he finished. He said in the course of his speech:

I am embarrassed by not knowing how to address this distinguished audience. . . . Much as I regret it I must address you as "my dis-

franchised friends," who, in spite of your learning, your cultivation and your intelligence, under our enlightened and progressive civilization occupy the same political plane as insane persons, idiots, infants and others laboring under disabilities. To say I regret to be forced to address you thus is no mere lip service, contradictory of real sentiment and conviction, for I was one of the three Southern Senators who were sufficiently impressed with the absolute necessity of woman suffrage to step beyond the sacred portals of State rights and vote for the amendment to the constitution of the United States, removing from the electoral franchise the limitation of sex, and I am glad to have an opportunity to express the reasons for my faith.

These two twofold: First, the wholesome effect upon our Government of extending the privilege of voting to women; and second, the far-reaching results upon womanhood of granting this right. The first reason is justified by the statement which will be conceded by all, even the "antis," that an overwhelming majority of women are good rather than bad and have the highest ideals of government and politics. Therefore, to give the right to vote to this class is to increase overwhelmingly the number of good voters and to multiply the number of citizens with these highest ideals.

In answer to this, some "anti," who, by her opposition to woman suffrage, pleads guilty to the threadbare charge that women have not sufficient intelligence to vote, comes forward and says: "But the good women won't vote; only the bad women will exercise the privilege." This argument is answered by the contrary experience in States where women vote. If woman suffrage only increased the number of bad voters, then instead of spreading like a prairie fire from coast to coast it would be repealed in the States where it was originally tried as an experiment. The results in the States where the franchise has been granted are an absolute and irrefutable argument in favor of national woman suffrage. In these States it has removed the polling places from the dives to the churches and has opened more schools and closed more saloons than all other political movements combined. The ideals of government and the standard of right and wrong by which public officials are measured have been raised without lowering one iota the standard of motherhood, of wifehood and of womanhood, a standard of which every woman is proud and which every man reverences and worships. . . .

Other speakers were President H. S. Barker of the University of Kentucky; R. A. McDowell (Ky.), the Hon. Leon Locke (La.), Miss S. Grace Nicholes of Chicago, and Charles T. Hallinan, vice-president of the league. A branch of the Men's National League was formed during the convention by about thirty prominent men, with John Bell Keble, dean of the Vanderbilt Law School, as temporary chairman.

Delegates to these national conventions now felt less need of

oratorical eloquence and more of practical knowledge of the work which was under way that they might carry back with them to their own States. One evening was profitably spent in listening to short speeches by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell on the work of the National Association; Mrs. Antoinette Funk on that of the Congressional Committee; Mrs. Raymond Brown, president of the New York association, on the unusual and spectacular campaign now under way in that State; Miss Hannah J. Patterson on the preparatory campaign in Pennsylvania; Mrs. Maud Wood Park, secretary of the Boston Equal Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley on the coming campaign in Massachusetts; Mrs. Lillian J. Feickert, president of the State association, on that of New Jersey. In all of these States amendments had been submitted for 1915. Miss Rankin told the welcome story of the Montana victory.

The mass meeting on Sunday afternoon was one of the largest ever assembled in Ryman Auditorium, all the standing room occupied and many turned from the doors. The audience represented every station in life and the large number of men was noticeable. Dr. Shaw presided and paid a splendid tribute to the people of Nashville. Miss Jane Addams took for a text her visit to the historic home of Andrew Jackson, which, she said, had caused her to think of the great part the men of the South had in shaping the policies of the early government of the States, and how Chief Justice John Marshall, a southern man, had welded them together into an unconquerable whole. She referred to the way in which women had borne their part and asked why the men were so progressive in those early days and yet so reactionary now, when women asked that they should make another experiment in popular government. Miss Rose Schneiderman, president of the New York City Women's Trade Union, spoke on the Industrial Woman's Need of the Vote, telling of the 800,000 working women in New York State, the low wages of many, the unjust conditions. "Do you talk of chivalry?" she exclaimed. "We women who work will tell you that we have no chivalry shown us in industry and we will also tell you that we go home with half the wages that men get. These same men who tell us we are angels send vice commissioners to investigate why girls

go wrong. I should think a glance at the pay-roll would give them the answer."

Miss Rosika Schwimmer of Budapest, who had come with a petition to President Wilson from the women of fifteen countries that were at war to use his influence to bring about peace, made an eloquent and impassioned address. A storm of applause greeted her appeal to the men of this country to avoid the catastrophe of war in the future by granting the vote to women, who would always use it for peace. Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, one of the most brilliant and forceful of the suffrage speakers, took for a subject *The South Needs her Women*. "Do not call upon the women of the South to help you solve your cotton problems while you are using up the children of women in the cotton mills," she said. "Women must have the ballot to cope with all the hard conditions of life. When we think of war and patriotism we think of men. We forget the little army of women that always follow in the wake of the big armies and brave the bullets and the fearful conditions of warfare that they may become ministering angels on the battlefields; the Florence Nightingales who undergo the hardships to nurse the wounded. We are also likely to forget the large army that stays behind, the women on whom the hardships of war fall heavily, those who must endure the sorrow and waiting. Is it fair to say woman shall have no part in the every-day affairs of life when she must bear so much in war?"

The program closed with an address by Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett on *The Attitude toward Woman Suffrage of the International Council of Women*, of which she was an officer. She described its quinquennial meeting in Rome the preceding May, shortly before the breaking out of the war, and said the desire for the suffrage was the connecting link between the women of all nations. She declared that the safety of the country depended on women's having a vote in the administration of all that concerned the welfare of men as well as of women and children. In the evening the officers, delegates and visitors were entertained by Mrs. Benjamin F. Wilson at her beautiful home, *Wilmor Manor*.

This convention of 1914 will be always noted for the long controversy over what was known as the Shafroth National Suffrage Amendment. It occupied all or a part of several sessions and the *Woman's Journal* said: "The greatest emphasis of the convention was laid on the work in Congress; this was true even to the extent of cutting short discussion of State methods. The story of the year's work in the different States for both full and Presidential suffrage had to be abruptly dismissed." A new Congressional Committee had been appointed on January 1, consisting of Mrs. Medill McCormick, Mrs. Antoinette Funk and Mrs. Sherman M. Booth, of Illinois, Mrs. Breckinridge (Ky.), Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford (Colo.); Mrs. John Tucker (Cal.); Mrs. Edward Dreier (N. Y.); Mrs. Helen H. Gardener (D. C.). Mrs. Dreier resigned; Mrs. Gardener was largely prevented from serving by illness and absence. Other members were too far away for active work and the headquarters in Washington were in charge of the three comparatively young, energetic women from Illinois, who had shown such remarkable political acumen in getting the Presidential suffrage bill through the Legislature of that State and were leaders in the Progressive party. The remarkable report of the committee's work presented by the chairman, Mrs. McCormick, including her report as chairman of the Campaign Committee, filled 45 pages of the printed Handbook of the convention. It contained a full account of the action on woman suffrage in both houses of the 63rd Congress, names and votes of members, committee hearings, Senate debate, record of speeches, statistics and information such as was never before presented to a suffrage convention, and showed an amount of committee work accomplished almost equal to that which had been done in all preceding sessions of Congress combined.<sup>1</sup> It was clear that for the first time the attempt to secure action by Congress on woman suffrage was being made in political fashion, which was the proper way, but unfortunately it showed also that the Federal Amendment, which had been the principal object of the National Association for the past forty-four years, was in danger of being replaced with one of a totally different char-

<sup>1</sup> A portion of this report is in the chapter on the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

acter. Space can be given for only enough of Mrs. McCormick's exceedingly clever presentation of this proposed amendment to make the matter fully understood.

I assumed the responsibility as chairman early in January, 1914, and after opening our headquarters in the Munsey Building at Washington, D. C., divided the committee's work into three departments—Lobby, Publicity and Organization. The lobby and publicity were continued from the Washington office and an organization office was opened in Chicago during the latter part of January, as it was decided that Chicago was much better situated geographically to carry on the program of this department.

As Congress was in session it was necessary for us to concentrate our attention on our lobby at the Capitol and to determine as quickly as possible both our policy to be adopted and the wisest method of legislative procedure. In order to facilitate this work Mrs. Booth and I joined Mrs. Funk in Washington, and, dividing our duties, we proceeded to investigate the temper of Congress. What was known in the present Congress as the Bristow-Mondell resolution had been reported out favorably by the Standing Committee on Suffrage in the Senate and, if we desired, could be placed as unfinished business on the calendar, which would result in a discussion terminating in a vote.

The situation in the House of Representatives was not so favorable. It has no suffrage committee and the Mondell amendment was in the Judiciary. As that committee was composed of men if not actually opposed at least indifferent there did not seem to be any immediate chance of action. We discovered very soon, however, that the Congressional Union was circulating a petition among the Democrats requesting them to caucus on the subject of establishing a Suffrage Standing Committee. The members of your Congressional Committee felt this to be a great mistake. It gave the Democratic party a splendid opportunity to commit themselves as opposed to woman suffrage, using their State's rights doctrine as a reason for their action. We discussed it with the members of the Congressional Union, who were convinced they were right in putting the Democratic party on record for or against suffrage, and it developed during our discussion that their policy of holding this party responsible, as the party in power, was to be put into action at once and announced as soon as the Democrats had voted in caucus. Knowing that this policy was diametrically opposed to that of the National Association, which has always been non-partisan—to hold the individual and not the party responsible—we tried desperately hard to block the petition and avoid the Democratic caucus at that time, but as the Congressional Union had a lobby of forty women against our three, it was impossible for us to head it off. The party caucused and not only voted against a Standing Committee on Suffrage but Mr. Heflin of Alabama amended the resolution before the caucus so that the members were enabled to vote on February 3 by 123 to

55 that woman suffrage was a question to be determined by the States and not by the national government.

It was now necessary for us to make a complete canvass of both Houses of Congress, to tabulate the records of the men, in so far as we were able to secure the information, and to determine at the earliest possible moment whether or not it was advisable to bring the Bristow amendment to a vote in the Senate. . . . My first call was on Senator Borah of Idaho, who is a personal friend, a suffragist, and has the advantage of being a progressive Republican from an equal suffrage State. "I cannot vote for this amendment," he said, "and want you to understand my reasons for taking such a stand. I do not believe the suffragists realize what they are doing to the women of the South if they force upon them universal suffrage before they are ready for it. The race question is one of the most serious before the country today and the women must help solve it before they can take on greater responsibilities. I am also a strong conservationist and entertain a State's rights attitude of mind on both these questions."

Mrs. McCormick then called on Senator Burton of Ohio, whom she described as "a reactionary Republican"; Senator Johnson of Maine and Senator Saulsbury of Delaware, "strong States' rights Democrats," and she gathered the impression that the new amendment which her Congressional Committee had in mind would have a better chance than the original, to which the Congressional Union had given the name Susan B. Anthony Amendment. The following men agreed to serve on the Advisory Committee in the Senate: Borah of Idaho; Bristow of Kansas; Shafroth and Thomas of Colorado; Owen of Oklahoma; Clapp of Minnesota; Smoot of Utah; Kern of Indiana; Lea of Tennessee and Ashurst of Arizona. "They unanimously agreed with us," she said, "that it would be of great educational value to have the question brought up before the Senate during the present session, as there had never been a debate on the question of woman suffrage in Congress."<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. McCormick told how the amendment had been put on the calendar as unfinished business and discussed daily at 2 o'clock for ten days until the vote was taken March 19, 1914, when it received 35 ayes, 34 noes, a majority but not the necessary two-thirds. A change of 11 votes would have carried it and more

<sup>1</sup>The Federal Suffrage Amendment had been thoroughly debated and voted on in the Senate in 1887; the question of woman suffrage itself discussed in 1866, 1881-3-4-5-6 in the Senate; at great length in the Lower House in 1883 and 1890 and briefly in both houses at other times.



than half of the absentees were known to be in favor but these facts did not give her any faith in the amendment. "During the canvassing of the Senate," she said, "we were more and more impressed with the necessity of meeting the State's rights argument and felt more and more keenly the barrier of the State constitutions in advancing our cause. An analysis of these constitutions proved most illuminating and in arguing with the Senators upon this point they constantly reiterated the general idea of submitting this question, as well as other big national questions, to the decision of the people. We also discovered at this time that there were seven or eight different amendments before Congress on the woman suffrage question. For example, there is a bill giving us the right to vote for Presidential electors. There is another bill giving us the right to vote for Senators and Congressmen, etc. . . .<sup>1</sup> A general canvass of the Lower House and also the action of the Democratic caucus convinced us in an even more pronounced way that we are blocked by the State's rights doctrine." The report continued:

It was at this time that Mrs. Funk, Mrs. Booth and myself interpreted our duty as a committee to mean that we were appointed not only for the purpose of national propaganda and for the promotion of the Bristow amendment but that our duty was a more extensive one and required us to meet whatever political emergency might arise during our term of office. We, therefore, set about to originate a new form of amendment to the U. S. Constitution which would meet the State's rights argument, if such a thing were possible. As Mrs. Funk is a lawyer, Mrs. Booth and I agreed that it was most important for her to draw up such an amendment. This was done; it was submitted to several lawyers, to our Advisory Committees of Senate and House; to an able constitutional lawyer in Washington, to Judge William J. Calhoun, of Chicago, a lawyer of international reputation, and to Judge Hiram Gilbert, one of the best constitutional lawyers in Illinois. We accepted Judge Gilbert's rewording and then sent it on to the Progressive party's legislative

<sup>1</sup> Instead of seven or eight amendments there was only one and never had been but one—the old, original amendment introduced by Senator A. A. Sargent (Calif.) in 1878. There was and long had been one "bill" advocated, the one to give women so-called "federal" suffrage, the right to vote for Senators and Representatives, but it had never been reported out of committee. There was no bill before Congress to give women the right to vote for Presidential electors and there was no other bill proposed. It was of course the "State's rights argument" that had been the continuous barrier to the Federal Suffrage Amendment ever since it was first introduced but the favorable attitude of a majority of the Senators showed how much progress had been made in meeting that argument.

bureau in New York, where it was endorsed by their corps of lawyers, who draft all their bills.

The amendment was at this time discussed with our Advisory Committee in the Senate and met not only with their approval as an amendment but they considered it a very shrewd political move on the part of our organization. At the next meeting of the National Suffrage Board I presented the amendment, and, after nearly two months' consideration and discussion with some of the leading suffragists of the country, they voted *unanimously* endorsing it and instructing us to have it introduced whenever we thought it advisable. This action was taken by the National Board about two weeks before the vote came up in the Senate. Not wishing in any way to interfere with the Bristow amendment, we did not discuss even the idea of this one with any other member of Congress excepting of course our Advisory Committees.<sup>1</sup>

Senator John F. Shafroth of Colorado, at the request of Mrs. McCormick's committee, introduced the new measure, which took his name, and it was favorably reported to the Senate by Senator Owen of Oklahoma in May. At this Nashville convention it was for the first time brought before the association. In her report Mrs. McCormick thus described the hearing which had been held before the House Judiciary Committee March 3:

The hearing was just at the time of the big blizzard and our speakers were stormbound, so that when we appeared before the committee there were only Mrs. Funk, Mrs. Booth and myself to represent the National Association, and, as Mrs. Booth was not prepared to speak and I was chairman for the time given our committee, it left Mrs. Funk as our only speaker. We had discussed the night before the hearing the possible phases of the suffrage question Mrs. Funk could use in her speech that would be new to the Judiciary Committee. As an organization we have been conducting hearings

<sup>1</sup> On the contrary at a public hearing before the Judiciary Committee of the Lower House on March 3, Mrs. Funk referred several times to such an amendment and stated that she represented an association of 462,000 women. She intimated that she knew the old amendment could not pass and that another might be introduced, which, it was hoped, would be more acceptable. The vote was not taken in the Senate till March 19. Meanwhile the newspapers gave to the suffragists of the country their first knowledge of the new amendment and vigorous protests soon followed, especially from the older leaders of the movement. The *Woman's Journal* of March 28 said editorially: "It is felt by many that before the Congressional Committee introduced a wholly new measure, which had never been sanctioned or even considered by the National Association, it ought to have been submitted to the National Executive Council."

As soon as the Senate had voted on the original amendment, Senator Bristow, at the request of the Congressional Union, re-introduced it, and it was reported favorably April 7, Senator Thomas B. Catron of New Mexico alone dissenting. Senator Bristow in re-introducing it said of the Shafroth measure: "It is more of a national initiative and referendum amendment than a woman suffrage amendment. I prefer that the question of woman suffrage rest directly upon its own merits and be not involved with the initiative and referendum."

before this committee for over forty years, and, as many of its members have served several terms, they are as familiar as we are with the suffrage arguments. We, therefore, decided to be perfectly frank with the committee and draw to their attention the fact that they possessed the power, if they wished to exercise it, to suggest to Congress some other form of legislation than had been presented to them. Mrs. Funk made this statement to them and said that in interviewing the members of the Judiciary Committee individually we found that they were convinced that woman suffrage was a question which was growing so rapidly throughout the country that it would only be a short time before the women would succeed in gaining their political freedom, but that as a committee, and because there was a majority of Democrats on it, they did not feel that they were able to report the Mondell amendment in any form.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. McCormick then called on Mrs. Funk to present the Shafroth-Palmer Amendment, which had been introduced in the House by A. Mitchell Palmer (Penn.), and the argument for it. The amendment read as follows:

Whenever any number of legal voters of any State to a number exceeding 8 per cent. of the number of legal voters 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 State, such question shall be so submitted, and if 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.

In beginning her carefully prepared "brief" Mrs. Funk said:

This amendment to the U. S. Constitution must pass both branches of the national Congress by a two-thirds vote and be ratified by a majority vote of three-fourths of the State Legislatures before it becomes a law. So far it is identical with the Bristow-Mondell amendment. The difference between the two is that after the latter amendment has passed three-fourths of the State Legislatures it completely enfranchises the women. The Shafroth-Palmer amendment, after it has passed three-fourths of the State Legislatures, enables 8 per cent. of the voters of a State to bring the suffrage question up for the consideration of the voters at the next general election. Such a petition may be filed at any time, not only once but indefinitely, until suffrage is won, and a majority of those voting

<sup>1</sup> This amendment had been reported by the Judiciary Committee on the 9th of May preceding this report "without recommendation" and a strong effort was being made by its supporters to bring it before the House for debate. The Rules Committee sent it to the House on December 12, 1914.

on the question is sufficient to carry the measure. In other words, every State where the women are not at present enfranchised may be a campaign State every year. If the male voters are obliged to hear the woman suffrage question agitated and discussed at a perennial campaign, how long will it be before, in desperation and self-defense, they will vote in favor of it?

Now, why is the Shafroth-Palmer amendment easier to pass Congress than the Bristow-Mondell amendment? First of all it shifts the responsibility of actually enfranchising the women from the Senators and Representatives to the people of their respective States. Second, the State's rights doctrine is the one objection raised to every federal issue that comes before Congress. It is primarily the greatest obstacle to federal legislation on any subject and is recognized as a valid objection by the members of Congress and particularly those from the North, who feel that they owe to the members of the South the justice of refraining from interference in matters vital to the South. . . .

Third, the Democratic party is committed to the initiative and referendum but not to woman suffrage. . . . The President has endorsed the initiative and referendum and has fully convinced himself of its merit. . . . We are asking the Democratic party to give us, the women of the country, the initiative and referendum on the question of whether or not we shall be allowed to vote, and no State can have this question forced upon it or even settled until a majority of the voters of the State cast their ballots in favor of it.

The difficulties connected with the old amendment both in Congress and in many States were described and the case of New York was cited among others:

If the matter of suffrage is submitted to the State of New York in 1915 and does not carry, under the New York constitution it cannot again be submitted for two years. Meantime all the energy that should be expended in directly educating the people must again be wasted trying to get a majority vote in two successive Legislatures. It is the opinion of one of the great suffrage leaders in New York, as expressed to me, that if the amendment does not carry in 1915 the people will not have an opportunity to vote upon it for another fifteen or twenty years.<sup>1</sup>

The early passage of the Shafroth-Palmer amendment would eliminate the State constitutional barrier and leave for the State organization only the work of ratification of this amendment, which only requires a majority vote in both branches of the Legislature. Again the legislator is able to shift the responsibility to the voters of his State. He is not voting directly on the question himself—only to submit the question to the people. You can readily see that here

<sup>1</sup> The proposed State amendment failed in New York in 1915, was submitted again by the Legislatures of 1916 and 1917, voted on in November, 1917, and adopted by an immense majority.

again this amendment is easier to ratify in the Legislatures than the Bristow-Mondell would be, because in the ratification of the latter the legislators are practically casting the final vote on the enfranchisement of the women all over the country. . . . The simultaneous consideration of suffrage in every State at the same time would give overwhelming accumulative impetus to the movement and would increase suffrage activity inestimably. The fact that the national Congress had taken any action whatsoever in regard to the suffrage question would stamp it as a national issue, and I very much doubt whether the Democratic and Republican parties would be able to decline to put a suffrage plank in their national platforms.

This ended Mrs. Funk's statement and Mrs. McCormick continued: "In dividing up the work of the lobby Mrs. Sherman undertook to card catalogue Congress by the same method which she used so successfully in the Illinois Legislature and a list of members was prepared who should be defeated on their record in Congress. Arthur Dunn, who had been a Washington newspaper correspondent for thirty years, was put at the head of the publicity bureau and proved to be of inestimable value because of his personal acquaintance with every member of Congress." Charles T. Hallinan, also an experienced newspaper man, had been made chairman of the press bureau and in his report to the convention told of the introduction of the latest methods of publicity work and the signal success they had achieved. A Chicago office had been opened for organization and a system established of thorough congressional district work, a detailed account of which filled half a dozen pages of the printed Minutes. Miss Lillie Glenn and Miss Lavinia Engle had been appointed field organizers and a number of States were canvassed, speeches made indoors and out in scores of counties, women's societies visited and many suffrage clubs formed. Every kind of transportation was used, from muleback to automobiles, and many hardships were encountered. The report closed with several pages of valuable suggestions for what would be a thorough political campaign if carried out. Mrs. McCormick also gave an interesting report of her chairmanship of another committee, saying:

Early in the summer of 1914 Mrs. Desha Breckinridge advanced the valuable idea of a special campaign committee to be appointed by the National Board for the purpose of giving aid to the campaign States by establishing a speakers' bureau for their benefit and devising means for raising necessary funds, which the National

Board approved. My indorsement would have been less enthusiastic could I have foreseen that I would be selected as chairman. A special finance committee was appointed, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, chairman; Miss Addams, treasurer, and I, secretary. Miss Ethel M. Smith, of Washington, D. C., spent her vacation establishing a speakers' bureau in the Chicago headquarters and it has been conducted by Mrs. Josephine Conger-Kanecko. As many national speakers have been routed through the campaign States as our finances would permit. We were faced with the discouraging fact that to do really active campaign service we would need a fund of not less than \$50,000 and we had less than \$13,000. We collected and distributed in cash a less amount than would be used on the campaign of a city alderman in an off year.

The plan of self-sacrifice day had been suggested to Mrs. Breckinridge by a Wisconsin suffragist and adopted by the National Board and a general appeal went out to the women of America to sacrifice something in aid of suffrage and contribute the amount to the general fund for use in the campaign States. [\$9,854 were realized.] Mrs. Funk, while walking through the Capitol one day, observed a bride with much gold jewelry in evidence and expressed the wish that a little of the gold used for personal ornament might find its way into a treasure chest to be sold for the campaign States and so the idea of the "melting pot" was suggested. . . . The plan was endorsed and put into operation as follows: A carefully selected list of names of women was taken from among the various suffrage organizations, colleges, churches, etc. These women received a letter asking for a contribution to the melting pot and further urging them to accept a sub-committeeship, making themselves responsible for soliciting from at least six people a contribution and keeping track of this group until their possibilities had been exhausted. The names of these persons were carefully scanned by the general committee and two or three out of each group of six were asked to go at the head of a further sub-committee and so something not unlike an endless chain was created. Although this was put into effect hastily and during the intense heat of a Washington summer, it was an enormous success and now at the close of the campaign contributions are still coming in and we consider that the top soil of melting pot possibilities has not been scratched. [\$2,732 were realized.]

Mrs. Funk's report of her campaign work was an excellent showing of the situation which the suffragists faced in State campaigns and had done from the beginning:

From the time I left Washington August 25, until I returned to Chicago October 27, I covered approximately 8,000 miles. After speaking three days in Indiana, where the suffragists were straining every nerve to secure a constitutional convention, I spent two days in Chicago and then started into the western States. My first three days were spent in Omaha, and, although my original itinerary con-

templated my coming to Nebraska for the last ten days of the campaign, this was afterwards changed and I went back to Montana a second time, so my observations regarding Nebraska refer to Omaha alone. Here existed an almost unbelievable condition of opposition. The brewers had come openly into the field against us and the brewing interests are connected with many of the big financial ventures in that city. Bankers, merchants, tailors and other business men whose wives were in suffrage were brazenly warned that the brewing deposits would be withdrawn from banks, that patronage would be taken away from merchants and tradespeople—even doctors were threatened with the loss of their clientele if their wives continued actively in the campaign. The result was a paralysis of action among many women who would naturally have been leaders and supporters of the work. Mrs. Draper Smith was doing all that was humanly possible under the circumstances to stem the tide of opposition, but money for publicity and organizing and many speakers seemed to be a necessity. Upon my report to Mrs. McCormick all extra aid possible was given.

My trip to South Dakota was interesting in the extreme. It and North Dakota are agricultural States, the cities are small and far apart, the villages are scattered over vast areas. By far the larger percentage of population dwells in the country on farms and ranches. The two Dakotas are almost pioneer States even now, but they present the highest degree of educational advantage and of general literacy perhaps in the whole United States. Their laws are generally good and for that reason there appears to be much apathy on the part of both men and women regarding suffrage. The States are prosperous and the people have not felt to any extent the pinch of wrong political conditions. The great problem was to reach the people and make them think, as when they think at all upon the subject they are apt to think right. I am convinced that whatever the vote against the suffrage amendment may have been in North Dakota it was the result of indifference and lack of special information and not to any extent real opposition.

I believed from what I could learn in South Dakota the liquor interests were making their last fight for State control and about the time I arrived Mrs. Pyle had ascertained that a large amount of money was being used to subsidize the State press, and simultaneously the literary efforts of the anti-suffragists, which have appeared throughout the press during the last year, came out in the leading papers, and anti-suffrage ladies at \$100 a week and expenses appeared on the platform of the principal towns and cities. During my campaign there I spoke wherever possible out-of-doors, even though meetings were arranged for me in halls, courthouses and churches. I found that the small audiences which would assemble in these places were made up of women and men already interested and that the uninstructed voter would only listen when you caught him on the street. I spent the week of the State fair at Huron with Mrs. Pyle and witnessed a wonderful demonstration of activity. As

high as 50,000 people a day were in attendance and the grounds were covered with our yellow banners. Every prize-winning animal, every racing sulky, automobile and motorcycle carried our pennants. Twenty thousand yellow badges were given away in one day. The squaws from the reservation did their native dances waving suffrage banners, and the snake charmer on the midway carried a Votes for Women pennant while an enormous serpent coiled around her body. I spoke during the fair four and five times a day and held street meetings downtown in the evening. When not thus engaged I assisted Mrs. Pyle and her committee in distributing thousands of pieces of literature and was amazed at the eagerness of the people to receive them. We investigated the fair grounds to see how much was thrown away and found almost none.

In North Dakota Mrs. Darrow had asked me to go into the untilled suffrage field. In many places they had never heard a suffrage address nor had a suffrage meeting ever been held. I zigzagged across from the southeast to the northwest corners and in Minot was arrested for making a street speech. There was no law that I could discover against my speaking in the street and I was convinced and am still that it was the result of the petty tyranny of town officials unfavorable to women. A fine of \$5 imposed upon me by the justice of the peace was remitted by him. I spent twelve days in Montana, travelling about 2,000 miles, and found more general interest than in any other State. With 118,000 voters scattered over the third largest State in the Union, with many contending elements, with an acute labor situation, with the political control of the State vested very largely in one great corporation, there was plenty to occupy the attention of a suffragist worker. Miss Rankin's organization work had been carried to a high degree of efficiency by the most strenuous endeavor on her part. The Amalgamated Copper Company, striving to defeat the workmen's compensation act, had joined hands with the liquor interests, working to defeat woman suffrage, and had put on the petticoat and bonnet of the organized female anti-suffragists. I spoke to thousands of people all over the State, and while on the surface all appeared well, there was an undertow of fierce opposition that could be felt but that can not be estimated until the votes are counted. [The State was carried by 3,714.]

Nevada was like a story in a book—a big, little State, with 80,000 inhabitants and 18,000 voters, and so thoroughly was it organized by Miss Martin that I believe she could address every voter by his first name. I felt like a fifth wheel. All the work appeared to be finished and hung aside to season by the time I arrived and I was in the unenviable position of being sandwiched between Dr. Shaw, who had just preceded me, and Miss Addams, who immediately followed me. I went over the desert, however, and into mines, and spoke in butchers' homes and at meetings that wound up with a supper and a dance and came away with the certainty that Miss Martin had two or three thousand votes tucked away in her inside pocket. [The State was carried by 3,678.] On this trip I learned of hun-



dreds of thousands of pieces of literature sent out by our entertaining friend, the Hon. Tom Heflin of Alabama. I know now why it was that all last winter he jumped up in Congress every few minutes and read into the Congressional Record something about the horror of women voting. He had a long business head and he was thriftily saving postage on anti-suffrage literature in the interest of the "society opposed," of the liquor interests, of organized crime and of all those forces that have taken arms against us.

The convention was deeply appreciative of the arduous and extensive work that has been done by the Congressional Committee but there was intense dissatisfaction with the so-called Shafroth Amendment, which had been freely discussed in the *Woman's Journal* for the last eight or nine months.<sup>1</sup> The debate in the convention consumed several sessions and more bitterness was shown than ever before at one of these annual meetings. The Official Board having endorsed the amendment felt obliged to stand by it, but to most of those delegates who had been in the movement for years it meant the abandonment of the object for which the association had been formed and for which all the founders, the pioneer workers and those down to the present day, had devoted their best efforts. Dr. Shaw was the only member of the board who had been many years connected with the association, and, while her judgment was opposed to the new amendment, she yielded to the earnest pleas of her younger colleagues and the optimistic members of the Congressional Committee that it should have a fair trial. Miss Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal*, strongly endorsed it and gave it the support of her paper in many long, earnest editorials. She also granted columns of space to vigorous arguments on both sides by suffragists throughout the country.<sup>2</sup> The question had been before the State associations for the last seven or eight months.

<sup>1</sup> The first week in the preceding April the Mississippi Valley Conference, composed of the Middle and some of the Western and Southern States, met in Des Moines and thirty-five prominent delegates signed a telegram to the Official Board of the National American Association, asking it "to instruct its Congressional Committee not to push the Shafroth Amendment nor ask for its report from the Senate Committee"; also "to ask the Senate Committee not to report this amendment until so requested by the national suffrage convention." This was not official action but they signed as individuals, among them the presidents of the Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Louisiana State associations and officers from other States.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the arguments may be found in the Appendix. An examination of the file of the *Journal* will show that ninety-nine per cent. of the writers were opposed to the amendment.

Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, corresponding secretary of the National American Association, wrote to the State presidents the first week in May, 1914: "Strange as it may seem, we find that quite a number of the members of our association have gotten the impression that the introduction of the Shafroth amendment means the abandoning of the old amendment which has been introduced into Congress for forty years or more, and which, as you know, has now been re-introduced and at this session will be called the Bristow-Mondell amendment. Nothing could be further from the truth. The reason for the introduction of the Shafroth amendment is to hasten the day when the passage of the Bristow-Mondell amendment will become a possibility. . . . Both amendments are before Congress but only the new one stands any chance of being acted upon before adjournment.<sup>1</sup> We stand by the old one as a matter of principle; we push for the new one as a matter of immediate practical politics and to further the passage of the old one." Mrs. Dennett also vigorously advocated the new amendment in the *Woman's Journal*.

At the opening of the second session of the convention devoted to the subject Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch moved that the Shafroth amendment be not proceeded with in the next Congress and it was seconded. Instantly Mrs. Raymond Brown, president of the New York State Association, offered as a substitute resolution: "It is the sense of this convention that the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association shall be to support by every means within its power, in the future as in the past, the amendment known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment; and further that we support such other legislation as the National Board may authorize and initiate to the end that the Susan B. Anthony resolution become a law."<sup>2</sup> After the dis-

<sup>1</sup> The old amendment had been voted on in the Senate March 19 and obtained a majority but not the required two-thirds. It had been reported without recommendation by the House Judiciary, which had not acted on the new one. The latter had been introduced in the Senate and the former re-introduced.

<sup>2</sup> The original measure had always been called the Sixteenth Amendment until the adoption of the Income Tax and Direct Election of Senators Amendments in 1913. The Congressional Union, organized that year, gave it the name Susan B. Anthony Amendment and for awhile it was thus referred to by some members of the National American Association. The relatives and friends of Mrs. Stanton rightly objected to this name, as she had been equally associated with it from the beginning, and all the pioneer workers had been its staunch supporters. The old association soon adopted the title, *Federal Suffrage Amendment*.

cussion had lasted for hours, with the administration supporting this resolution, a motion to strike out the words "and further" and all that followed was lost and it was carried by a vote of 194 to 100.<sup>1</sup>

The next day an informal conference was held at which Miss Laura Clay and Mrs. Sallie Clay Bennett explained a bill for Federal Suffrage, which they, with others, had long advocated, to enable women to vote for U. S. Senators and Representatives. Congress had the power to enact such a law by a simple majority vote of both houses. The association for many years had had a standing committee on the subject, which was finally dropped because it was believed that the law could not possibly be obtained. It found much favor at this convention, which instructed the Congressional Committee to "investigate and promote the right of women to vote for U. S. Senators, Representatives and Presidential Electors through action of Congress."

There was spirited discussion of the Congressional Committee's plan for "blacklisting" candidates for Congress whose record on woman suffrage was objectionable and it finally resulted in the passing of a resolution that this could be done only when approved by the majority of the societies in the State concerned. It was decided that the Congressional Committee should send out information and suggestions for congressional work but that the State associations should determine how this material should be used and that when the majority of them in a State could not agree upon some plan of cooperation the Congressional Committee should not work in said State.

The feeling aroused by the discussion of the Shafroth amendment was manifested in the election, where 315 delegates were entitled to vote and 283 votes were cast. Dr. Shaw received 192 for president and the rest were blank, as even delegates who opposed this amendment would not vote against her. Miss Jane Addams declined to serve longer as vice-president and reluctantly consented to her election as honorary vice-president but resigned before the close of the convention, as she felt that she could not

<sup>1</sup> At the first board meeting after the convention Mrs. McCormick was re-appointed chairman of the Congressional Committee with power to select its other members and Mrs. Funk was re-appointed vice-chairman.

be responsible for actions in which she had practically no part. Mrs. Desha Breckinridge of Kentucky was re-elected second vice-president without opposition but resigned soon afterwards, although not because of any disagreement with the policy of the board. Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick of New York received 173 votes for first vice-president and Miss Jean Gordon of New Orleans 107. Dr. Katharine Bement Davis of New York was made third vice-president without opposition, nor was there any to Mrs. Orton H. Clark of Michigan for corresponding secretary. For recording secretary Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald of Massachusetts received 166 votes and Miss Anne Martin of Nevada 115. Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers of New York was almost unanimously chosen for treasurer and Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Missouri for first auditor. For second auditor Mrs. Medill McCormick of Chicago received 177 votes and Miss Zona Gale of New York 103. Later Mrs. Nellie Nugent Somerville of Mississippi was appointed in place of Mrs. Breckinridge. The new board finally included only two members of the old one besides Dr. Shaw—Mrs. McCormick and Mrs. Fitzgerald.

The present convention was declared by resolution to have been "one of the greatest and most delightful meetings in the history of the organization," and a long list of thanks was extended "to the city of Nashville for its broad and generous hospitality and for special courtesies." The Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association gave a dinner, with Mrs. L. Crozier French, its president, as toast-mistress; the Women's Press Club had a luncheon for the visiting press representatives and the College Women's League one for its delegates. It was a relief from the tension of the week to have the last evening of the convention devoted to entertainment. Miss Zona Gale read a charming unpublished story, *Friendship Village*; a musical program was given by the Fiske Jubilee Singers and the convention closed with a remarkable moving picture play, *Your Girl and Mine*, an offering to the association by Mrs. Medill McCormick.<sup>1</sup>

The treasurer's report showed receipts for the year of \$67,312

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. McCormick spent a large amount of time and money on this play, hoping it would yield a good revenue to the association, but the arrangement with the Film Corporation proved impossible and it finally had to be abandoned.

and expenditures \$59,232. In addition a special fund for the "campaign" States had been subscribed of \$12,586, of which \$11,020 had been spent. Mrs. Medill McCormick had made a personal contribution of \$6,217 to the publicity work of the Washington and Chicago headquarters. Pledges of \$7,500 were made by the convention.

The committee of which Mrs. Frances E. Burns (Mich.) was chairman reported resolutions that urged the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives to take up at once the amendments now pending in Congress for the enfranchisement of women; demanded equal pay for equal work and legislation to protect the nationality of American women who married foreigners. They re-affirmed the association's past policy of non-partisanship and declared that "the National American Woman Suffrage Association is absolutely opposed to holding any political party responsible for the opinions and acts of its individual members, or holding any individual public official or candidate responsible for the action of his party majority on the question of woman suffrage." Of the European war now in its fourth month, the resolutions said :

*WHEREAS:* It is our conviction that had the women of the countries of Europe, with their deep instinct of motherhood and desire for the conservation of life, possessed a voice in the councils of their governments, this deplorable war would never have been allowed to occur; therefore, be it

*RESOLVED:* That the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in convention assembled, does hereby affirm the obligation of peace and good will toward all men and further demands the inclusion of women in the government of nations of which they are a part, whose citizens they bear and rear and whose peace their political liberty would help to secure and maintain.

*RESOLVED:* That we commend the efforts of President Wilson to obtain peace. Sympathizing deeply with the plea of the women of fifteen nations, we ask the President of the United States and the representatives of all the other neutral nations to use their best endeavors to bring about a lasting peace founded upon democracy and world-wide disarmament.

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As the national convention for 1914 would meet in Nashville it was necessary to have a special delegation attend the "hearing" in Washington which always was held at the first session of a

new Congress. The officers of the Congressional Union arranged for one before the House Judiciary Committee for March 3, and, as it was not likely that a second would be granted, Mrs. Medill McCormick, Mrs. Antoinette Funk and Mrs. Sherman Booth represented the National American Association at this one, as members of its Congressional Committee. Mrs. Funk was the speaker and the main points of her address are included in Mrs. McCormick's report in this chapter. In effect it prepared the way for the new measure afterwards called the Shafroth Amendment and she began by saying: "Ours is the oldest national suffrage association in the United States. It has been in existence over fifty years and comprises a membership of 462,000 enrolled women in the non-suffrage States. In addition to these I speak this morning in behalf of the 4,000,000 women voters in the ten equal suffrage States." Further on she said: "Gentlemen, the dearest wish of our hearts would be fulfilled if you would enfranchise the women. I know pretty much whether you are going to or not and you know that I know." The committee asked her a number of questions and she concluded: "We feel that this question could at least safely go to the people. It might be submitted by petition of the voters. In addition let me make this point along the line of the States' rights argument: You see, a Legislature *per se* has no right; it is nothing; it has no privilege—the privilege is all in the people themselves, and you could not say it would be contrary to the rights of the people in the State to take down an obstacle that was built up in front of them. So, in view of the action of the Democratic caucus in the House, we think you can at least do this much for us; you can take down this obstacle—State Legislatures."

The Federal Women's Equality Association also had asked for a portion of the time and its corresponding secretary, Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby of Washington and Portland, Ore., had charge of it. Although this association was organized twelve years before for the special purpose of obtaining a bill enabling women to vote for Senators and Representatives, it sponsored in the present Congress the same measure which the old association had introduced for the past thirty-five years and on this

occasion its speakers discussed only the amendment. Mrs. Colby introduced first Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming, who always was ready to champion the cause of woman suffrage for every organization. He made the point among others that "as State after State grants the franchise to women the condition is reached where its denial in other States deprives American citizens of a sacred right if they have moved from one commonwealth to another." "Our Federal Union," he said, "will be more firmly cemented the nearer we come to the point where qualifications for this right of citizenship are the same in all States." In Mrs. Colby's comprehensive address she said:

It may be news to some of you that we have had 12 reports on the woman suffrage amendment from committees of Congress. In 1869 the first hearing was given on woman suffrage and from that time to the present every Congress has had one. . . .

Never were there such splendid women in the records of time as those who have stood for the rights of their sex and the rights of humanity. . . . All those women passed on without being allowed to enter the promised land and for every one of them one hundred sprang up for whom the doors of opportunity and education had been opened by the efforts of those pioneer women. Now these also are coming to gray hairs and weariness, but for every one of these hundreds there are a thousand of the 20th century insisting that this question shall be settled now and not be passed on to the children of tomorrow to hamper and limit them, to exhaust and consume their energy and ability.

I was present at the last hearing where Mrs. Stanton spoke before a Judiciary Committee, and she said: "I have stood before this committee for thirty years, may I be allowed to sit now?" . . . Miss Anthony before a committee in 1884 said: "This method of settling the matter by the Legislatures is just as much in the line of State's rights as is that of the popular vote. The one question before you is: Will you insist that a majority of the individual men of every State must be converted before its women shall have the power to vote, or will you allow the matter to be settled by the representative men in the Legislatures of the several States? We are not appealing from the States to the nation. We are appealing to the States, but to the picked men of those States instead of to the masses." She used to say when John Morrissey, champion of the prize ring, was in the New York Legislature, that it was bad enough to go and ask him to give her her birthright but it was infinitely worse to go down into the slums and ask his constituents. . . .

Mrs. Colby closed with an extract from one of Mrs. Stanton's eloquent speeches before the Judiciary Committee and submitted

a valuable summary of Congressional hearings and reports on woman suffrage from 1869 to 1914.

Mrs. Glendower Evans of Boston presided over the hearing for the Congressional Union and introduced as the first speaker Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict (N. Y.) who said in part:

When we go to the voters of a campaign State to ask them to vote "yes" on a woman suffrage amendment, we go as petitioners with smiles and arguments and unwearied patience. We tell them over and over again the same well established truths; that it is the essence of democracy that all classes of people should have the power of protection in their own hands; that women are people and that they have special interests which need representation in politics; that where women have the right to vote they vote in the same proportion as men; that on the whole their influence in government has been decidedly good and absolutely no evils can be traced to that influence. In short, we reason and plead with them, try to touch their sense of honor, their sense of justice, their reason, whatever noble human quality they possess.

That is one way of getting woman suffrage in the United States, a long, laborious and very costly way. We have now achieved it in nine States and are a political power, and the time has come for us to compel this great reform by the simple, direct, American method of amending the Federal Constitution. Our argument is not one of justice or democracy or fair play—it is one of political expediency. Our plea is simply that you look at the little suffrage map. That triumphant, threatening army of white States crowding rapidly eastward toward the center of population is the sum and substance of our argument. It represents 4,000,000 women voters. Do you want to put yourselves in the very delicate position of going to those women next fall for endorsement and re-election after having refused even to report a woman suffrage amendment out of committee for discussion on the floor of the House?

You might say, "Why do you select this Democratic administration for your demand? This is the first time in eighteen years that this party has been in control of the Government. We are doing our best to give the people what they want; we are trying to live up to our platform pledges; we think we are doing pretty well. Why persist in embarrassing us with this very troublesome question?" . . . I answer that if this Congress adjourns without taking action on the woman suffrage amendment it will be because the party deliberately dodged the issue. Every woman voter will know this and we have faith that the woman voter will stand by us. You will go to her and say: "We have lowered the tariff; we have made new banking laws; we have avoided war with Mexico," and she will say: "It is true you have done these things, but you have done a great injustice to my sister in this nearby State. She asked for a fundamental democratic right, a right which I possess and



which you are asking me to exercise in your favor. It was in your power to extend this right to her and you refused, and after this you come to me and ask me for my vote, but I shall show you that we stand together on this question, my sister and I."

Several of the committee made caustic remarks about trying to hold the Democrats responsible after the Republicans had ignored them during all the past years. Mrs. Evans then introduced Mary (Mrs. Charles R.) Beard, wife of the well-known professor in Columbia University. Her address in the stenographic report of the hearing filled seven closely printed pages, an able review of the Democratic party's record in regard to Federal legislation. It was the most complete exposé of the fallacy of the Democratic contention that this party stood for State's rights as opposed to Federal rights ever made at a hearing in behalf of woman suffrage and is most inadequately represented by quotations. In the course of it she said:

Did Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, founders of the Democratic party, rend the air with cries of State's rights against Federal usurpation when the Federalists chartered the first United States bank in 1791, and when the Federalist Court, under the leadership of John Marshall, rendered one ringing nationalist decision after another upholding the rights of the nation against the claims of the States? Jefferson, as President, acquired the Louisiana Territory in what he admitted was an open violation of the Federal Constitution; and the same James Madison who opposed the Federalist bank in 1790 as a violation of the Constitution and State rights, cheerfully signed the bill rechartering that bank when it became useful to the fiscal interests of the Democratic party. Jefferson was ready to nullify the alien and sedition laws and the Constitution of the United States in the Kentucky resolutions of 1798. The very Federalists who fought him in that day and denounced him as a traitor and nullifier lived to proclaim and practice doctrines of nullification in behalf of State's rights during the War of 1812.

In the administration of Jefferson the Federal Government began the construction of the great national road without any express authority from the Constitution and notwithstanding the fact that the construction of highways was admittedly a State matter. . . . On August 24, 1912, the Congress of the United States, then controlled by the Democratic party, voted \$5,000,000 for the construction of experimental and rural-delivery routes and to aid the States in highway construction. From high in the councils of that party we now have the advocacy of national ownership of railways, telegraph and telephone lines.

In the early days of the republic the Democratic party protested even in armed insurrection in Pennsylvania against the inquisitorial

excise tax, which, to use the language of that day, "penetrated a sphere of taxation reserved to the State." Today this party has placed upon the statute books the most inquisitorial tax ever laid in the history of our country by the act of April 9, 1912—a tax on white phosphorus matches, not for the purpose of raising revenues, for which the taxing power is conferred, but admittedly for the purpose of destroying an industry which it could not touch otherwise. The match industry was found to be injurious to a few hundred workingmen, women and children. The Democratic party wisely and justly cast to the four winds all talk about the rights of States, made the match business a national affair and destroyed its dangerous features. Men and women all over the country rose up and pronounced it a noble achievement. Republicans joined with the Democrats in claiming the honor of that great humane service.

I have not yet finished with this tattered shibboleth. The State had the right to nullify Federal law in 1798, so Jefferson taught and Kentucky practiced. Half a century elapsed; the State of Wisconsin, rock-ribbed Republican, nullified the fugitive slave law and in its pronouncement of nullification quoted the very words which Jefferson used in 1798. A Democratic Supreme Court at Washington, presided over by Chief Justice Taney, the arch apostle of State rights, answered Wisconsin in the very language of the Federalists of 1798, whom Jefferson despised and condemned: "The Constitution and laws of the United States are supreme, and the Supreme Court is the only and final arbiter of disputes between the State and National Governments."

A few more years elapsed. South Carolina declared the right of the State to nullify and Wisconsin answered on the field of battle: "The Constitution and laws of the National Government are supreme, so help us God!" . . . At the close of that ever to be regretted war the nation wrote into the Constitution the 14th and 15th Amendments, their fundamental principle that the suffrage is a national matter. Those amendments were intended to establish forever adult male suffrage. . . .

Mrs. Beard then presented for the record a thorough synopsis of the proceedings in relation to the franchise of the convention that framed the U. S. Constitution, which showed, she declared, that it would have made a national suffrage qualification if the members could have agreed on one. "In all the great federations of the world," she said, "Germany, Canada, Australia, suffrage is regarded as a national question," and continued: "If respect for the great and wise who have viewed suffrage as a national matter did not compel us so to regard it, the plain dictates of common sense would do so. We are all ruled by the laws made by Congress, from Maine to California; we must all

obey them equally whether we like them or not. We are taxed under them; we travel according to rules laid down by the Interstate Commerce Commission under the Interstate Commerce law; the remaining national resources are to be conserved by Congress; whether we have peace or war depends upon Congress. Is it of no concern who compose Congress, who vote for members of Congress and for the President?"

It was shown by Mrs. Beard how closely national and State policies were interwoven; that the submission of this amendment would take it to the State Legislatures for a final decision; how with woman suffrage in nine States there was a much greater demand for it than there was for the one changing the method of electing U. S. Senators; how the plank in the national platform adopted in Baltimore exempting American ships in coastwise trade from Panama canal tolls was now before the Democrats in Congress for repudiation; how another plank demanded State action on presidential primaries and President Wilson called for a national law. Now a Democratic Congress refused to submit a national suffrage amendment because the platform did not ask for it! She concluded: "No, gentlemen, you can not answer us by shaking in our faces that tatterdemalion of a State's rights scarecrow. . . . It is a travesty upon our reasoning faculties to suppose that we can not put two and two together. It is underestimating our strength and our financial resources to suppose that we can not place these plain facts in the hands of 15,000,000 voters, including over 3,000,000 women. To take away from the States the right to determine how Presidential electors shall be chosen is upholding the Constitution and the previous rights of the States; but to submit to the States an amendment permitting them to decide for themselves whether they want woman suffrage for the nation is a violent usurpation of State's rights! We can not follow your logic."

Dr. Cora Smith King of Seattle, who had so large a part in obtaining equal suffrage in Washington, said:

I am a voter like yourselves; I am eligible to become a member of Congress, like any one of you. However, I do not stand before you as one voter only but to remind you that there are nearly 4,000,000 women voters in the United States today. I represent

an organization called the National Council of Women Voters, organized in every one of the States where women vote on equal terms with men. These States, as you know, are Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona. There are three objects of the Council: One is to educate ourselves in the exercise of our citizenship; the second is to aid in our own States where we vote in putting upon the statute books laws beneficial to men and women, children and the home; and our third object is the one which brings me here this morning—to aid in the further extension of suffrage to women.

The members of your committee from the latest equal suffrage States will bear me out in saying that there are thousands of women voters who have not yet made their party alignment. I desire to call attention to these many thousands who have only recently won the battle which they have fought so earnestly—as I have done from the time that I attained my majority and have not yet forgotten what it cost—and who have their ears attuned to the plea of their sisters in the other States. I remind you, gentlemen, that they may not prove unheeding when requested to vote for the men who are favorable to the further extension of suffrage. I trust that this present committee will not justify the charge of being a graveyard for many suffrage bills. I warn you that ghosts may walk.

Mrs. William Kent, wife of Representative Kent of California, spoke briefly, telling how the suffrage societies there became civic leagues after the vote was won and stood solidly back of seventeen bills relating to the welfare of the State and the home and the influence they were able to exert because of having the franchise. She urged the committee to submit the amendment and spare women the further drudgery of State campaigns and assured them that the women would not stop until the last one was enfranchised. Representative Joseph R. Knowland of California gave earnest testimony in favor of the practical working of woman suffrage in that State saying: "For years we heard the same arguments against equal rights for women as we hear today but we have tried it and many who were most bitterly opposed are now glad that California has given the franchise to women. It has proved an unqualified success. What I desire to impress upon this committee is that even though you may oppose the amendment it is your duty to report it in order that every member of the House may have an opportunity to register his vote for or against it."

Mrs. Donald Hooker of Baltimore pointed out the injustice

of permitting women to vote in California, for instance, and holding them disfranchised when they crossed the State boundary line, and asked the committee to put themselves in the place of citizens so discriminated against. Mrs. Evans closed the hearing in an interesting speech but as she could not resist eulogizing President Wilson she was assailed by a storm of questions and remarks from the Republican members of the committee as to his attitude on woman suffrage, while her support of the Democratic party brought protests from the members of the Congressional Union.

Mrs. McCormick closed for her side by saying: "Mr. Chairman, I simply want to clear up what may be a little confused in your mind in regard to the difference in the policy in the two organizations represented here today. I represent the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and, as we have stated over and over again, it has enrolled more than 462,000 women, organized in every non-suffrage State in the country. Our policy, which is adopted by our annual convention, is strictly non-partisan. We do not hold any party responsible for the passage of this amendment. We are organizing all over the country, using the congressional district as our limit, in order to educate the constituents of you gentlemen in regard to the great need to enfranchise women and we do not hold the policy which is adopted by the smaller organization, the Congressional Union."

This brought the members of the Judiciary Committee into action again and they persisted in knowing the size of the Congressional Union until Mrs. Benedict answered: "Our immediate membership is not our strong point." Mr. Webb of North Carolina repeated the question why the Republican party, which was in power sixteen years, was not held responsible for not reporting the amendment and she replied that it was not until after the elections of 1912 that the women were in a position to hold any party responsible.

Mrs. Frances Dilopoulo spoke for a moment. Miss Janet Richards (D. C.) called the attention of the committee to the etymology of the word democracy—*demos*, people; *kratein*, to rule—rule of the people—and asked: "If women must pay taxes

and must abide by the law, how can the suffrage be denied to them in a true democracy?" She spoke of her personal study of the question in Finland and the Scandinavian countries where women are enfranchised. Dr. Clara W. McNaughton (D. C.), vice-president of the Federal Women's Equality Association, in closing stated that they had a tent on the field of Gettysburg during its 50th anniversary and found the old soldiers almost to a man in favor of woman suffrage. Mrs. Evans filed a carefully prepared paper, State versus Federal Action on Woman Suffrage. Mrs. Helen H. Gardener (D. C.), officially connected with the National American Association, submitted to the committees a comprehensive "brief" on the case which said in part:

In a published statement yesterday the Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, used these simple, direct, easily understood words: "All believers in a republic accept the doctrine that the government must derive its just powers from the consent of the governed and the President gives every legitimate encouragement to those who represent this idea while he discourages those who attempt to overthrow or ignore the principles of popular government."

I am sure that all of us here and want to believe that this latest pronouncement given out officially as from the leading Cabinet officer was intended to be accepted at home as well as abroad as literally and absolutely true and not a mere bit of spectacular oratory. But if it is true, then not one of you gentlemen who has it in his heart to oppose woman suffrage is a believer in our form of government; not one of you is loyal to the flag; not one of you is a true American. You do not allow us women to give our consent, yet we are governed. You are not sitting in Congress justly and Mr. Bryan and the President do not believe that you are—none of you except those who are from woman suffrage States—or else that official statement is mere oratory for foreign consumption. He says that the President discourages those who attempt to overthrow or even to "ignore" this principle of popular government. We are more than glad to believe that Mr. Bryan is correct in this plain statement, for then we will know that a number of you will receive a good deal of "discouragement" at the hands of the President, and that those of you who stand with us and vote for us will receive your sure reward from him, in that "every legitimate encouragement" will be yours, and also, incidentally, ours. We need it, we think it is overdue. Up to the present time we have not felt that either the President or the Secretary of State quite fully realized that there is a good deal of belated encouragement due us and quite a limitless supply of discouragement due those who try "to overthrow or ignore" all semblance of a belief in the right of women to give their consent to their own government. I am

glad to have so high an authority that the good time is not only coming but that it has at last arrived—and through the Democratic party!

Again, in this simple, plain, seemingly frank statement of the Secretary of State, he says: . . . “Nothing will be encouraged away from home that is forbidden here.” Yet, away from home, he says, the fixed foreign policy is that “the people shall have such officers as they desire,” and that these officers must have “the consent of the governed.” That is precisely what we women demand. Are the Mexican peons more to our Government than are the women of America? If the Mexican officials must be disciplined, unless they are ready to admit that “the consent of the governed must be obtained” before there can be a legitimate government which we can recognize, how it is possible for you and for the President and for the State Department absolutely to ignore or refuse the same ethical and political principle here at home for one-half of all the people, who form what you call and hold up to the world as a republic?

No one who lives, who ever lived, who ever will live understands or really accepts and believes in a republic which denies to women the right of consent by their ballots to that government. Such a position is unthinkable and the time has come when an aristocracy of sex must give place to a real republic or the absurdity of the position, as it exists, will make us the laughing stock of the world. Let us either stop our pretence before the nations of the earth of being a republic and having “equality before the law” or else let us become the republic that we pretend to be.

This concluded the hearing for the suffrage associations and as the “antis” also had asked for one they occupied the afternoon. Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, the president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, said in opening the discussion: “We begin to hear from all over the country a very decided demand for help. The women are beginning to be frightened. They are frightened at exactly the same sort of thing by which the suffragists try to frighten you men—noise—so that in many States women are beginning to organize for the first time against suffrage. We are here today rather against our wishes. We did not want to bother you men again because the matter has been pretty well settled for this session of Congress at least. But the suffragists had demanded a hearing of you gentlemen, and so we asked you to hear us, and you have very courteously extended to us that privilege. We are here to represent the majority of women still quiet but not going

to be quiet very much longer. . . ." Mrs. Dodge made an analysis of the number of enfranchised women to show that the parties had nothing to fear and said in closing: "I wish to say that the suffragists who make these threats are not representing the women of the country. It is the women of the country whom we try to represent and we have tried for several years against the noisy, insistent and persistent demands of a group."

The other women speakers were Mrs. Henry White, member of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Association; Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, president of the New York Association; Miss Marjorie Dorman, secretary of the Women Wage-earners' Anti-Suffrage League of New York City<sup>1</sup>; Mrs. O. D. Oliphant of New Jersey, who was not able to reach Washington but whose paper on Feminism was put into the report; Miss Minnie Bronson, secretary of the National Association. Miss Bronson's address, which was largely statistical, called out many questions from the suffrage members of the committee. She said the association had approximately 100,000 members.<sup>2</sup>

The first of the men speakers against the amendment was J. N. Matthews (N. J.) who began by saying it would be difficult for him to put aside his Democratic partisanship even for a moment. He was soon involved in a wrangle with the committee which occupied over half of the space filled by his speech in the report. This was true also of the speech of Representative Thomas J. Heflin (Ala.), which ended with a long poem entitled *The Only Regeneration*, beginning: "There's no earthly use in prating of eugenics' saving grace." Mrs. Dodge had scored the suffragists for having more than one association but delegates from three of the "antis" were present at this hearing, the Guidon Society of New York City, represented by a New York lawyer, John R. Don Passos, who stated that he represented also the Man Suffrage Association. He filed a "brief" of its president, Everett P.

<sup>1</sup> The most persistent efforts of the suffragists never succeeded in locating this league.

<sup>2</sup> At the request of the committee the exact figures were furnished later and showed a membership of 105,000, of whom 85,600 lived in the five non-suffrage States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Of the remaining 19,400 the non-suffrage States of New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Ohio had 11,500; Virginia, 2,100, and 6,500 were divided among other non-suffrage States and the District of Columbia. Not one member was reported from States where the franchise had been given to women, although it was a stock argument of the "antis" that it had been forced on them and they would gladly get rid of it.



Wheeler, a Democratic New York lawyer, entitled Home Rule. As was the case with the other men speakers most of his time was taken up by the "heckling" of the committee and his answers. In the latter he said that woman suffrage sooner or later would have a tendency to destroy the home, hurt the social and moral standard of women and "convert them into beasts."

Dr. Mary Walker spoke ten minutes at her own request, scoring the suffragists and saying that women already had the right to vote under the National Constitution. Mrs. Evans closed the hearing.

## CHAPTER XV.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1915.

The Forty-seventh annual convention of the association was held Dec. 14-19, 1915, in Washington, the scene of many which had preceded it, with 546 accredited delegates, the largest number on record. The one of the preceding year had left many of the members in a pessimistic frame of mind but this had entirely disappeared and never were there so much hope and optimism.<sup>1</sup> The Federal Amendment had for the first time been debated and voted on in the House of Representatives, receiving 204 noes, 174 ayes, a satisfactory result for the first trial. Although in November, 1915, four of the most populous States—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania—had defeated suffrage amendments yet a million-and-a-quarter of men had voted in favor. These were all Republican States and yet had given a larger vote for woman suffrage than for the

<sup>1</sup> Call: In the long years of work for equal suffrage none has been so crowded with self-sacrificing labor for the cause as this one and no year so significant of its early ultimate triumph. As we issue this Call four great campaigns for equal suffrage are in progress in four eastern States. Thousands of women are working with voice and pen and tens of thousands are contributing in time and money to win political freedom for women in these States. Other States are rapidly preparing for active campaigns in 1916. At the same time the National Association is putting forth the strongest efforts to win nation-wide suffrage through the passage of its historic Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

We shall come together at this, our forty-seventh annual convention, larger in numbers, more united in spirit and effort, more assured of early success than ever before. . . . and, with renewed zeal and inspiration, rejoicing that the long struggle for the new freedom for women is nearing an end. Public opinion for equal suffrage has increased a hundredfold in this fateful year. It seems borne in upon the most conservative that it is only a matter of time when nation-wide political freedom will be granted to women as an inevitable outcome of our democracy and the last step in the great experiment of self-government. . . .

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President.  
KATHARINE DEXTER McCORMICK, First Vice-President.  
NELLIE NUGENT SOMERVILLE, Second Vice-President.  
KATHARINE BEMENT DAVIS, Third Vice-President.  
NELLIE SAWYER CLARK, Corresponding Secretary.  
SUSAN WALKER FITZGERALD, Recording Secretary.  
EMMA WINNER ROGERS, Treasurer.  
HELEN GUTHRIE MILLER, } Auditors.  
RUTH HANNA McCORMICK, }

Republican presidential candidate the preceding year. Over 42 per cent. of the votes in New York and over 46 per cent. in Pennsylvania were affirmative and the press of the country, instead of sounding the "death knell" as usual after defeats, predicted victory at the next trial. In October the cause had received its most important accession when President Wilson and seven of the ten members of his Cabinet declared in favor of woman suffrage; and in November the President had gone to his home in Princeton, N. J., on election day to cast his vote for the pending State amendment.

An honorary committee of arrangements for the convention had been formed in Washington which included many of the most prominent women officially and socially, headed by Miss Margaret Wilson, the President's eldest daughter. Republican and Democratic National Committees had cordially received suffrage speakers. The first measure to be introduced in both Houses of the new Congress was the resolution for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Suffrage Association, sitting on the Speaker's bench by invitation of Speaker and Mrs. Champ Clark. The convention opened Tuesday morning and at five o'clock in the afternoon the delegates were received by President Wilson in the White House. They walked the few short blocks from the convention headquarters in the New Willard Hotel to the White House and the line reached from the street through the corridors to the East Room. After each had had a hearty handshake Dr. Shaw expressed the gratitude of all suffragists, not for his vote, which was a duty, but for his reasons, to which the widest publicity had been given. She said the women felt encouraged to ask for two things: first, his influence in obtaining the submission of the Federal Amendment by Congress at the present session; second, if that failed, his influence in securing a plank for woman suffrage in his party's national platform. The latter he answered to their great joy by saying that he had it under consideration. He looked at his hand a little ruefully and said: "You ladies have a strong grip." "Yes," she responded, "we hold on."

The most striking contrast between this and other conventions

was seen in the program. For more than two-score years the evening sessions and often those of the afternoon had been given up to addresses by prominent men and women and attended by large general audiences. In this way the seed was sowed and public sentiment created and people in the cities which invited the convention looked forward to an intellectual feast. This year it was felt that the general public needed no further education on this subject; the association had become a business organization and the woman suffrage question one of practical politics. Therefore but one mass meeting was held, that of Sunday afternoon, and the entire week was devoted to State reports, conferences, committee meetings, plans of work, campaigns and discussion of details. These were extremely interesting and valuable for the delegates but not for the newspapers or the public.

The entire tenth floor of the New Willard Hotel was utilized for convention purposes and the full meetings were held in the large ball room, which had been beautifully decorated under the artistic direction of Mrs. Glenna Tinnin, with flags, banners and delicate, symbolic draperies. The large number of young women was noticeable and the association seemed permeated with new life. "Old men and women for council and young ones for work," said Dr. Shaw smilingly, as she opened the convention. "The history that has been made by this organization is due to the toil and consecration of the women of the country during past years, and, while I am happy to see so many new faces, my heart warms when my eyes greet one of the veterans. So in welcoming you I say, All hail to the new and thank God for the old!"

The convention plunged at once into reports. That of Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, the treasurer, showed receipts during the past year of \$51,265 and disbursements of \$42,396, among them \$12,000 for State campaigns. A large and active finance committee had been formed and thousands of appeals for money distributed. At this convention \$50,000 were pledged for the work of the coming year and the convention showed fullest confidence in the new treasurer, who said in presenting her report: "This has been a most interesting and beautiful year of activity for the National Association. The officers and assistants

at the headquarters have worked in perfect harmony. You have all, dear presidents and members of the sixty-three affiliated associations, been most kind to your new treasurer and she has deeply appreciated your forbearance."

The report of a temporary organization, the Volunteer League, was given by its director, Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick. Its purpose was to interest suffragists who were not connected with the association and President Mary E. Woolley of Mt. Holyoke College, Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw, Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and Mrs. Winston Churchill accepted places on the board. Letters were sent out, avoiding the active workers, and over \$2,000 were turned into the treasury. The legal adviser, Miss Mary Rutter Towle, reported a final accounting of the estate of Mrs. Lila Sabin Buckley of Kansas and the association received the net amount of \$9,551 on a compromise. The legacy of \$10,000 by Mrs. Mary J. Coggeshall of Iowa would be paid in a few months.

Charles T. Hallinan, as chairman, made a detailed report of the newly organized Publicity Department. Miss Clara Savage, of the New York *Evening Post*, was made chairman of the Press Bureau and Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan of Washington, D. C., a member of the Congressional Committee, took charge of its publicity. Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton accepted the chairmanship of a special finance committee which did heroic work. The *News Letter*, an enlarged bulletin of information and discussion in regard to the activities of the association, had already more than a thousand subscriptions and went to 116 weekly farm papers, 99 weekly labor papers and 120 press chairmen and suffrage editors. The report told of the successful publicity work for Dr. Shaw and other speakers, and said: "I prize especially my relationship with Dr. Shaw, whose courage, humor and zest, whose whole heroic personality, have made this a stimulating and memorable year." An amusing account was given of the effort "to accommodate the routine activities of the organization to the demand of the press for something new or sensational, which made great demands upon the originality, initiative and judgment of both the board and the publicity department," but it was managed about four times a week. The Sunday papers "drew heavily

upon the ingenuity of the publicity department; special or feature stories were sent to special localities; for instance those that would appeal to the Southerners to the papers of the South, others to those of the West, and others were prepared for the syndicates and press associations." Of a new and important feature of the work Mr. Hallinan said: "The need of a competent Data Department for the National Association was early recognized but it seemed a difficult thing to manage on the budget provided by the convention. It was finally decided that owing to the pressure of the campaigns the money must be found somehow and it was. In September the department was established on a temporary basis with Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, formerly associate editor of *The Survey*, in charge. She was admirably equipped for research work and soon got into usable shape the valuable records of the national headquarters. Sometimes the pressure upon the department for facts, including 'answers to antis,' was tremendous but there were few requests for information which were not answered by mail or telegraph within 24 or 48 hours."

Mrs. Boyd's own full report of her first year's work was heard with much interest and satisfaction. In it she said:

The opponents of woman suffrage have by their criticisms made it cover the whole field of human affairs, so it is not surprising that the inquiries by correspondents of this department have ranged from the moral standard of women to a request for assistance in righting a personal wrong. Others come under main headings of the progress of woman suffrage, both partial and complete; the standing of women under the laws; the effect of voting women on the character of legislation; the part they take in political life and its reaction on their lives and characters; statistics and facts in regard to the makeup of the population of the various States; details in regard to State constitutions, election laws and methods of voting on woman suffrage in the various States. . . . What has become of late "stock" anti-criticisms of some effects of the ballot has been thoroughly investigated and "stock" answers prepared. Facts and figures from official sources have been gathered to disprove the claim of enforced jury duty, excessive cost of elections, lowered birth rates and increased divorce rates in suffrage States. The results of these studies have been surprisingly favorable to the suffrage position, showing that in such criticisms the "antis" have been ridiculously in the wrong. They have only been able to use this line of argument at all because the suffragists have had no one free to take the time to answer them once and for all with the facts.

At an important afternoon conference Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who had been chairman of the New York Campaign Committee during the effort for a State amendment, made the opening address on *The Revelations of Recent Campaigns* which shed a great deal of light on the causes of defeat. She was followed by Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, who, as president of the Pennsylvania association, had charge of the campaign in that State, and Mrs. Gertrude Halliday Leonard, who was a leading factor in the one in Massachusetts, both presenting constructive plans for those of the future. Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. Lillian Feickert, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton and Mrs. Draper Smith, presidents of the New York, New Jersey, Ohio and Nebraska associations, described the Need and Use of Campaign Organization. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the New York City Campaign Committee, and Miss Hannah J. Patterson, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of Pennsylvania, told from practical experience *How to Organize for a Campaign*. The conference was continued through the evening, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, president of the Massachusetts association, speaking on the Production and Use of Campaign Literature; Mrs. John D. Davenport (Penn.) telling *How to Raise Campaign Funds in the County* and Mrs. Mina Van Winkle (N. J.) and Mrs. Maud Wood Park (Mass.) how to do so in the city. Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley (Mass.) discussed the *Political Work of Campaigns*. Another afternoon was devoted to a general conference of State presidents and delegates on the subject of *Future Campaigns*. It was recognized that these were henceforth to be of frequent occurrence and the association must be better prepared for their demands.

Mrs. Medill McCormick presided at the evening conference on Federal Legislation and the speeches of all the delegates clearly showed that they considered the work for the Federal Amendment paramount to all else and the States won for suffrage simply as stepping stones to this supreme achievement. Senator John F. Shafroth was on the platform and answered conclusively many of the anti-suffrage misrepresentations as to the effect of woman suffrage in Colorado. Every hour of days and evenings was given to conferences, committee meetings, reports from com-

mittees and States and the practical preparations for entering upon what all felt was the last stage of the long contest. The overshadowing event of the convention was Dr. Anna Howard Shaw's retirement from the presidency, which she had held eleven years. The delegates were not unprepared, as she had announced her intention in the following brief letter published in the *Woman's Journal* Nov. 27, 1915:

During the last year I have been increasingly conscious of the growing response to the spoken word on behalf of this cause of ours. Because of the unparalleled large audiences drawn to our standard everywhere, I have become convinced that my highest service to the suffrage movement can best be given if I am relieved of the exacting duties of the presidency so that I may be free to engage in campaign work, since each year brings its quota of campaign States. Therefore, after careful consideration, I have decided not to stand for re-election to the office of president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. I have deferred making this announcement until the campaigns were ended, but now that it is time to consider the work for the coming year, I feel it my duty to do so.

The president's address of Dr. Shaw had long been the leading feature of the conventions but this year it was heard with deeper interest than ever before, if this were possible. Because every word was significant she had written it and as it afterwards appeared in pamphlet form it filled fourteen closely printed pages. It was a masterly treatment of woman suffrage in its relation to many of the great problems of the day and it seems a sacrilege to attempt to convey by detached quotations an idea of its power and beauty. A large part of it will be found in the Appendix to this chapter. She set forth in the strongest possible words the necessity of a Federal Amendment but said:

There is not a single reason given upon which to base a hope for congressional action that does not rest upon the power and influence to be derived from the equal suffrage States, which power was secured by the slow but effective method of winning State by State. If all our past and present successes in Congress are due to the influence of enfranchised States, is it not safe to assume that the future power must come from the same source until it is sufficiently strong to insure a reasonable prospect of national legislation? To transform this hope into fulfillment we must follow several lines of campaign, each of which is essential to success: 1. By continuing the appeal which for thirty-seven years without cessation the



National Association has made upon Congress to submit to the State Legislatures an amendment enfranchising women and by using every just means within our power to secure action upon it. 2. By Congressional District organization, such as has been set in motion by our National Congressional Committee and which has proved so successful during the past year. 3. By the organization of enfranchised women, who, through direct political activity in their own States and within their own political parties may become efficient factors in national conventions and in Congress. 4. By increasing the number of equal suffrage States through referring a State amendment to the voters.

The delegates were deeply moved by Dr. Shaw's closing words:

In laying down my responsibility as your president, there is one subject upon which I wish to speak and I ask your patient indulgence. If I were asked what has been the cause of most if not all of the difficulties which have arisen in our work, I would reply, a failure to recognize the obligations which loyalty demands of the members of an association to its officers and to its own expressed will. It is unquestionably the duty of the members of an organization, when, after in convention assembled certain measures are voted and certain duties laid upon its officers, to uphold the officers in the performance of those duties and to aid in every reasonable way to carry out the will of the association as expressed by the convention. It is the duty also of every officer or committee to carry out the will of the association unless conditions subsequently arise to make this injurious to its best interests. . . . Without loyalty, cooperation and friendly, helpful support in her work no officer can successfully perform her duty or worthily serve the best interests of the association. I earnestly appeal to the members of this body to give the incoming Board of Officers the loyalty and helpful support which will greatly lighten their arduous task of serving our cause and bringing it to final victory.

In saying farewell to you as your president I find it impossible to express my high appreciation and gratitude for your loyal support, your unflinching kindness, your patience with my mistakes and especially the affectionate regard you have shown me through all these years of toil and achievement together. The memory of your sacrifices for our cause, your devotion to our association and your unwearied patience in disappointment and delay will give to the remaining years of my life its crowning joy of happy memories.

The *Woman's Journal* said in its report: "On the table was a large bouquet of roses from Speaker and Mrs. Champ Clark. When Dr. Shaw had finished and received a great ovation, she said: 'My life has been one of the happiest a woman ever lived. From the depths of my heart I thank you. You have done more

for me than I have ever done for you.' She unfastened a little pin on the front of her grey velvet gown and held it up for all to see, saying: "This is Miss Anthony's flag, which she gave me just before she died. It was the gift of Wyoming women and had four tiny diamonds on it for the four equal suffrage States; now it has thirteen. Who says "suffrage is going and not coming"? We have as many stars now as there were original States when the government began.'" It was voted unanimously that the thanks of the convention be extended to the president for her noble address and that it be ordered printed. The tribute of the delegates came later in the week.

The report of the Committee on Literature was made by its chairman, Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees, showing the usual careful selection of valuable matter for publication. Two important compilations she had made herself—Ten Extempore Answers to Questions by Dr. Shaw and extracts from a number of her speeches, gleaned from scattered reports; also an eloquent address made at Birmingham, Ala., the preceding April. So little from Dr. Shaw existed in printed form that these were very welcome. She urged the necessity for a library covering the field of women's affairs, well catalogued and open to the public. Miss Lavinia Engle's report as Field Secretary showed active work, speaking and organizing in Alabama, West Virginia, New Jersey and New York. Mrs. Funk's report as chairman of the Campaign and Survey Committee described a vast amount of work before the New Jersey campaign opened, including a series of twenty meetings addressed by Senators and Representatives and a number of prominent women, and others continuously through the summer with State and national speakers. Dr. Shaw spoke at thirty of these meetings.

In closing her report Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, chairman of the Committee on Presidential Suffrage, said: "In addition to the beneficent consequences of women's vote in State and municipal affairs, the number of votes in the electoral college that may be determined by their ballots is of paramount political significance. By their votes in twelve States, which have 91 presidential electors, they might decide the presidency. Of these 91 electoral votes 62 come from the States where constitutional

amendments enfranchising women have been obtained after repeated campaigns of inestimable cost and exhaustive effort, while 29, nearly a third of the whole, were secured simply by an act of the Illinois Legislature in giving the electoral vote to women. Is it not good political tactics to proceed along the lines of least resistance and bring our energies to bear upon Legislatures for the measure most potent and at the same time most easily procured?"

Mrs. Mary E. Craigie, who, as chairman of the Church Work Committee, had given such valuable service for years, told of the excellent work of her State branches, especially that of New Jersey during the recent campaign, whose chairman, Mrs. Mabel Farraday, had sent out hundreds of letters with literature to the clergymen and reached thousands of people at Ocean Grove and Asbury Park. She told of the encouragement she had received in her month of preparatory work for the approaching West Virginia campaign; the Ministerial Association of Wheeling had invited her to address them and expressed a desire to help it; several pastors turned over their regular meetings to her; the largest Methodist church in the State, at Moundsville, holding a week of big meetings, invited her to fill one entire evening with an address on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. "More and more I am led to believe," she said in closing, "that the most important work before the suffragists today is church work, especially the organizing of the Catholic women, that they will make their demands so emphatic the church will see the wisdom of supporting the movement. The church work is non-sectarian but it should also be omni-sectarian and our efforts should be extended to include all churches and religious sects."

The Congressional Committee had placed two departments of its work in charge of Miss Ethel M. Smith, whose comprehensive report showed beyond question their great value:

When the Congressional Committee was reorganized after the Nashville convention two departments were given into my charge, the congressional district organization work and the office catalogue of information concerning members of Congress. The Congressional plan, which had been launched but a year before, had been adopted in many of the States but not in all. My first step, therefore, was to urge by correspondence with the presidents that this machinery be established or completed in every State. On Decem-

ber 12 came the test as to how well this had been done. The Rules Committee of the House reported the Mondell amendment, which was to come to a vote January 12. I wrote or telegraphed at once to every congressional chairman or State president asking her to bring to bear all possible pressure upon the individual members of Congress from her State. Those States which had established this machinery were able at once to send the call to the respective district chairmen and so on down the line; the other States responded through their existing machinery and the result was that thousands of letters and telegrams poured into the offices of the Congressmen during the four weeks. Meantime our lobby was busy interviewing the members and the latest expressions obtained in each case were wired back to the States, whose chairmen responded again.

This interchange and cooperation were so effective that Congressmen themselves complimented our "team work." But the real proof of its value came after the vote was taken, when by checking with our office records of the individual Congressmen we found that many uncertain, noncommittal or almost unfriendly members' attitude had so changed that they voted yes on the amendment. Such a result could not fail to show, if proof had been necessary, that the greatest need as well as the greatest opportunity in national suffrage work for the future lay in furthering to the last degree of completeness and efficiency the organization of every State by congressional districts. . . .

At a distance from Washington it is difficult to know and easy to lose sight of what a Representative does or stands for, so I prepared special reports to the State congressional chairmen whenever opportunity occurred. The first, and a most interesting one, came when the vote was taken in the House on the National Prohibition Amendment Dec. 22, 1914. This was just three weeks before the vote on our own amendment and our catalogue showed a large number of Congressmen who opposed us on the ground of State's rights. The National Prohibition Amendment is obviously as direct an assumption by the Federal Government of rights now reposing in the States as could possibly be devised. I, therefore, checked off the names of the State's rights Congressmen who voted for it but probably would not vote for national suffrage, and sent the list to our respective State chairmen, urging that they call these Representatives' attention to this inconsistency. It has been reported to me that this argument proved effective with several of them and it is a fact that after the suffrage vote was taken a number of the names on our first list had to be removed because those men had voted "aye" on suffrage. Seventy-two, however, in the final count, voted *for* the National Prohibition Amendment but *against* ours. . . .

In June I devised a special congressional district campaign which would reach the members of Congress before they left their homes to go to Washington. This was intended to impress them with the strength of the suffrage sentiment in their districts and thus deprive them of a favorite excuse for not voting for our amendment. The

plan called for congressional district meetings all over the country on or about November 16 in every district where the Representative was not already pledged to the Federal Amendment. The call was sent to every congressional district chairman and it requested that every local suffrage league send as many delegates as possible to the meeting which would be held in the city where the Senator or Representative lived. It was urged that they be invited to attend the meetings and to speak and that resolutions be adopted asking them to vote for the amendment. It was a part of the plan to send these resolutions also to the State Central Committees of the Republican and Democratic parties, asking for suffrage planks on the State and national platforms. . . . We received most cordial and widespread cooperation in this work. I believe we can say that practically every Senator and Representative returned to Washington this session with the knowledge that behind him at home is an organized demand for his favorable vote on the Federal Amendment.

The usual pleasant social features of these conventions had been eliminated and the only relaxation for the delegates was one large evening reception in the New Willard Hotel. The National College Equal Suffrage League held its annual luncheon on the 18th at the New Ebbitt Hotel, Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, presiding. The guests were 225 women graduates of various colleges and the topic of all the speeches was, "How to advance women suffrage by making friends instead of enemies." The speakers included Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. Medill McCormick, Miss Florence Stiles, Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, Miss Hannah J. Patterson, Mrs. Elizabeth Puffer Howes and Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan.

The convention sent a telegram of sympathy in her illness to Miss Jane Addams. A special vote of thanks was tendered to Senators Charles S. Thomas and John F. Shafroth and to Representative Edward T. Taylor, all of Colorado, and to Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming for the very great assistance they had given to the Congressional Committee. A cordial invitation came from the Chicago suffrage headquarters for the delegates to accept its hospitality during the National Republican Convention in June, 1916. Invitations for the next convention were received from St. Louis, Little Rock and Atlantic City.

Mrs. Medill McCormick, chairman of the Congressional Com-

mittee, introduced Mrs. Antoinette Funk, its vice chairman, who told of the strong and successful effort made to have the Committee on Rules ignore the adverse action of the Democratic caucus and send the resolution to the Lower House for action after the Judiciary Committee had reported it without recommendation. The date finally set for the debate in the House was Jan. 12, 1915. Her report was in part as follows:

From the moment the resolution was reported by the Judiciary Committee the energies of the Congressional Committee were directed toward the end of bringing out as large a favorable vote as was humanly possible and all the members of the committee then resident in Washington undertook some portion of the task. The leaders of both sides of the House, Mr. Mondell for the Republicans and Mr. Taylor for the Democrats, gave us their heartiest support. Through them and through the courtesy of the Speaker of the House, Mr. Champ Clark, we learned what members would be recognized for speeches, and each man who had asked for time or who had been asked to speak because of his locality or for other reasons was interviewed. Our cooperation in the matter of gathering up suffrage data and material was offered and freely accepted. All suffrage literature known to us was brought in large quantities into our office and assorted into sets bearing upon the situation of the different Congressmen according to their locality, political faith, etc. Every man known to be favorable to us was urged to be in his seat on January 12 and those of our friends who, we learned, would be unavoidably kept away from Washington were written and telegraphed to arrange for favorable pairs.

Some time before the vote was taken the Congressional Committee reported to the National Board that our minimum vote would be 168. In fact, 174 favorable votes were cast and 11 favorable pairs were registered. The negative votes were 204. . . .

The favorable speeches of the Congressmen were put in form for the campaign States and over a million and a half were circulated. The report continued:

The amendment having been voted on in both Houses and direct work in its behalf being definitely closed for that session the Congressional Committee was increased by Miss Jeannette Rankin, who, together with the vice-chairman, discussed with members of the House and Senate the Shafroth amendment, then pending. No effort was made to bring this measure forward for a vote but the work of presenting the idea of a *national initiative* upon the proposition of suffrage for the consideration of the members of Congress was considered worth while. By many who disapproved of a National Suffrage Amendment, this was regarded as a practical method

of overcoming such obstacles as the State constitutions had erected, thus making their amending easy and practicable.

The Nashville convention had endorsed the Federal Elections Bill and instructed the Board to advance it in every way possible. The bill had been introduced in Congress through the Federal Society represented by Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby and we consulted with her as to the manner in which the National might be of greatest assistance. It was extremely difficult to get favorable consideration for it by individual Congressmen but the committee recommends that it should receive the endorsement and support of the National Association, although in its judgment it is a measure that cannot be successfully concluded at an early date.

Mrs. McCormick reported in person on the use made by the committee of the record of members of Congress. It was again voted that the plans of the committee should be carried out in a State only when all its societies were agreed but when they were not the Congressional Committee should not work there. It also seemed to be the opinion of the convention that States which were considering a campaign should first consult the Survey Committee and show whether or not they were prepared for it, and if the committee advised against it and they persisted they should not expect any assistance from the National Association. Miss Laura Clay was requested to explain the Federal Elections Bill, which would enable women to vote for Senators and Representatives, and would require only a majority vote of each house for its adoption. Miss Clay was enthusiastically received and the convention again requested the Board to take up this bill and press its claims on Congress. Later the Executive Council passed a resolution to do all in its power for Presidential suffrage.

At a morning session of the convention on December 18 a motion was passed that "last year's action in regard to the Shafroth Amendment be rescinded." The following motion was then carried: "The National American Woman Suffrage Association re-endorses the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, for which it has been working forty-five years, and no other amendment of the U. S. Constitution dealing with National Woman Suffrage shall be introduced by it during the coming year." The Minutes of the convention (page 43) say: "Miss Shaw asked as a matter of personal privilege that she be permitted to make a statement to the association with regard to

her attitude on the Shafroth Amendment to the effect that she had been opposed to its adoption and had voted against it but that when the Board by majority vote adopted it she supported the Board in its decision; that the longer she studied the question the more she approved of it but that she felt the mistake made was in trying to work for it before the women of the association had become informed as to its value and had learned to believe in it." This was the end of the so-called Shafroth Amendment, which had threatened to carry the old association on the rocks. [See Chapter XIV.]

Another problem came before this convention—the policy of the recently formed Congressional Union to adopt the method of the "militant" branch of the English suffragists and hold the party in power responsible for the failure to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment. They had gone into the equal suffrage States during the congressional campaign of 1914 and fought the re-election of some of the staunchest friends of this amendment, Senator Thomas of Colorado, for instance, chairman of the Senate Committee which had reported it favorably and a lifelong suffragist. The press and public not knowing the difference between the two organizations were holding the National American Association responsible and protests were coming from all over the country. Some of the younger members, who did not know the history and traditions of the old association, thought that there should be cooperation between the two bodies. Both had lobbyists actively working at the Capitol, members of Congress were confused and there was a considerable feeling that some plan for united action should be found. Miss Zona Gale, the writer, offered the following motion, which was carried without objection: "Realizing that all suffragists have a common cause at heart and that difference of methods is inevitable, it is moved that an efficiency commission consisting of five members be appointed by the Chair to confer with representatives of the Congressional Union in order to bring about cooperation with the maximum of efficiency for the successful passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment at this session of Congress." The Handbook of the convention (page 155) has the following:



In accordance with the action of the convention, on the motion of Miss Zona Gale, the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association appointed a committee of five consisting of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of New York; Mrs. Medill McCormick of Illinois; Mrs. Stanley McCormick of Massachusetts; Mrs. Antoinette Funk of Illinois and Miss Hannah J. Patterson of Pennsylvania, to confer with a similar committee from the Congressional Union on the question of cooperation in congressional action. These committees met at the New Willard on December 17, Miss Alice Paul, Miss Lucy Burns, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Miss Anne Martin and Mrs. Gilson Gardner being present as representatives of the Congressional Union, all but Mrs. Lewis (Penn.) of the District of Columbia.

Its representatives made two suggestions: (1) That the Congressional Union should affiliate with the National American Woman Suffrage Association. (2) That in any event frequent meetings for consultation should be held between the legislative committees of the two in order to secure more united action.

In the discussion of these suggestions it developed that at this time the Congressional Union has no election policy and that its future policy must depend on political situations. The Union declares itself to be non-partisan according to its constitution, which pledges its members to support suffrage regardless of the interests of any national political parties. At this point the report of the joint conference ends.

The committee of five representing the National American Association recommends that no affiliation shall take place because it was made quite clear that the Congressional Union does not denounce nor pledge itself not to resume what we term its anti-party policy and what they designate as their election policy; also because it is their intention, as announced by them, to organize in all States in the Union for congressional work, thus duplicating organizations already existing. Your committee further recommends that the incoming board of officers give their serious consideration to the suggestion of conferences with a view to securing more united action in the lobby work in Washington.

At the conference Mrs. Catt explained to Miss Paul that the association could not accept as an affiliated society one which was likely to defy its policy held since its foundation in 1869, which was neither to support nor oppose any political party, nor to work for or against any candidate except as to his attitude toward woman suffrage. Miss Paul would give no guarantee that the Congressional Union would observe this policy. It was thought that some way of dividing the lobby work might be found but in a short time the Union announced its program of fighting the can-

didates of the Democratic party without any reference to their position on the Federal Amendment or their record on woman suffrage. They offered as a reason that as the Democratic party was in control of the Government it should have the Federal Amendment submitted. There never was a time when the Democrats had the necessary two-thirds of the members of each house of Congress, but enough of them favored it so that it could have been carried if enough of the Republicans had voted for it. It was plainly evident that it would require the support of both parties. The policy of the Congressional Union, put into action throughout the presidential campaign of 1916, made any co-operation impossible.

When in 1904 Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt had been obliged to resign the presidency on account of impaired health it was most reluctantly accepted by Dr. Shaw and only because Miss Anthony so earnestly impressed it on her as a duty. She felt that her own great mission was on the platform rather than in executive office and she preferred it; besides there was no salary attached to the office and she was dependent for her livelihood on her own efforts. Miss Anthony, Mrs. Catt and others overcame all her objections and for eleven years she had made almost superhuman efforts to fulfil her executive duties and keep in the field a large part of the time, speaking from ocean to ocean, from lakes to gulf, and every few years in European countries. She was in constant demand and could hardly refuse an appeal. Only a fine constitution and supreme will power enabled her to endure the strain, and with it all her fund of humor was never exhausted and her courage never faltered. There was a feeling, however, among some members of the association that the movement had reached a stage when she was more than ever needed to address the immense audiences which everywhere now were hungry to hear the doctrines of woman suffrage; and they felt also that the situation at present demanded an executive at the head of the association who could give practically her entire time to the vast demands for administrative work.

Dr. Shaw had but one regret at laying down the heavy double burden, which was that it was placed in her hands by Miss Anthony in her last hour with the charge not to give it up until

the final victory was won. She knew, however, that Miss Anthony would be satisfied if Mrs. Catt, an unsurpassed executive and organizer, would take it, and such was the sentiment of a large majority of the delegates, but this she positively refused to do. She was president of the International Suffrage Alliance, which had branches in twenty-six countries, and as most of them were in the very midst of the World War the United States had to assume the entire responsibility of maintaining the London headquarters and the official paper. New York State had decided to go immediately into another amendment campaign and she had again assumed the chairmanship and was pledged to the work. For several days she resisted all pleadings until finally the ground was completely taken out from under her feet. First, a few wealthy women guaranteed a fund of \$5,000 for the year's expenses of the International Alliance to relieve her of that care. Then a number of delegates went to the New York delegation of over fifty and labored with them to release her from the chairmanship of the campaign committee, which, after an exciting caucus, they reluctantly consented to do at a great sacrifice, and finally the convention went to her in a body and laid the fruits of their efforts at her feet and she surrendered.

At the primaries 45 votes were cast for Mrs. Mina C. Van Winkle (N. J.) principally by members of the Congressional Union who were in some of the State delegations, but she withdrew her name. For other officers the opposition that had been manifesting itself for several years recorded from 41 to 77 votes out of 546, except that Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald (Mass.) received 118 for recording secretary and Dr. Katharine Bement Davis 141 for third vice-president but withdrew her name. Others of the present board did not stand for re-election. Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers was unanimously re-elected treasurer. The following officers were elected: Mrs. Catt unanimously; Mrs. Frank M. Roessing (Penn.), first vice-president; Mrs. Katherine Dexter McCormick (Mass.), second; Miss Esther G. Ogden (N. J.), third; Miss Hannah J. Patterson (Penn.), corresponding secretary; Mrs. James W. Morrison (Ills.), recording secretary; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller (Mo.), first auditor; Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs (Ala.), second. Dr. Shaw came in from the hearing

before the Judiciary Committee as the balloting was about to begin, and as she took the chair she asked from the convention the privilege of casting the first vote for Mrs. Catt, "the woman who from the beginning has been my choice, the one who more than any other I long to see occupy the position of your president."

The afternoon session was a beautiful and memorable occasion. Delegates knew there was "something in the air" when they entered the ante-room and were asked to help themselves from the great quantities of flowers on the tables and when they saw a uniformed brass band in one end of the convention hall. Dr. Shaw was in the chair and at her right and left were Mrs. George Howard Lewis of Buffalo and Mrs. Henry Villard of New York, lovely, white-haired veterans in the cause. Gathered about her on the platform were those who had been her nearest associates during the many years of her presidency. The meeting was called to order and Mrs. Raymond Brown on behalf of the New York delegation presented a resolution of thanks to Dr. Shaw for the 204 speeches made by her during the past year in that State and asked unanimous consent of the convention for the adoption of a new by-law to the constitution making her Honorary President of the association with a seat on the Board.

As the delegates answered with a rising vote the band broke forth with patriotic airs and from a side room entered the national officers followed by the State presidents and chairmen of standing committees. Dr. Thomas, president of the National College League, bore a golden laurel wreath on a blue velvet cushion and each of the officers a large cornucopia filled with yellow blossoms. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw carried a long garland of flowers and the presidents had huge bouquets. The procession marched entirely around the room with the band playing and the audience singing. Dr. Thomas presented the laurel wreath to Dr. Shaw "as a symbol of the triumphant work she had done for the cause which the blue and gold represent." Mrs. Laidlaw placed the garland about her neck saying, "With these flowers we bind thee to us forever." The presidents came forward and laid their bouquets at her feet until they were banked as high as the arms of her chair and then all grouped themselves around

her. As she rose to speak the whole audience sprang to their feet and commenced to shower her with roses until she was almost lost to sight. Dr. Shaw was very pale and her voice faltered in spite of her effort to control it but with the old smile she said: "Men say women are too emotional to vote but when we compare our emotions here today to theirs at political conventions I prefer our kind. If this resolution means that I can still work for suffrage I accept it gratefully and thank you for the opportunity but under no consideration would I accept merely an honorary office. The flowers are beautiful and I shall remember this hour as long as I live but what will make my heart glad all my life is the love I know the members of this association have for me."

"The storm of roses ended in a rainbow with a pot of gold at its end," said the report in the *New York Tribune*, "for President Thomas came forward and announced that an annuity had been raised which would give Dr. Shaw an income of \$3,200 as long as she lived. 'This is in order,' she said, 'that you may work for suffrage every day without stopping to think of finances, and every mill in the \$30,000 represents a heart you have won or a mind you have converted to woman suffrage.' To this gift Mrs. Lewis added \$1,500 to pay a year's salary to a secretary." "I have always wanted to know how it feels to be a millionaire and now I know," responded Dr. Shaw. "I cannot think what to say except that I'm very happy."<sup>1</sup> The delegates cheered and the band played and when the tumult ceased she turned to where Mrs. Catt sat at the very back of the platform looking pale as herself and by no means so happy, and taking her hand led her forward and presented her as the new president of the association. Again there was a scene of great enthusiasm and when it ceased Mrs. Catt said: "When I came to this convention I had no more idea of accepting the presidency of this association than I had of taking a trip to Kamtchatka. I will do my best but because I am an unwilling victim and because you all know it I think I

<sup>1</sup> Although Dr. Shaw was but sixty-eight years old and in perfect health she afterwards asked the custodians of this fund—George Foster Peabody, James Lees Laidlaw and Norman de R. Whitehouse, New York bankers—to hold it in trust, paying her only the annuity each year and giving her the right to dispose of it at her death in some way to advance the cause of woman suffrage, which was done.

have a right to exact a pledge from you—that if you have any fault to find with my conduct or that of the Board you will bring your complaint first to us. I ask all of you to work harder the coming year than you have ever worked before. I cannot be otherwise than deeply touched by the confidence you have placed in me. I promise you to do my best not to disappoint you.” The convention clearly demonstrated its joy over her election and received cordially the new officers as they were introduced.

Miss Margaret Wilson was among those who showered Dr. Shaw with flowers on Friday afternoon and she sat on the platform at the mass meeting in Poli's Theater on Sunday afternoon. Secretary of the Interior Lane, Senators Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota and Shafroth of Colorado and many other officials and prominent men and women had seats on the platform and a large audience was present. The Rev. U. G. B. Pierce, of All Souls Unitarian Church, gave the invocation. Dr. Shaw was in the chair and the speakers were Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port of New York; Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Commissioner of Corrections of New York City, and Mrs. Catt. Dr. Davis spoke with marked effect on the Reasonableness of Woman Suffrage. Mr. Malone traced the extension of suffrage from the earliest to the present time and showed that in seeking the right to vote American women were asking nothing new. He spoke of “the million women in New York State who have to go into the shop, the factory and the market place each day to earn a living and support a home” and demanded the vote for these women as a matter of justice. He scorned the idea of woman's inferiority to man and said: “It is desirable to place in the electorate every mature individual of brains, character, intelligence and love of country to perpetuate American traditions and the American idea of democracy. America today, facing the world problems of infinite difficulty and variety, needs every element of moral force and influence in the electorate which she can summon to her service, for it may be that our country will be called upon before the world to redeem the pledges made in behalf of democracy itself. The right of suffrage involves the question of justice; the exercise of suffrage raises it to one of ethics. The

question before the men of the country is, Should the women have the suffrage and if they get it how will they use it?"

Here Mr. Malone could not resist the temptation to predict that the vast majority would vote for military "preparedness," a burning question at this time. This roused Mrs. Catt's resentment both because it was contrary to her belief and because it was contrary to the custom of the association to discuss political subjects. She largely abandoned the rousing suffrage speech she intended to make in order that Mr. Malone's assertion might not go out over the country with the sanction of the association and said in beginning: "Behind preparedness is a bigger thing—the right to maintain peace. Unless this country carries a militant peace policy into the court of nations, nobody will, and if we do not take a firm stand we ourselves will soon be at war. It has been made clear to me in the last few months that men are too belligerent to be trusted alone with governments. The world needs woman's restraining hand. Man's instinct has been militant since primitive times when it was his job to do the hunting and fighting and woman's to do the work. Woman's instinct has been to conserve and protect life. It is much easier to fight than to make peace. We women would not allow our country to be made the door mat for other nations but we would find a way to settle disputes without killing fathers, husbands and sons."

Dr. Shaw sustained firmly the position of Mrs. Catt, obtained a big collection and sent the people home in a peaceful frame of mind by her closing speech.

Toward the close of the convention the following resolutions were presented by the committee, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, chairman, and adopted:

WHEREAS, women already have the ballot in twelve States of the Union and one Territory and in seven foreign countries, and the trend of civilization the world over is toward enlarged rights for women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in convention assembled, again calls upon Congress to submit to the States the Constitutional Amendment providing for nationwide suffrage for women.

We rejoice in the recent granting of full suffrage to women in Denmark and Iceland; Municipal suffrage in South Africa and an

enlarged local suffrage in the provinces of Canada and the States of our Union. . . .

We express our heartfelt sympathy with the women of all countries now suffering through the war and our earnest wish for the speedy establishment of peace with justice. Since women must bear their full share of all the burdens and sufferings of war they ought in fairness to have a share in choosing those in high places who settle the question of war or peace.

The heroic work done for the sick and wounded by the women of every land shows them to be worthy of the ballot, their right to which Florence Nightingale declared to be an axiom, and their plea for which has been endorsed almost unanimously by the International Council of Nurses representing nine nations.

The association reaffirms that its policy is non-partisan and non-sectarian, opposing no political party as such and opposing no candidate because of his party affiliations but judging every candidate by his own attitude and record.

We believe the home is the foundation of the State; we believe in the sacredness of the marriage relationship, and further, we believe that the ballot in the hands of women will strengthen the power of the home and sustain the sacredness and dignity of marriage; we denounce as gross slander statements made by the enemies of woman suffrage that its advocates as a class entertain opinions to the contrary.

The thanks and appreciation of the association are tendered to its retiring president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, for her long and arduous service to this cause, her many labors and hardships and her innumerable and powerful addresses, which have won adherents to woman suffrage not only throughout the United States but in foreign lands.

We highly appreciate President Wilson's action in declaring in favor of the principle of equal suffrage and in stating his belief in the good results to be expected from its adoption.

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As the resolution to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment to the State Legislatures for ratification had been lost in the Senate and House of the 63rd Congress it was necessary to begin again with the 64th. Usually the hearings before the committees of the two Houses were held at the same time and the convention adjourned so the delegates might be present but at this time the one for the National American Association before the Senate was set for the morning of December 15 and the one before the House for the following day. It adjourned for the first one but as the second promised to be long drawn out only a delegation went with Dr. Shaw and she returned to the convention after she had made the opening speech.



At the Senate hearings the chairman, Senator Charles S. Thomas (Col.), presided and members present were Senators Hollis (N. H.); Clapp (Minn.); Sutherland (Utah); Catron (N. M.); Jones (Wash.). The other members, Senators Owen (Okla.) and Johnson (S. Dak.), were suffragists and probably were out of town. Senator Catron was the only opponent. Senator Ransdell was added to the committee the second day. On the third day only Senators Hollis, Clapp, Sutherland and Jones attended. The time was divided among the representatives of the National Association, the Congressional Union and the National Anti-Suffrage Association, the first taking from 10 to 12 o'clock Wednesday; the second from 10 to 11:30 Thursday; the third from 2 to 3:15 Monday. The joint resolution for the amendment had been introduced by Senators Thomas and Sutherland.

On the first day Chairman Thomas said: "This meeting of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage is called at the instance of the National Association of which Dr. Anna Howard Shaw is the honored president. The hearing will be conducted under the auspices of that association and by her direction. Dr. Shaw, we will be glad to hear you now." Dr. Shaw said in part:

For thirty-seven years this amendment has been introduced and re-introduced into the Congress by members who have been favorable to our movement, or who have believed in the justice and right of citizens to petition Congress and have that petition heard. Last year we were permitted to address your body and we rejoiced in the fact that a committee, which from the time of its creation usually had been indifferent toward our subject, had now been appointed with Senator Thomas, who from the very beginning had seen the justice of the demand for woman suffrage, at the head. This committee gave us great courage and hope, which were fully justified in the fact that for the first time in twenty years our resolution was reported out of committee and acted upon in the Senate, receiving a majority vote but not the necessary two-thirds. We come again with the same measure and again we appeal to this committee, in the same terms as for all the past years, for the women citizens of the United States who at every call have responded as readily as the men in doing their duty and serving their country. More and more the demand is being made by ever-increasing groups of women that they shall directly share in the Government of which they form a part. So we come to you today with the same old measure but we come

with greater hope than ever before because we realize that back of you there are now in many of the States constituencies of women.

Dr. Shaw introduced Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs of Alabama, who quoted from distinguished southern members of Congress on State's rights and asked that these sentiments be applied to the National Amendment for Woman Suffrage, saying in part:

If this amendment is adopted it in no wise regulates or interferes with any existing qualification for voting (except sex) which the various State constitutions now exact. It leaves all others to be determined by the various States through their constitutional agencies. It is a fallacy to contend that to prohibit discrimination on account of sex would involve the race problem. The actual application of the principle in the South would be to enfranchise a very large number of white women and the same sort of negro women as of negro men now permitted to exercise the privilege. . . .

However much these chivalrous gentlemen may wish it were so, that southern women might truly be called roses and lilies which toil not, they must know that their compliments do not provide equal pay for equal service, which obtains in all the woman suffrage States and that their flowers of speech do not help us secure a co-guardianship law, which every suffrage State has and which is non-existent in all southern States. The pedestal platitude appeals less and less to the intelligence of southern women, who are learning in increasing numbers that the assertion that they are too good, too noble, too pure to vote, in reality brands them as incompetents. It cannot be sugar-coated into any other significance as long as we remain classed with idiots, criminals and some of the negro men who also are disfranchised. As things stand in the South an incentive is held out to the negro man to become educated that he may meet the tests; to practice industry and frugality and acquire property to meet the taxpaying qualification; but no such incentive is held out to the white women, who meet the insuperable barrier of sex at every turn which might lead to progress. . . .

We women of the South today, while proud of our past do not live in it. We wish to be proud of our present that we may look forward with confidence to our future. We know that sectionalism should have no place in our hearts or lives. This demand for suffrage is not sectional, it has its adherents in every State and in almost every town in every State. There is little or no organized opposition in my part of the country but there are many thousands of fine, thoughtful, forward-looking southern women banded together seeking the removal of this last badge of incompetency. For them there is no North or South but one great nation, the interest of whose women is the same. We realize that we are not different or better, we southern women, than the women in Montana, Illinois, Maine or Massachusetts but are just human beings as they are. We are not queens but political and industrial serfs. We are not angels but

our better natures, our higher selves are becoming aroused by the needs of our common humanity with a solidarity of purpose, a keenness of vision unmarred by selfish motives.

Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees, head of the Rosemary School for Girls in Greenwich, Conn., described the work of the National Suffrage Association and its sixty-three auxiliaries in the many State campaigns and the long effort for a Federal Amendment and said in closing: "In its propaganda and campaigns the association has steadily maintained a non-partisan attitude, endeavoring so far as it had power to help the friends of suffrage and considering as antagonistic only its opponents. It does not hold its friends responsible for the failure of their party to pass its measures. It never forgets that it may have to look for help in amending the State constitutions to the adherents of a party unfriendly to a Federal Amendment. It believes in educating the public until the demand for the enfranchisement of women becomes so strong as to be irresistible. The enormous change of opinion in that public within a few years inspires the association to hope for the speedy conclusion of its labors."

Mrs. George Bass, the well-known suffrage and political worker of Chicago, said in the course of her remarks:

Women want the ballot because they need it in their business—the business of being a woman—in the business that began when the first man and the first woman commenced housekeeping in a cave.

The duties of the man and the woman differentiated themselves at that time and they have been differentiated ever since. The woman as mother became the first artisan because she had to clothe the children. She became the first doctor because she had to treat the ills that came to those children of hers and to the man who lived by her side. She had to invent tools; she was the first farmer. Man and his duties and his responsibilities have been the same from that time to this. He brought in to her the slain animal which she transmuted into food and changed into clothing. He was the protector, and the first government that grew up about that first home considered only the problems of offense and defense. As the governments of the world became more stable, as they developed, they still centered about war, offense and defense. . . . Woman still is the mother of the race but what of the home? It has become socialized and the spinning wheel is in the attic and millions of women are standing at the great looms of this country. The women are in the shops, the factories, the offices, everywhere that modern industrialism is extending itself. The school has been socialized and the children are by the thousands in the schools.

Mrs. Bass then strikingly illustrated how the business of being a woman now took women to legislative bodies in the interest of the State's dependent children, of the women in the industries, of the so-called fallen women, and showed how fatally handicapped all were without the power of the ballot.

Mrs. Medill McCormick, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the association, sent a comprehensive report of the vast work it had done in district organization throughout the States and the evident influence this had exerted on Congress. Dr. Shaw introduced Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, who made the principal address, a searching and comprehensive review of the methods by which men had obtained the ballot compared to those which had been used by women and showed the many requirements made of the latter which were entirely omitted in the case of men. She took the four recent campaigns in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania as the basis of her masterly address, which will be found in the Appendix of this chapter. At the end of it she said: "It was twenty-two years ago that I had the privilege and pleasure of standing upon the same platform with the chairman of this committee when he made an eloquent appeal to the citizens of Colorado for the women there and many said that his speech turned the tide and gave women the vote. I hope that he and every member will not only make a favorable report but will do more—will follow that report on the floor of the Senate and work for it and immortalize themselves while freeing us from the humiliation and the burden of this struggle."

The hearing was closed by Dr. Shaw with a strong and convincing argument to show that "if nothing entered into the life of the homes of this nation except what came through State action it might be said that only the State should decide who should vote but since the women are as much affected by the acts of Congress as are the men, this becomes a national question." She drew a striking picture of conditions among the nations of Europe where the war was raging; of how "women in our own country every morning scanned the papers to see whether we were nearer with the rising sun than we were with the setting sun of the day before to connections with the Old World which will plunge us

into the war." She took up the questions of tariff and of prohibition, asked if women should not have a vote on these and the other great national issues before the country and concluded: "I only wish that the woman whose name is so closely associated with this amendment—Susan B. Anthony—might have lived to see this committee as it exists today instead of having passed away before it was composed of members of the character of those before whom we now come to present our cause."

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At the hearing of the Congressional Union the following day, Senator Thomas, chairman of the committee, was present but refused to preside, as the leaders of the Union had gone to Colorado during the recent campaign and spoken and worked, though unsuccessfully, against his re-election. Senator Sutherland took the chair. It was conducted by the vice-president of the Union, Miss Anne Martin. "One of our chief purposes in asking this hearing," she said, "is to bring before you not only the ethical importance but the political urgency of settling this question of national suffrage for women. At present the thought and strength of large numbers of them throughout the country are absorbed by this campaign to secure fundamental justice, which prevents their giving assistance in matters vitally affecting the interests of the men, women and children of the nation." There would be five-minute speeches, she said, until the last half hour, which would be divided between the envoys of the women voters' convention in San Francisco during the past summer.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the speeches were crisp and clever and well fortified with facts and figures to prove the advantage of a Federal Amendment over State amendments in securing universal woman suffrage. The two "envoys" were Miss Frances Jolliffe and Mrs. Sara Bard Field of California, who started in an automobile from the grounds of the Exposition in San Francisco to motor

<sup>1</sup> The speakers were Mrs. William Spencer Murray, secretary of the Women's Political Union of Connecticut; Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, press chairman of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Dana Durand of Minnesota; Miss Julia Hurlburt, vice-chairman of the Women's Political Union of New Jersey; Mrs. Agnes Jenks, president of the Rhode Island W. S. A.; Mrs. Alden H. Potter, chairman of the Congressional Union in Minnesota; Mrs. Glendower Evans, member of the Minimum Wage Commission of Massachusetts; Mrs. R. H. Ashbaugh, president of the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. James Rector, vice-chairman of the C. U. of Ohio; Mrs. Cyrus Mead of the Ohio C. U.

to Washington to present to Congress a petition which had been collected during the Fair and to do propaganda work on the way. The former made only part of the trip in the car but Mrs. Field completed the entire 3,000 miles. Both made excellent addresses.

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Senator Hollis occupied the chair at the hearing of the National Anti-Suffrage Association December 20. Its president, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, introduced the speakers, saying: "We appear before you to urge that you do not report this resolution to the Senate because we believe very earnestly that it is a question which should be taken to the States to be voted on by the electorates and not submitted to the Legislatures." Mrs. M. C. Talbot, secretary of the Maryland Anti-Suffrage Association, read a paper prepared by the Hon. John W. Foster, a strong argument against a Federal Amendment but without a word of opposition to the granting of woman suffrage by the States. The other speakers were Miss Florence H. Hall, publicity chairman of the Pennsylvania Association; Mrs. George P. White, a member of its executive board; Miss Lucy J. Price, secretary of the Cleveland, O., branch; Mrs. A. J. George (Mass.), executive secretary of the National Congressional Committee. They were trained speakers and their side of the question was well presented. It was heard by the Senate Committee without interruption except on one point. Miss Hall said: "On waves of Populism, Mormonism, insurgency and Socialism ten States have been added to the pioneer State of Wyoming and are recognizing the suffrage flag." When she had finished the following colloquy took place:

Senator Sutherland. I do not ordinarily like to inject anything into these hearings, but one statement has been made by the last speaker which I do not think I ought to let go without making a suggestion in regard to it. If I understood her correctly she insists that Mormonism has had something to do with the granting of woman suffrage in the ten States in which it has been granted. I want to say that in California, Oregon, Washington and Kansas, taking those four States which are the largest in which suffrage has been granted, the Mormon population and Mormon vote are practically negligible.

Miss Hall. I did not base it on that. I said Mormonism, Populism, Socialism and insurgency brought suffrage along with them.

Senator Sutherland. There is only one State in all of these, so

far as I know, where Mormons are in the majority and that is in my own State of Utah. There are comparatively few in Colorado, probably not more than a thousand altogether in the entire population, and their numbers are practically negligible in the other States.

Miss Hall. How about Idaho? Forty per cent. there.

Senator Sutherland. I think perhaps there are twenty-five per cent. There are probably 400 or 500 in the State of Nevada. In Arizona I do not know just what the percentage is but there are a number of Mormon voters there.

Miss Hall. I would refer the committee to Senator Cannon's recent letter on that question, where he names eleven States—

Senator Sutherland (interposing). I know that claim has been made but I undertake to say that it is utterly without foundation. I speak in regard to this matter with just as much knowledge as Mr. Cannon or anybody else.

Senator Jones. It is without foundation, so far as the State of Washington is concerned.

Senator Sutherland. While I am not a member of the Mormon Church and never have been, I have lived in that section practically all my life and it is not correct to say that such a situation as has been described prevails in those States.

Miss Hall. I thought I had pretty good authority for making that statement and I think I could produce the evidence to show it.

Senator Sutherland. I would be surprised if you could produce any evidence whatever to substantiate that statement.

Mrs. George, who spoke last, came to the rescue of Miss Hall and this dialogue occurred:

Mrs. George. I am confident that the speaker only meant to imply that woman suffrage has always been a radical movement and that where Mormonism did exist it helped on suffrage. . . .

Senator Sutherland. As a matter of fact, the Mormon Church and the Mormon people are not radical. They are conservative and in some instances almost ultra conservative. . . .

Mrs. George. They may be conservative along certain lines but we do look upon the Mormon Church as advocating certain social measures which seem to us radical.

Senator Sutherland. I will grant you that in the past there have been some things that you and I would not agree with, but from a very careful observation of events I can say to you with perfect confidence in the truth of what I say, that that sort of thing has passed away.

Mrs. George. May I say un-American, if you object to the word "radical"?

Senator Sutherland. I object to the word "un-American" much more strongly because the Mormon people are not un-American. They are good citizens, among the best in this country.

Mrs. George concluded her address to the committee with these words: "These are grave times. Questions of international re-

relationships, of preparedness, of the national defense, of finance, are vexing the wisest minds. Is it a time to further the propaganda of this new crop of hyphenated Americans—Suffrage-Americans—who place their propaganda above every need of the country?"

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With the women of eleven States now eligible to vote for all candidates at the general election of 1916 and the large number in Illinois possessing the Presidential franchise woman suffrage had become a leading issue. Most of the House Judiciary Committee of twenty-one members, including the chairman, Edwin Y. Webb of North Carolina, an immovable opponent, were present at the hearing on December 16 and they faced sixteen speakers for the Federal Amendment and twelve opposed. Three hours were granted to the former, divided between the National American Association and the Congressional Union, and two hours to the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Dr. Shaw opened the hearing by referring to the thirty-seven years that had seen the leaders of her association pleading with Congress for favorable action on this amendment and introduced Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, comprising twenty-six nations.

Mrs. Catt said in part:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee, I fear that the hearings before this Judiciary Committee have become in the eyes and understanding of many of the members a rather perfunctory affair which you have to endure. May I remind you that since the last hearing something new has happened in the United States and that is that more than a million men have voted for woman suffrage in four of the most conservative States of the East? I consider that that big vote presents to this committee a mandate for action which was never presented before. There are those, doubtless, who will say that this is a question of State rights. I have been studying Congressmen for a good many years and I have discovered that when a man believes in woman suffrage it is a national question and when he does not believe in it he says it is a question for the States. . . .

Mrs. Catt told of the prominent educator who was sent from Belgium to investigate the working of woman suffrage in the United States and after he had made a visit to the States where



it existed he summed up the result by saying: "I am convinced in favor in my mind but my heart is still opposed." "There are members of this committee," she said, "who are governed by their hearts instead of their heads," and she continued:

Gentlemen, this movement has grown bigger and stronger as the years have passed by until today millions of women are asking in all the States for the vote. The president of Cornell University, Dr. Schurman, said that his reason for now aggressively advocating woman suffrage was because he had discovered in studying history that it was never good for a government to have a restless and dissatisfied class; he had made up his mind that the women of the nation did think that they had a grievance, whether they had or not, and he believed that a government was stronger and safer when grievances were relieved.

A few days before the election in order to show that the women wanted to vote there was a parade in New York City and 20,000 marched up Fifth Avenue, among them a great number of public school teachers of the city, 12,000 of whom had contributed to our campaign funds. These women deal with the most difficult problems; they are teaching all that the new-coming people know of citizenship and they were asking their own share in that citizenship. A man whose name is known to every one of you was sitting at the window of a clubhouse watching the women pass hour after hour until at last this great group of teachers, sixteen abreast, marched by with their banners. He looked out upon them and do you think he said, "I am convinced that the women of New York do want to vote and I will help them?" That is what an honorable American citizen, an open-minded man, would have said. Instead he exclaimed: "My God! I never realized what a menace the woman suffrage movement is to this country; we have got to do something next Tuesday to keep the women from getting the vote."

There is not a man on this committee or in this House who can produce a single argument against woman suffrage that will hold water, and the thing that is rousing the women of this land continually and making them realize that our Government visits upon us a daily injustice is that the doors of our ports are left wide open and the men of all the nations on earth are permitted to enter and receive the franchise. In New York City women must ask for it in twenty-four languages. . . .

Walter M. Chandler of New York City, a member of the committee, asked Mrs. Catt if she thought a Representative should vote against the mandate of his district, which in his case had given a majority of 2,000 against a State amendment in November, although he himself had spoken and voted for it. A spirited dialogue followed which filled several pages of the printed report,

Mrs. Catt insisting that he should stand by the broad principle of justice and Mr. Chandler equally insistent that he must represent his constituents. As Dr. Shaw rose to return to the convention Mr. Carlin of Virginia said: "Dr. Shaw, would you mind explaining to this committee the essential difference between this organization known as the National Woman Suffrage Association and the Congressional Union? There is a great deal of confusion among the members of the committee as to just what is the difference between them," and she answered:

It is, perhaps, like two different political parties, which believe in different procedure. The National Woman Suffrage Association has two fundamental ideas—to secure the suffrage through State and national constitutions—and we appeal both to Congress and to the States. The Congressional Union, as I understand it, appeals only to the Congress. Another essential difference is that the policy of the Union is to hold the party in power responsible for the acts of Congress, whether they are acts of that party by itself or of the whole Congress. They follow a partisan method of attacking the political party in power, whether the members of it are friendly to the woman-suffrage movement or not. For instance, Senator Thomas of Colorado, Senator Chamberlain of Oregon and other Senators and Representatives who have always been favorable to our movement and have aided us all the way along, have been attacked by this Union not because of their personal attitude toward our question but because of the attitude of their party. The National Suffrage Association pursues a non-partisan method, attacking no political party. If we could defeat a member of any political party who persistently opposed our measure we would do it, whether in the Republican or the Democratic or any other, but would never hold any party responsible for the acts of its individual members.

Many other questions were asked, the committee seeming incredulous that suffragists would fight the re-election of their friends. The next speaker was Miss Alice Stone Blackwell whose address consisted in a solid array of facts and figures that were absolutely unanswerable. As the daughter of Lucy Stone and editor of the *Woman's Journal* from girlhood she was fortified beyond all others with information as to the progress of woman suffrage; the connection of the liquor interests with its many defeats; the statistics of the votes that had been taken and all phases of the subject. Mrs. Harriet Stokes Thompson, an educator and social worker of Chicago, said in part:

I wish to make my appeal this morning to both your intellect

and your sympathies when I speak to you in behalf of the nine million women who are out today assuming their part in the industrial world. These women who are working in the shops and factories have simply followed the evolution of industry. It is not that they have entered into man's work at all, because they are doing what they formerly did in their homes, and I am asking today that you give to them power to protect themselves. Those girls working there now are the mothers of the generation to come and that they may be well protected in their hours of labor, in the conditions under which they work, that they may become mothers of healthy children in the future, we are asking that they may speak with authority through legislative chambers. . . . I wish to appeal to you, too, for another large group of women, the teachers of the United States. I myself am one of those who stand before the children of this great nation day after day. The teachers should be made citizens in order that they may keep both the letter and the spirit of this democratic country in their teachings. I have lived in my own State to know the difference in the spirit with which you teach citizenship when you yourself are a citizen. A slave cannot teach freedom, cannot comprehend the spirit of freedom; neither can a woman who is not a citizen comprehend the spirit of true citizenship. The teachers of Illinois since they were enfranchised have come to their work with a new life, a new zest and a new responsibility and we expect to send the boys out with a finer appreciation of what it means to render public service to a whole community and not a fraction of it. We also recognize the fact that our men are feeling that in every good work which they undertake a great help has been given to them.

Mrs. George Bass, whose address is quoted in the report of the Senate hearing in this chapter, gave a valuable résumé of the civic and legal reforms which already the women of Illinois had been able to accomplish with their votes and answered a number of questions. Miss Ruutz-Rees spoke along the lines of her speech before the Senate Committee, as did Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, who made a strong appeal in the name of southern women for the Federal Amendment. She was subjected to a crossfire of questions from the southern members and Chairman Webb asked the question which many times afterwards came back to plague him: "Do you not think that as soon as you have a big enough majority of women in Alabama who want suffrage you will get it from the State and that you ought not come here bothering Congress about something that it should not, under our form of government, take jurisdiction of?" She answered: "I am very regretful that you have been bothered." During the questions and answers that

followed Mrs. Jacobs brought forward the unjust laws of South Carolina and Alabama for working women and for all women and said: "The southern man still prefers to think of the southern women as the sheltered, protected beings he would like to have them and he does not realize that now they are the exploited class." Representatives Whaley of South Carolina and Tribble of Georgia denied her statements and afterwards put into the Record statistics attempting to disprove them.

In the paper presented by Mrs. Medill McCormick, chairman of the Congressional Committee, she showed the excellent work that had been done by its branches organized in the congressional districts; the pressure on members of Congress by their constituents; the favorable resolutions that had been passed by organizations and meetings representing hundreds of thousands and closed: "I wonder whether you gentlemen of the committee have computed the number of votes that are now behind the woman suffrage movement in this country? I do not mean the votes of women in the equal suffrage States alone, I mean the popular voting strength as shown at the polls all over the country. Nearly 1,250,000 votes were cast for woman suffrage in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts this fall. Nearly 800,000 were cast in Ohio, Missouri, the Dakotas and Nebraska last fall, besides the popular vote of the equal suffrage States and Illinois. The total of these figures from twenty-one States is 6,400,000—that is, 191,000 more than were cast for President Wilson in forty-eight States. Would Congress fail to recognize such voting strength upon any other issue?"

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The rest of the time was given to the Congressional Union, its chairman, Miss Alice Paul, presiding. The speakers were Mrs. Andreas Ueland, president of the Minnesota Suffrage Association; Miss Mabel Vernon of Nevada; Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, an Australian residing in Michigan; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles of Delaware; Miss Helen Todd, Miss Frances Jolliffe and Mrs. Sara Bard Field of California. The first two speakers proceeded without interruption but when Mrs. Hardy said that by marrying in the United States she found herself disfranchised, the committee woke up. After questioning her on this point Mr.

Steele of Pennsylvania asked her how she accounted for the large defeat the second time the suffrage amendment was submitted in Michigan and she answered: "I account for it partly by the fact that this was the only State having a campaign that year and the whole opposition was centered there. The liquor interests themselves admitted that they spent a million dollars to defeat it."

The address of Mrs. Hilles also brought out a flood of questions, which, with the answers made by Miss Paul, filled four printed pages of the official report. They began with requests for information about the difficulties of amending State constitutions but soon centered on the campaign of the Union against the Democrats in 1914 and this line was followed throughout the rest of the hearing, the Federal Amendment being largely lost sight of. The members showed deep personal resentment. For example:

Mr. Taggart (Kan.). Your organization spent a lot of time and money trying to defeat men on this committee that you are now before, did it not?

Miss Paul. We went out into the suffrage States and told the women voters what was done to the suffrage amendment by the last Congress.

Mr. Taggart. We have before us a joint suffrage resolution by Mr. Taylor of Colorado. You tried to defeat him, did you not?

Miss Paul. The suffrage amendment was not brought to a vote in the House until after we went to the West.

Mr. Taggart. You tried to defeat the man in the House who presented this resolution which you are having hearings for, did you not?

Miss Paul. What we did was to go to the Rules Committee, a Democratic committee, to ask that this measure be reported out and brought to a vote; when the committee had refused to do this we went out into the suffrage States of the West and told the women voters how the bill was being blocked at Washington. As soon as we did that they stopped blocking and the bill was brought up before the House for the first time in history.

Mr. Taggart. That was after the election?

Miss Paul. Yes.

Mr. Taggart. You are aware that more Democrats voted for it than men of any other party?

Miss Paul. We are aware that the Democrats met in caucus and decided that woman suffrage should not be brought up in the House and after we went out into the West they brought it up. We went

out to tell the women voters about the way some of their Representatives were treating the matter.

Mr. Taggart. And with this result—that in the suffrage State of Colorado Senator Thomas, a Democrat, was re-elected to succeed himself; in the suffrage State of Arizona, Senator Smith, a Democrat, was re-elected to succeed himself; in the suffrage State of California a Democrat was elected to succeed a Republican; in the suffrage State of Washington the House was reinforced by one Democrat, and in the suffrage State of Utah and in the suffrage State of Kansas Democrats were elected to reinforce the party. One Democrat only, Mr. Seldomridge of Colorado, was defeated, for the reason, he says, that his district has been gerrymandered; nevertheless, he came and voted for the amendment on the floor of the House. Why should you take such an interest in defeating Democratic Congressmen and Senators?

Miss Paul persisted that all the favorable action taken by Congress after the election of 1914 was because they campaigned against the Democrats, ignoring the fact that Nevada and Montana had enfranchised their women at that election and public sentiment was veering so rapidly in favor of woman suffrage as to compel both parties to regard it as a political issue. After the opening sentences of Miss Todd's speech it became a heated dialogue between her and the members of the committee.

Miss Paul said in introducing Miss Frances Jolliffe: "She is a strong Democrat who campaigned for President Wilson and Senator Phelan and is one of the envoys sent by the women's convention in San Francisco, at which there were present 10,000 people who bade her 'Godspeed' on this journey."<sup>1</sup> The beginning of her speech was as follows: "I am here as a messenger from the women voters of the West. Perhaps first I should offer my apologies to the minority for appearing at all; for, gentlemen, I did my level best to defeat the Republican candidate for the Senate last year and I think I did a good deal to defeat him when I went before the women and told them they could not send back——"

Mr. Volstead spoke quickly saying: "Will you pardon me an interruption? Was that the pay you gave the Republicans for giving you almost as many votes in the House as the Democrats gave you, and that despite the fact that the Democrats had a

<sup>1</sup> The automobile started from the Exposition and there were possibly more than that many people on the grounds. As its departure had been widely advertised and was made a spectacular event a large crowd was at the gate.

two-thirds majority in the House? That is, less than one-half of the vote in favor of your proposition came from the Democrats and more than five out of every six who voted against it were Democrats." The controversy kept up and when Mrs. Sara Bard Field, the other "envoy," commenced her speech she begged that she might finish it without interruption. Toward the close, however, the hearing became a free-for-all debating society, the discussion filling seven pages of the official report. Miss Paul's closing remarks caused the debate to be continued through another six pages. "Can you tell me what will be in the platform of the Democratic party in 1916?" she asked Chairman Webb. "I can tell you one plank that will not be in it and that is a plank in favor of woman suffrage," he answered. The retorts of the women were clever but both Republican and Democratic members of the committee were very much out of humor and not in a very good frame of mind to make a favorable report.

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The hearing of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage followed immediately. Its president, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, said in opening their hearing: "We have come here today to ask you as a committee not to report this bill favorably to the House, because we consider that, in the first place, it is a question of State's rights. In the second place we consider that the women, as represented by their men—good, bad and indifferent, honest or venal—should be heard through the men who represent them at the present time and whom the majority of women are still perfectly willing to have represent them." She then showed how much larger the majorities were which had voted against woman suffrage than for it. The speakers were Miss Emily P. Bissell of Delaware; Mrs. O. D. Oliphant of the New Jersey association; Mrs. James Wells of the Texas association; Miss Lucy J. Price of the Cleveland branch; Mrs. A. J. George of the Massachusetts association. The Judiciary Committee was in an argumentative mood and began with Mrs. Dodge as follows:

Mr. Dyer (Mo.). What is the position of your organization with reference to the question of whether or not women should have the right to vote at all? Are you in favor of women voting?

Mrs. Dodge. We are in opposition to woman suffrage generally.

We have never opposed women voting in school matters; we think that is a perfectly legitimate line for them to vote upon. The only trouble is they do not vote upon those questions where authorized; only two per cent. of them do so.

Mr. Dyer. That is as far as you want them to go?

Mrs. Dodge. Yes; that is a perfectly legitimate line for them, we have always taken that position from the first, but that does not mean that women are to be drawn into politics and government and we only draw the line at their taking part in politics and government.

Mr. Dyer. I understand your position is that you favor submitting this question to the States directly.

Mrs. Dodge. Yes. We have always rather inclined to the idea that it should be submitted to the women themselves.<sup>1</sup> . . .

Mr. Taggart. Would you say that it was just to require a woman to pay the income tax demanded by the government and then deny her the right to any voice as to who should be the Representative that voted that tax on her?

Mrs. Dodge. I certainly should. I have paid taxes in five States myself. I feel that I am entirely protected—that is what the tax is for. I think that taxpaying men are just as capable of taking care of my rights as of their own and I feel that I am justified in saying that the men can quite as well look after that which ought to be and is their business as I can.

Mr. Taggart asked: "Why should the women of Kansas have the vote when it is denied to those of other States who need it as much or more?" Mrs. Dodge answered: "We think the men in Kansas did not quite know what they were doing when they gave it to women and a great many thousands of women there wish they had not done so." "You are then opposed to having a State grant suffrage to its own women?" he asked. "Not at all," she replied. "Then why do you say the men did not know what they were about?" "I do not know whether a majority or a minority of the voters desired it," she said. "Well, it was a very large majority and I have never heard a regret expressed in the State that it was done," responded Mr. Taggart.

Mrs. Oliphant was held up because after saying that the women did not want the suffrage she argued against a Federal Amendment because if the women got it it would be very difficult to

<sup>1</sup> For the last twenty years the members of the Anti-Suffrage Association had appeared regularly before committees of Legislatures in various States to oppose the submission of the question to the voters, picturing the injury it would be to the community and to the women. They had never in any State made the slightest effort to have it submitted to women themselves. The School suffrage was granted in most of the States before they had any organization but they went before a committee in the New York Legislature to oppose women on school boards.



repeal it. Mr. Graham (Penn.) rushed to her relief by saying: "The line of thought is that 20 States, holding a minority of the population of the United States might pass this National Amendment over the protest of the larger States with the greater population." His attention was called by one of the committee to the fact that it would require 36 States. Mrs. Wells kept reminding the committee that she was an inexperienced speaker and knew nothing about politics but said: "I am a Catholic and a Democrat. I claim no knowledge of northern women but I cannot understand how southern women—I speak for them—can so far forget the memory of Thomas Jefferson and State's rights as to insist on having a minority of men in Congress pass this constitutional amendment against our desire." She was reminded that it required two-thirds of each House. She then told of opposing a suffrage resolution in the Texas Legislature some years before but neglected to tell of opposing one for prohibition also. Asked if women did not vote at school elections in Texas she answered: "I do not know because I know nothing about politics."

Miss Price was a shrewd speaker and guarded her position but before she had finished the members of the committee themselves were making speeches for or against woman suffrage. The speech of Mrs. George of Massachusetts with its statistics filled fifteen closely printed pages of the stenographic report. It was an argument for State's rights which would have done credit to the most extreme southerner and she protected her defenses against the volley of questions that were kept up until time for the committee to adjourn.

The anti-suffragists had wisely refrained this year from bringing any of their male advocates but the latter did not intend to be left out and they obtained a hearing six weeks later on February 1. Franklin Carter, secretary of the Man Suffrage Association of New York City, told the committee he could "get through in half an hour," which was granted. He consumed over an hour, the official report showing that after the first few sentences there were not more than three or four without an interruption from the committee and the "heckling" continued through seventeen interesting printed pages. Mr. Carter, who said he received a salary of \$100 a month and had expended be-

tween \$6,000 and \$7,000 during the recent New York amendment campaign, was at last obliged to submit what he had to say in the form of a "brief," which filled six closely printed pages. He was followed by Paul Littlefield representing the Men's Campaign Committee of the Pennsylvania Women's Anti-Suffrage Association. His experience was more disconcerting than that of Mr. Carter, who had freely stated the expenditures of his association and his own salary while Mr. Littlefield refused any information on these and other points. He brought a message from Mrs. Horace Brock, president of the association, saying: "The women of our State trust the men to legislate wisely and justly for them, and the ideas of chivalry which have existed for a thousand years are the great bulwark surrounding and protecting women, upon which, because of their lack of physical strength, they must rely for safety and happiness." His grilling filled twelve printed pages of the report. Mr. Stone asked permission to get a "brief" from the chairman of the Massachusetts Man Suffrage Association, Robert Turner, which would clear up many matters. His own recollection was that the expenditures of that association in the 1915 campaign were \$54,000. Mr. Littlefield then relented and said that the Pennsylvania men's committee spent \$20,000 on the campaign. Mr. Turner's "brief" of 5,000 words was afterwards submitted but did not mention expenditures.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1916.

The year 1916 marked a turning point in the sixty-year-old struggle for woman suffrage. Large delegations of women had attended the Republican and Democratic National Conventions during the summer and for the first time each of them had put into its platform an unequivocal declaration in favor of suffrage for women; the Progressive, Socialist and Prohibition platforms contained similar planks, the last three declaring for a Federal Amendment. It had become one of the leading political issues of the day and a subject of nation-wide interest. The president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, quickly recognized the situation and saw that its official action must not be deferred until the usual time for its annual convention which would be after the presidential elections, therefore the Board of Officers issued a call for an Emergency Convention to meet in Atlantic City, N. J., Sept. 4-10, 1916.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Call: Our cause has been endorsed in the platforms of every political party. In order to determine how most expeditiously to press these newly won advantages to final victory this convention is called. Women workers in every rank of life and in every branch of service in increasing numbers are appealing for relief from the political handicap of disfranchisement. . . . Unmistakably the crisis of our movement has been reached. A significant and startling fact is urging American women to increased activity in their campaign for the vote. Across our borders three large Canadian provinces 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 their 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.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Honorary President.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.

JENNIE BRADLEY ROESSING, First Vice-President.

KATHARINE DEXTER McCORMICK, Second Vice-President.

ESTHER G. OGDEN, Third Vice-President.

HANNAH J. PATTERSON, Corresponding Secretary.

MARY FOULKE MORRISON, Recording Secretary.

EMMA WINNER ROGERS, Treasurer.

HELEN GUTHRIE MILLER, } Auditors.  
PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS, }

The members throughout the country were much surprised but welcomed the opportunity to visit this beautiful ocean resort. The headquarters were in the famous Hotel Marlborough-Blenheim and after the first day the sessions were held in the large New Nixon Theater on the Board Walk.

After two days of executive meetings the Forty-eighth annual convention opened the morning of September 6 in the handsome St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, granted by the trustees and pastor, with an invocation by the latter, the Rev. A. H. Lucas. Mayor Harry Backarach gave a cordial address of welcome, ending by presenting to Mrs. Catt, who was in the chair, a huge "key to the city and to our hearts" tied with ribbons of blue and gold, the colors of the association. Members of the Board made their official reports at this and other meetings and all were valuable and interesting but space permits only a brief mention of most of them. Miss Hannah J. Patterson (Penn.), corresponding secretary and chairman of organization, told of the division of the national work into six departments with a national officer at the head of each and of moving the national headquarters from 505 Fifth Avenue, corner of 42nd Street, New York, where they had been since 1909, into much larger offices at 171 Madison Avenue, corner of 33rd Street. An entire floor was rented with 3,800 square feet of space, nearly 1,000 more than in the old location. The Publishing Company took part of this, the association retaining ten rooms. Miss Patterson told of the thorough organization work being done under fourteen organizers, who had covered twelve States. She spoke of the need of training schools for organizers and told of the value of combining all departments, data, literature, publishing, organizing, etc., under headquarters management.

Miss Esther G. Ogden (N. J.), third vice-president and head of the Publishing Company, told of doing field work in Colorado and California to interest their women in the demonstrations which were being planned for the political conventions. She spoke of the large correspondence in connection with the trip of the little "golden flier," saying:

This tour was undertaken by Miss Alice Burke and Miss Nell Richardson, who left New York April 6 to make a circuit of the

United States in the interest of the National Association and the cause of suffrage. The Saxon Motor Company donated the car, while the association arranged for entertainment for Miss Burke and Miss Richardson along the route and for expenses over and above the collections taken at their meetings, of which they have held one a day in the closely settled States. They reached San Francisco early in June and are now on their way east. From each State through which they have passed we have had appreciative letters of their endurance and courage as automobilists and of their worth as public speakers. They have suffered actual privations crossing the desert and more recently in the Bad Lands of the northwest. They were on the Mexican border during the raids and their car had to be pulled out of rivers during the floods; their courage has never faltered and they have given another proof of the well-known fact that you can't discourage a suffragist. They set out to make a circuit of the United States with the same determination that we all have set out to win our enfranchisement and they will not give up until the circuit is made. So far nineteen States have been included in the itinerary and it is planned to cover six more. The newspaper publicity has been nation-wide. . . .

Later Miss Ogden made her report for the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company. "We exist," she said, "for two purposes—to serve the suffrage cause throughout the country and to prove that we can serve that cause and also develop a successful business." She spoke of the devoted office staff, under the business manager, Miss Anna De Baun, who had made personal sacrifices again and again when necessary.

The report of the recording secretary, Mrs. Mary Foulke Morrisson (Ills.), to whom had been entrusted the organization of the great parade of suffragists during the National Republican Convention in Chicago and especially its financing, stated that \$6,699 had been raised by the State and Chicago Equal Suffrage Associations; \$200 by the Chicago Political Equality League and some hundreds of dollars by local leagues and individuals. She paid high tribute to the unwearying work of Mrs. Medill McCormick, who, speaking and organizing in the city and outlying towns "won the support of whole sections of the community that had hitherto been utterly indifferent." Mrs. Morrisson herself had spoken fifty times in the interest of the parade in Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Iowa and the Mississippi Valley Conference.

The report of the national treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, was received with much appreciation of her money-getting ability

and satisfactory accounting. The total receipts for the year were \$81,863 and the close of the fiscal year found a balance on hand of \$8,869. The largest contributions had been \$500 each from the State associations of Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The National College Equal Suffrage League gave \$450. The expenditures in round numbers were: Headquarters, including salaries, expenses of conventions, etc., \$16,531; publicity, \$9,096; National Congressional Committee, \$4,676; publishing *News Letter*, \$982; contributions to campaigns, \$21,131; demonstrations, organization, etc., \$20,000.

In commenting Mrs. Rogers said: "Nothing to my mind indicates so vividly the progress of equal suffrage as the comparative ease with which the largest budget in the history of the National Association was pledged and most of it paid by August 25, and the fact that an excess of that budget amounting to many thousands of dollars has been raised three months before the usual convention date. 'Money talks' and it is saying this year: 'No cause in which I could be used appeals to me as does this fundamental one of enfranchising women, of opening the door to let them enter and help to make a more Christian civilization.' Literally we have had only to ask and it has been given unto us. Scores and hundreds of women in sending their generous gifts have said: 'Would that my check were ten times as large!' The wonderful spirit of kindness and ardent desire to cooperate have touched the treasurer's heart deeply and made the work of the passing year a real joy. I am confident that all necessary funds for suffrage expenditures—national, State and local—can be raised, even to a million dollars, if more systematic work is done on the financial side in the States. . . ." Mrs. Rogers outlined the business methods that should be used and expressed her obligations to her committee of fifty on finance for their helpful support.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller (Mo.), first auditor, in the report of her field work told of days, weeks and months spent in visiting cities from New York to St. Louis, holding conferences and meetings and writing hundreds of letters to raise money and arrange for the demonstration to be held in St. Louis during the Democratic National Convention—the "walkless parade," to

which the Missouri Suffrage Association contributed nearly \$2,000. She attended State suffrage and political conventions and the biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in New York. "And then came Chicago," the report said, "with its exciting surge, its march in the rain and its near-victory plank, followed by St. Louis with its 'golden lane' of suffragists and a plank a little less pleasing; another trip to Indianapolis with our Chief—and the most momentous June in suffrage history was over." The report told of the journey to Cheyenne to attend the Council of Women Voters; the addresses of the present Democratic Governor Kendrick and the former Republican Governor and U. S. Senator Carey; the two days at the State University in Laramie, "the guest of one of the best-known suffragists in the State, Professor Grace Raymond Hebard"; the visit in Denver, "asking questions and being interviewed." "All of this," she said, "sent me back firmly convinced that the western women want to help us in our battle and only wait for a definite program of work."

The second auditor, Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs (Ala.), in the report of her field work showed an equally full schedule. She had been present at every board meeting but one, of which she was notified too late; as a member of the Congressional Committee had assisted with the lobby work in Washington; had attended a three-days' State conference in Nashville and spoken three times; the Mississippi State convention and spoken twice; spoken in Savannah and Asheville and at the May-day celebration of the Nashville League; attended the Chicago and St. Louis demonstrations and spent the intervening times in raising the money to meet her pledge of \$2,000 for her State to the National Association.

Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick, chairman of the Press Department, stated that this was largely a nominal position, as the practical work was done by professionals and would be related in the report from the Publicity department. The reports of the national officers were concluded by that of Mrs. Catt, chairman of the Campaign and Survey Committee, a new feature of the association. It began: "For the purpose of making a survey of suffrage conditions throughout the nation, either an offi-

cer of the National Board or some person or persons representing the Board have visited nearly every State in the Union. I have myself visited twenty-three States; Miss Hauser and Miss Walker visited nine enfranchised States; Mrs. Miller, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Morrisson and Mrs. Rogers have each visited several; Mrs. Roessing and Miss Patterson have made a number of trips to West Virginia. Our chief motive was to learn conditions. To corroborate our impressions questionnaires were sent to all the State associations in January and again in July. As a result of the information obtained the National Board is convinced that our movement has reached a crisis which if recognized will open the way to a speedy and final victory."

Mrs. Catt expressed the belief that in the future a better understanding between national and State boards would be possible and spoke of the visits of herself and other national officers to West Virginia and South Dakota, where woman suffrage amendments would be voted on in November. She then took up the case of Iowa, where one had been defeated the past June, and made an analysis of a situation which had existed here and in nearly all States where defeats had taken place as follows:

When the present Board came into office, Iowa was in campaign and but a few months remained for work. In January I met with the State Board and we counselled together concerning the needs of the campaign; later I met with it on three different occasions and gave one month to speaking in the State. The National Board contributed \$5,000 to the campaign from the legacy of Mary J. Coggeshall of Iowa and gave one organizer from January 1 until the vote was taken. It also sent speakers and workers toward the end of the campaign. The various States contributed generously through the national treasury.

The campaign came up splendidly at the last. Men, I believe, supported it more earnestly than they have done in other States. One of the best press bureaus any State has had, under the direction of Mrs. Rose Lawless Geyer, was at work for some months. The able president, Miss Flora Dunlap, gave all her time and ability. There were many brilliant forays which were truly effective, but nothing could overcome a weakness which has appeared in every campaign and that is the inability of newly-formed, untrained committees to put speakers and workers to the best use. It will be the case in every campaign that, near the end, weak spots must be reinforced by outside experienced workers. Another difficulty was that money-raising was left to the close of the campaign when all



the efforts of workers were demanded by other duties. This has been the trouble in most States. The lesson we must learn is that at the beginning a money-raising plan must be formed and carried out and pledges must be made to cover the major portion of the cost before the real campaign is begun. Toward the close there are many things which ought to be done but are left undone for want of money. State committees grow timid because they do not see the money in sight and naturally trim their budgets to the point which renders defeat inevitable.

Iowa, like every other State, showed opposition from the "wets," tricks of politicians and the rounding up of every drunkard and out-cast to vote against the amendment. The unprecedented result was that 35,000 more votes were cast on the suffrage proposition than on the Governor. This could only have been brought about by inducements of some sort which were made to the lowest elements of the population. This story differs in coloring and detail with each campaign but varies little as to general fact. It must be borne in mind and our campaigns must be so good that these purchasable and controllable elements will be outvoted.

A number of men worked against the amendment in Iowa and men are working at this time in South Dakota and West Virginia. Who employs or pays these men we have never been able to discover. Their ordinary method is to secure strictly private meetings of men only, where they spread the basest of untruths. All past campaigns point to the necessity of waging those of the future with a distinct understanding that the worst elements of the population will be lined up by this unscrupulous, well-supported, combined opposition of men and of women. The women appeal to the respectable elements of the community; the men make little pretense in this direction. There is a sure alliance between the two.

The first public session was held Thursday afternoon and the delegates looked forward with keen enjoyment to the "three-cornered debate" on what had become a paramount question. Mrs. Catt was in the chair. Each leader was to have ten minutes and her second five minutes to speak in the affirmative only; when the six had presented their arguments there was to be free discussion from the floor, and, after all who had wished had spoken, each leader would have ten minutes to answer the opposition to her point of view. The program was as follows:

Shall the National American Woman Suffrage Association drop work on the Federal Amendment and confine its activities to State legislation? Leader, Miss Laura Clay, Kentucky; second, Miss Kate Gordon, Louisiana.

Shall the National American Woman Suffrage Association

drop work for State Referenda and concentrate on the Federal Amendment? Leader, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, New York; second, Mrs. Glendower Evans, Massachusetts.

Shall the present policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to work for woman suffrage "by appropriate National and State legislation" be continued? Leader, Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York; second, Miss Florence Allen, Ohio.

The alternative amendments to the constitution will then be put: I. To strike out the words "National and." II. To strike out the words "and State." If both are lost, the constitution will remain as it is and the National American Woman Suffrage Association will stand pledged to both Federal and State campaigns.

The speakers presented their arguments with great earnestness; the discussion was vigorously carried on and the rebuttals were made with much spirit. By request the honorary president, Dr. Shaw, who was sitting on the platform, closed the debate and she strongly urged that there should be no change in the policy of the association. The convention voted overwhelmingly in favor of continuing to work for both National and State constitutional amendments, nearly all of the southern delegates joining in this vote. Mrs. Harper then rose to a question of personal privilege and said that she should consider it a great calamity for the association to discontinue its work for State amendments and that she only took the opposite side at the urgent request of Mrs. Catt, with the promise that she should be permitted to make this explanation. Mrs. Evans made a similar statement and the audience, which had been mystified by their position, had a hearty laugh. This debate and the vote of the convention restored the association to its position of standing for the original Federal Suffrage Amendment and working for amendments of State constitutions as a means to this end.

In the evening a brilliant reception for the officers and delegates was given in the large drawing-room of the Marlborough-Blenheim by the Atlantic City Woman Suffrage Club and the New Jersey State Association.

The convention was opened in the New Nixon Theater Thursday morning with prayer by the Rev. Thomas J. Cross, pastor of the Chelsea Baptist Church, and much routine business was dis-

posed of. The constitution was changed so as to exclude from membership all organizations not in harmony with the policy of the association and the term of the officers was extended from one to two years. A unique program was carried out in the afternoon under the direction of the second vice-president, Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick—The Handicapped States, a Concrete Lesson in Constitutions. The States whose constitutions practically could not be amended were grouped under these heads: The Impossibles; The Insuperables; The Inexecutable; The Improbables; The Indubitables; The Inexcusables; The Irreproachable. Each group was represented by one or more women who quoted from the constitutions. It was intended as an object lesson to show the necessity for a Federal Amendment.

At 3:30 Mrs. Catt began her president's address before an audience that filled the large theater and listened with intense interest until the last word was spoken at five o'clock. It was a masterly review of the movement for woman suffrage and a program for the work now necessary to bring it to a successful end. The opening sentences were as follows:

I have taken for my subject, "The Crisis," because I believe that a crisis has come in our movement which, if recognized and the opportunity seized with vigor, enthusiasm and will, means the final victory of our great cause in the very near future. I am aware that some suffragists do not share in this belief; they see no signs nor symptoms today which were not present yesterday; no manifestations in the year 1916 which differ significantly from those in the year 1910. To them, the movement has been a steady, normal growth from the beginning and must so continue until the end. I can only defend my claim with the plea that it is better to imagine a crisis where none exists than to fail to recognize one when it comes, for a crisis is a culmination of events which calls for new considerations and new decisions. A failure to answer the call may mean an opportunity lost, a possible victory postponed. . . .

This address, coming at the moment when woman suffrage was accepted as inevitable by the President of the United States and all the political parties, was regarded as the key-note of the beginning of a campaign which would end in victory. In pamphlet form it was used as a highly valued campaign document.

Mrs. Catt showed the impossibility of securing suffrage for all the women of the country by the State method and pointed out

that the Federal Amendment was the one and only way. "Our cause has been caught in a snarl of constitutional obstructions and inadequate election laws," she said, after drawing upon her own experience to show the hazards of State referenda, and we have a right to appeal to our Congress to extricate it from this tangle. If there is any chivalry left this is the time for it to come forward and do an act of simple justice. In my judgment the women of this land not only have the right to sit on the steps of Congress until it acts but it is their self-respecting duty to insist upon their enfranchisement by that route. . . . Were there never another convert made there are suffragists enough in this country, if combined, to make so irresistible a driving force that victory might be seized at once. How can it be done? By a simple change of mental attitude. If you are to seize the victory, that change must take place in this hall, here and now. The crisis is here, but if the call goes unheeded, if our women think it means the vote without a struggle, if they think other women can and will pay the price of their emancipation, the hour may pass and our political liberty may not be won. . . . The character of a man is measured by his will. The same is true of a movement. Then *will* to be free." The address made a deep impression and was accepted as a call to arms.

Throughout the convention open-air meetings were held on the Boardwalk addressed by popular suffrage speakers and thousands in the great crowds that throng this noted thoroughfare were interested listeners. The Friday morning session was enlivened by a resolution offered by Mrs. Raymond Robins, which said that this Emergency Convention had been called to plan for the final steps which would lead to nation-wide enfranchisement of women; that the method of amending State constitutions meant long delay; that many national candidates in all parties had declared in favor of a Federal Amendment, and therefore the delegates in this convention urged that in the present campaign suffragists should support for national office only those candidates who pledged their support to this amendment. The delegates quickly recognized that this meant to endorse Judge Charles Evans Hughes for president, although President Wilson was to address the convention that evening. Party feeling ran high

but still stronger was the determination of the convention that the association should not depart from its policy of absolute non-partisanship. Motions were made and amendments offered and the discussion raged for two hours. Dr. Shaw spoke strongly against the resolution and finally it was defeated by a large majority. Later Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch of Chicago offered a resolution which after several amendments read: "We re-affirm our non-partisan attitude concerning national political parties but this policy does not preclude the right of any member to work against any candidate who opposes woman suffrage, nor shall it refer to the personal attitude of enfranchised women." This was carried enthusiastically. A resolution by Mrs. J. Claude Bedford (Penn.) for a vigorous publicity campaign to make clear the association's non-partisan policy was passed.

There had been such marked increase of public opinion in favor of woman suffrage in the southern States and so many of their able women had come into the association that a "Dixie evening" had been arranged. Mrs. Catt presided and the following program was presented: Master Words—Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, president Texas Woman Suffrage Association; Kentucky and Her Constitution—Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, president Kentucky Equal Rights Association; The Evolution of Woman—Mrs. Eugene Reilley, vice-president General Federation of Women's Clubs and vice-president North Carolina Woman Suffrage Association; Progress of Today and Traditions of Yesterday—Mrs. Edward McGehee, president Mississippi Federation of Women's Clubs; For Woman Herself—Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine, president Virginia Equal Suffrage League; The Southern Temperament as Related to Woman Suffrage—Mrs. Guilford Dudley, president Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, Inc.; Real Americanism—Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, vice-president Arkansas Woman Suffrage Association. Southern women have a natural gift of oratory and the audience was delightfully entertained. But three of these addresses were published and space can be given only to brief extracts.

"There is in America today," Mrs. Cotnam said, "a large class of people who are restless and dissatisfied and are smarting under the injustice of being governed without their consent. This is

a class with the blood of the Pilgrim mothers in their veins—of those who cheerfully endured untold hardships as the price of liberty; a class with the blood of the Revolutionary fathers in their veins—of those who gave their lives that their children might be free; a class who are the rightful joint heirs with all the people of the United States of the heritage of freedom but whose inheritance after 140 years is still kept ‘in trust.’” She referred to the anxiety of Congress “to make the Filipinos a self-governing people after only a few years of American tutelage while 140 years have not been enough to equip American women for self-government,” and said: “Political leaders say America is ‘the way-mark of all people seeking liberty’ and yet one-half of the American people have never known liberty. They promise justice to the oppressed of every land who are seeking refuge and practice injustice against one-half of those whose homes have always been here. Every citizen of the United States is jealous of her standing among the nations and just now each political party is claiming to be the only worthy custodian of national honor. It is with amazement we read the arraignment of one party by another and note that in no instance have they taken each other to task for injustice to American women which violates the fundamental principle of democracy, ‘Equal rights for all, special privileges to none.’ . . . Americanism—it stands for the recognition of the equality of men and women before the law of man as they are equal before the law of God. Americanism—it stands for truth triumphant. Americanism—it will find its full realization when men and women meet upon a plane of equal rights with a united desire to maintain peace, to guard the nation’s honor, to advance prosperity and to secure the happiness of the people.”

“We are a race of dreamers in the South by choice and because of climatic conditions.” said Mrs. Guilford Dudley in an eloquent address. After a keenly sarcastic comparison between southern chivalry and the unjust laws for women, and the observation that “the only business a southern girl is taught is the business of hearts,” she said:

As long as it was a question of woman’s rights; as long as the fight had any appearance of being against man; as long as there seemed to be a vestige of sex antagonism, the southern woman

stood with her back turned squarely toward the cause. She wouldn't even turn around to look at it, she would have none of it, but when she awoke slowly to a social consciousness, when eyes and brain were at last free, after a terrible reconstruction period, to look out upon the world as a whole; when she found particularly among the more fortunate classes that her leisure had come to mean laziness; when she realized that through the changed conditions of modern life so much of her work had been taken out of the home, leaving her to choose between following it into the world or remaining idle; when with a clearer vision she saw that her help in governmental affairs, especially where they touched her own interests, was much needed—right about face she turned and said to the southern man: "I don't wish to usurp your place in government but it is time I had my own. I don't complain of the way you have conducted your part of the business but my part has been either badly managed or not managed at all. In the past you have not shown yourself averse to accepting my help in very serious matters; my courage and fortitude and wisdom you have continually praised. Now that there is a closer connection between the government and the home than ever before in the history of the world, I ask that you will let me help you."

Mrs. Dudley described the effect of the demand for woman suffrage on the politicians, on the men who feared they would be "reformed," on the sentimentalists, and then she paid tribute to the broad-minded, justice-loving men who encouraged the women in their new aspirations and concluded: "So you see not only the southern woman but the southern man is now awake and present conditions strongly indicate that before another year has passed we will have some form of suffrage for the woman of Tennessee. . . . We have had a vision—a vision of a time when a woman's home will be the whole wide world, her children all those whose feet are bare and her sisters all who need a helping hand; a vision of a new knighthood, a new chivalry, when men will not only fight for women but for the rights of women."

The plea of Mrs. Valentine for a higher womanhood should be given in full but an idea at least can be gained by a quotation:

If I were asked to give one reason above all others for advocating the enfranchisement of women I should unhesitatingly reply, "The necessity for the complete development of woman as a prerequisite for the highest development of the race." Just so long as woman remains under guardianship, as if she were a minor or an incompetent—just so long as she passively accepts at the hands of men conditions, usages, laws, as if they were decrees of Providence—just so long as she is deprived of the educative responsibilities of self-

government—by just so much does she fall short of complete development as a human being and retard the progress of the race. We are the children of our mothers as well as of our fathers and we inherit the defects as well as the perfections of both. Many a man goes down in his business—is a “failure in life,” as the phrase goes—because he is the son of an undeveloped mother and, like her, is lacking in independence, in initiative, in ability to seize upon golden opportunities. Yet she was trained to passivity, to submission, to the obliteration of whatever personality she may have possessed. What more could we expect of her son? Imagine for a moment the effect upon men had they from infancy been subjected to the narrowing, ossifying processes applied to women for centuries!

Happily for the race, however, the great majority of women are waking from the sleep of centuries, are eagerly stretching out their hands for the key that is to open wide the door of larger opportunity. Happily, too, the forward-looking men of today are seeing the vision of womanhood released from the old-world thralldom. In rapidly increasing numbers they are welcoming the new woman, in whom they find not only the wife and mother more fully equipped for her task but a comrade of congenial tastes, keenly interested in the outside world and capable of taking her place beside the husband, whether in peace or war, wherever her country calls. . . . The suffrage movement is a world-wide protest against the mental subjection of woman. Therein lies its vital importance. It strikes deep into the core of life. It is a basic, fundamental reform, for it is releasing for the service of the State the unused natural resources dormant in womanhood; it is transforming the dependent woman into woman enfranchised that she may the more perfectly fulfill her destiny as the mother of the race.

The morning and afternoon sessions were crowded with reports, conferences and business of various kinds in which the delegates were keenly interested. Mrs. Grace Thompson Seton, chairman of the Art Publicity Committee, gave an interesting account of its work, told of the prizes that had been offered for posters and slogans and the cooperation of men and women prominent in the literary, artistic and social world; of the “teas” given at the national headquarters, bringing many who had never visited them before; of the beautiful banners and costumes designed for the suffrage parades and other features of this somewhat neglected side of the work for woman suffrage. The chairman of the Literature Committee, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, submitted a comprehensive report of the systematizing of that department, the classifying and cataloguing and the endeavor to ascertain and meet the varied demands. A Suffrage Study Outline, a Blue



Book Suffrage School and Mrs. Annie G. Porritt's *Laws Relating to Women and Children* had been published; literature for the rural districts, for the home, for campaigns, placards, fliers and an endless number of novelties.

It would be impossible to give in a few paragraphs even an idea of the carefully prepared report of Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, the skilled head of the Data Department, which filled eight printed pages. It told of the progress that had been made in organizing the department, the wide scope of the collections and the increasing demand for information from many sources. It would be equally difficult to do justice to the sixteen printed pages of the report of Charles T. Heaslip, national publicity director. He had organized a publicity council, which thus far had members in twenty-six States. His full knowledge of the large syndicates had enabled him to keep the subject before the public throughout the country; he had made wide use of photographs, cartoons, posters and moving pictures. Hundreds of papers on the route of the "golden flier" had been supplied with pictures and stories. He had gone to Iowa to assist in the campaign there and he described also the large amount of publicity work done at the time the suffragists were making their national demonstrations during the presidential conventions in Chicago and St. Louis. He showed how victory could be hastened by thorough publicity work in every State from Maine to California. Later the Chair announced the receipt of a letter from the press, signed by representatives of nineteen newspapers at the convention, expressing their thanks to Mr. Heaslip and their hearty appreciation of his services, without which they could not have handled its press work in a satisfactory manner.

Under the topic *How and Where to Drive the Entering Wedge*, Miss Florence Allen of Ohio told of the openings offered by amending city charters for woman suffrage and Mrs. Roger G. Perkins described the successful campaign in East Cleveland for this purpose. The recent campaigns in West Virginia and South Dakota were discussed by the State presidents, Mrs. Ellis A. Yost and Mrs. John L. Pyle; that of Iowa by Mrs. Geyer, publicity director, and the work in Tennessee for a constitutional convention by Mrs. James M. McCormack, State president. The

chairman of the Presidential Suffrage Committee, Mrs. Robert S. Huse (N. J.), reported that bills had been introduced in the Legislatures of New York, New Jersey, Kentucky and Rhode Island, public hearings being granted by the first three, but no vote was taken.

Is Limited Suffrage Worth While? was answered by Mrs. George Bass (Ills.) who declared it to be "a positive influence for good"; it was called by Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout (Ills.) "a step toward full suffrage"; by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton (Ohio) "a help to other States." Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch described "the chances opened by the Illinois law." It was the consensus of opinion that partial suffrage was quite worth striving for. This was directly opposed to that heretofore held by the association but in the past only a Municipal vote had been asked for and Kansas alone had granted it. Miss Laura Clay (Ky.) made a strong presentation of the Elections Bill, which would permit women to vote for members of Congress. What Kansas Thinks about Woman Suffrage was graphically told by Mrs. W. Y. Morgan, president of the State association. Help from the West was promised by Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe (Wash.), president of the National Council of Women Voters.

The climax of the convention came on the evening of September 8 with the address of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. Only once before had a President appeared before a national suffrage convention—when William Howard Taft made a ten-minute speech of welcome to Washington in 1910 but without committing himself to the movement. When the present convention was called, after the endorsement of woman suffrage by the national conventions of all parties, the two leading candidates for President were invited to address it. Judge Hughes, who had declared in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, answered that he would be too far away on a speaking tour to reach Atlantic City. President Wilson wrote that he would endeavor to arrange his itinerary so as to be present. Later he announced that he would come and would remain throughout the evening. Undoubtedly he never before faced such an audience. The greatest care had been taken to exclude all but delegates and invited guests and from the stage

of the theater to the back stretched tier after tier of white-robed women, while the boxes were filled with prominent people, mostly women. As he came from the street to the stage with Mrs. Wilson, also gowned in white, he passed through a lane of suffragists, one from each State, designated by banners, with broad sashes of blue and gold across their breasts. He was accompanied by Private Secretary Tumulty and several distinguished men and the entire stage behind the decorations of palms and other plants was surrounded by a cordon of the secret service. Forty-three large newspapers throughout the country were represented at the reporters' table.

The President had asked to speak last and he listened with much interest to a program of noted public workers as follows: Why Women Need the Vote. The Call of the Working Woman for the Protection of the Woman's Vote—Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of National Women's Trades Union League. Mothers in Politics—Miss Julia Lathrop, chief of National Children's Bureau. A Necessary Safeguard to Public Morals—Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Chief of Parole Commission, New York City. Working Children—Dr. Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of National Child Labor Committee. Each speaker emphasized the necessity for the enfranchisement of women as a means for the nation's highest welfare. Mrs. Catt was in the chair and introduced the President, who said with much earnestness and sincerity:

Madam President, Ladies of the Association: I have found it a real privilege to be here tonight and to listen to the addresses which you have heard. Though you may not all of you believe it, I would a great deal rather hear somebody else speak than speak myself, but I would feel that I was omitting a duty if I did not address you tonight and say some of the things that have been in my thoughts as I realized the approach of this evening and the duty that would fall upon me.

The astonishing thing about the movement which you represent is not that it has grown so slowly but that it has grown so rapidly. No doubt for those who have been a long time in the struggle, like your honored president, it seems a long and arduous path that has been trodden, but when you think of the cumulating force of the movement in recent decades you must agree with me that it is one of the most astonishing tides in modern history. Two generations ago—no doubt Madam President will agree with me in saying this—

it was a handful of women who were fighting for this cause; now it is a great multitude of women who are fighting for it. There are some interesting historical connections which I should like to attempt to point out to you.

One of the most striking facts about the history of the United States is that at the outset it was a lawyers' history. Almost all of the questions to which America addressed itself, say a hundred years ago, were legal questions; were questions of methods, not questions of what you were going to do with your government but questions of how you were going to constitute your government; how you were going to balance the powers of the State and the Federal government; how you were going to balance the claims of property against the processes of liberty; how you were going to make up your government so as to balance the parts against each other, so that the Legislature would check the Executive and the Executive the Legislature. The idea of government when the United States became a nation was a mechanical conception and the mechanical conception which underlay it was the Newtonian theory of the universe. If you take up the *Federalist* you see that some parts of it read like a treatise on government. They speak of the centrifugal and centripetal forces and locate the President somewhere in a rotating system. The whole thing is a calculation of power and adjustment of parts. There was a time when nobody but a lawyer could know enough to run the government of the United States. . . .

And then something happened. A great question arose in this country which, though complicated with legal elements, was at bottom a human question and nothing but a question of humanity. That was the slavery question, and is it not significant that it was then, and then for the first time, that women became prominent in politics in America? Not many women—those prominent in that day are so few that you can almost name them over in a brief catalogue—but, nevertheless, they then began to play a part not only in writing but in public speech, which was a very novel part for women to play in America; and after the Civil War had settled some of what seemed to be the most difficult legal questions of our system the life of the nation began not only to unfold but to accumulate.

Life in the United States was a comparatively simple matter at the time of the Civil War. There was none of that underground struggle which is now so manifest to those who look only a little way beneath the surface. Stories such as Dr. Davis has told tonight were uncommon in those simpler days. The pressure of low wages, the agony of obscure and unremunerated toil did not exist in America in anything like the same proportions as they exist now. And as our life has unfolded and accumulated, as the contacts of it have become hot, as the populations have assembled in the cities and the cool spaces of the country have been supplemented by feverish urban areas, the whole nature of our political questions has been altered. They have ceased to be legal questions. They have more and more

become social questions, questions with regard to the relations of human beings to one another, not merely their legal relations but their moral and spiritual relations to one another.

This has been most characteristic of American life in the last few decades, and as these questions have assumed greater and greater prominence the movement which this association represents has gathered cumulative force, so that when anybody asks himself, What does this gathering force mean? if he knows anything about the history of the country he knows that it means something *which has not only come to stay but has come with conquering power.*

I get a little impatient sometimes about the discussion of the channels and methods by which it is to prevail. *It is going to prevail* and that is a very superficial and ignorant view of it which attributes it to mere social unrest. It is not merely because women are discontented, it is because they have seen visions of duty, and that is something that we not only can not resist but if we be true Americans we do not wish to resist. Because America took its origin in visions of the human spirit, in aspirations for the deepest sort of liberty of the mind and heart, and, as visions of that sort come to the sight of those who are spiritually minded America comes more and more into its birthright and into the perfection of its development; so that what we have to realize is that in dealing with forces of this sort we are dealing with the substance of life itself.

I have felt as I sat here tonight the wholesome contagion of the occasion. Almost every other time that I ever visited Atlantic City I came to fight somebody. I hardly know how to conduct myself when *I have not come to fight anybody but with somebody.*

I have come to suggest among other things that when the forces of nature are working steadily and the tide is rising to meet the moon, you need not be afraid that it will not come to its flood. We feel the tide; we rejoice in the strength of it, and *we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of it,* because, when you are working with masses of men and organized bodies of opinion, you have got to carry the organized body along. The whole art and practice of government consist not in moving individuals but in moving masses. It is all very well to run ahead and beckon, but, after all, you have got to wait for them to follow. I have not come to ask you to be patient, because you have been, but I have come to congratulate you that there has been a force behind you that will beyond any peradventure be triumphant and for which you can afford a little while to wait.

When President Wilson had finished amid enthusiastic applause Mrs. Catt asked Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president, to respond. She was much moved by the occasion and taking the last sentence of the address for a text she eloquently told how women had already worked and waited for more than three score years. "We have waited long enough for the vote, we want

it now," she exclaimed, and then turning to the President with her irresistible smile she finished, "and we want it to come in your administration!" He smiled and bowed and the whole audience rose in a sea of waving handkerchiefs as he took his departure. The President of the United States had said: "Your cause is going to prevail; I have come to fight with you; we shall not quarrel as to the method!"

The other speeches of the evening were all of a high order. Mrs. Robins, as always, made an unanswerable argument for giving women wage earners the protection of the ballot. "In the Children's Bureau," Miss Lathrop said, "we have come to see the close connection between the welfare of mother and child. Because we are so concerned for the children we asked a physician to take those vast, mysterious volumes of the census and look up the facts about the mortality of mothers. Last year in the United States more than 15,000 women lost their lives carrying on the life of the race. The death rate from other things, such as typhoid and diphtheria, has been cut in half but between 1900 and 1913 maternal mortality was not lessened but seemingly increased; yet this waste of life is just as preventable as those diseases, for medical science has shown that with proper care the dangers of childbirth can be made very small. Just as fast as women are allowed a voice in public affairs it is their duty to see that no mother and child shall perish for lack of care. Every country should have a mother and child welfare center. When a memorial was lately proposed for a woman who had died in the war, a well-known man said: 'We can enfranchise her sex in tribute to the valor which she proved that it possessed.' It is not too much to give suffrage to women in tribute to the 15,000 who are dying every year in this great duty and service; yet we do not ask the ballot for women as a reward but because, as a duty and a service, we ought to ask for it. . . ."

"Woman suffrage is needed in the interest of good morals," was the keynote of Dr. Davis's address, who said:

You cannot legislate righteousness into the human heart but you can reduce to a minimum the temptations that are offered to youth. To a large extent you can stop commercialized vice and the manufacture of criminals. I am not one of those who think that the

millenium will come soon after women get the vote, but I believe that women will take an unusual interest in the effort to clean up vicious conditions, because all down the ages women have paid the price of vice and crime.

I do not believe that at heart a man is any worse than a woman, but all through the centuries he has been taught that he may do some things which a woman may not. It is only of late that we have begun to fight these things in the open and you cannot successfully fight any evil in the dark. For sixteen years my work has brought me in contact with this peculiar phase of public morals and I know whereof I speak. Public morals are corrupted because woman's point of view has no representation. We have laws to regulate these things but they are man-made and the public sentiment behind them which should govern their enforcement has grown up through the ages and it is the sentiment of men only. The laws are not equal nor equally enforced. If you doubt it you have only to go into the night court and you will see woman after woman convicted on the word of a policeman only, while in order to convict a man you have to pile evidence on evidence. I think this inequality of treatment will not cease till women get a vote.

In a very convincing address Dr. Lovejoy said:

The past month has been memorable in the history of child labor reform in America. A three-years' campaign culminated last Friday in the signing of a bill by President Wilson which excludes from the facilities of interstate commerce the exploiters of child labor. It has been estimated that 150,000 children who now bow under the yoke of excessive toil will be able to straighten up and look heaven in the face when this law begins to operate on the first of next September. In signing the bill the President said: "I want to say that with real emotion I sign this bill, because I know how long the struggle has been to secure legislation of this sort and what it is going to mean to the health and vigor of this country and also to the happiness of those whom it affects. It is with genuine pride that I play my part in completing legislation."

I am convinced that we need the voice of the church, the school, the home, in making and enforcing laws to protect working children, and, since half the adult population of our American homes are women, since approximately 75 per cent. of the church members are women, since 90 per cent. of the school teachers are women and since every moral and educational enterprise in the country is represented in about the same proportion, cold logic forces us to the conclusion that we need women in politics. Of 10,000 members of the National Child Labor Committee, 6,400 are women. Some of the experiences we have had with men in Legislatures in response to the appeal of mothers for the protection of working children have forced me to the conclusion that in this protection the participation of women in the law-making of the State is vital.

The primary nominations and elections were held with voting machines and when the result was announced it was found that all the old board was nominated with the exception of Mrs. Roessing, Miss Patterson and Mrs. Morrisson, who declined to stand for re-election. Their places were filled with Mrs. Frank J. Shuler (N. Y.), corresponding secretary; Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith (Ky.), recording secretary and Miss Heloise Meyer (Mass.), first auditor. As there were no other candidates the secretary was unanimously requested by the convention to cast its vote. This was a remarkable record for 543 delegates. A national suffrage flag was adopted, the gift of Pennsylvania—a yellow field with fringed edges, in the center a circle of eleven blue stars representing the equal suffrage States enclosing an eagle on the wing holding the globe in its talons. Mrs. J. O. Miller in behalf of the president made an eloquent presentation.

Miss Clay moved a resolution on her Elections Bill that the convention endeavor to protect women citizens in their right to vote for U. S. Senators and Representatives and with this object in view endorse this bill introduced by Senator Robert L. Owen (Okla.). This motion was carried. Mrs. Catt stated that the resolution of Mrs. Sallie Clay Bennett (Ky.) was similar and this also was passed. A large number of letters and telegrams were read from eminent men and women and from societies of many kinds. Mrs. Catt stated that in not one had it been suggested that the association lessen its activities for the Federal Amendment. The convention then adopted a resolution instructing the Congressional Committee "to concentrate all its resources on a determined effort to carry this amendment through the next session of Congress."

Invitations for the next convention were received from nine States. Greetings were sent to three of the original surviving pioneers, the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell of New Jersey; Mrs. Judith W. Smith of Massachusetts and Miss Emily Howland of New York. The delegates were introduced who brought greetings from the National Equal Franchise Union of Canada, and Mrs. Campbell McIvor responded. A special vote of thanks was given to Miss Mary Garrett Hay and Miss Lulu H. Marvel, chairman of the General Committee of Arrangements, for their



perfect management of President Wilson's visit to the convention. Among those submitted by the Committee on Resolutions, Mrs. Alice Duer Miller (N. Y.), chairman, and adopted were the following:

Whereas, all political parties in their national platforms have endorsed the principle of woman suffrage, be it

Resolved, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association in convention assembled calls upon Congress to submit to the States the Constitutional Amendment providing nation-wide suffrage for women.

Whereas, the Democratic and Republican parties in endorsing the principle of woman suffrage have specially recognized the right of the States to settle the question for themselves, we call upon these parties in the States where amendment campaigns are in progress to take immediate action to obtain the enfranchisement of women, and in other States to take such action as the suffrage organizations deem expedient.

Whereas, honest elections are vital to good government in this country and to the decisions in the campaigns for woman suffrage; and

Whereas, public records of all funds used in political campaigns will benefit our movement in that they will bring to light its real opponents, therefore

Resolved, That this convention urges the passage by Congress and the States of a thorough and comprehensive Corrupt Practices Act providing effectual punishment for offenders.

That in recognition of Miss Clara Barton's lifelong support of woman suffrage, as well as her service to the country in founding the American Red Cross and standing at its head for more than a quarter of a century, this association endorses the bill recently introduced in Congress providing for an appropriation of \$1,000 to place a suitable memorial to Miss Barton in the Red Cross Building now being constructed in the city of Washington.

That we express our profound sympathy with the women in the countries now at war and our sense of the advance that has been made in the cause of all women by the devotion, ability and courage with which those women have risen to the new demands on them.

That we express our deep appreciation of the great honor the President of the United States has done the women of the country by coming to Atlantic City especially to address this convention.

Rejoicing was expressed over the many victories during the year, the endorsement by large organizations—the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Anti-Saloon League, the Women's Relief Corps and others; a plank for woman suffrage in all national party platforms; a favorable declara-

tion by all presidential candidates and for the first time the sanction of the President of the United States. The report of Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, chairman of the National Congressional Committee, gave so complete an account of the situation at the time the great "drive" for the Federal Amendment was begun that it is largely reproduced.

At the opening of the 64th Congress in December, 1915, several political leaders interested in the progress of social and economic legislation stated that 1916 would be a lean year in Congress for such movements. It was pointed out that particularly in the Senate some of the most reactionary men had been returned at the preceding election. It is also a presidential election year and neither of the great parties is willing to take one unnecessary step which in its judgment may tend to add to the number of its adversaries or to its vulnerable points in some particular section of the country. All of the 435 members of the House and one-third of the Senators come up for re-election in November of this year—they, too, are shy and sensitive. Some legislation, notably child labor after it had been endorsed by the National Democratic platform, successfully ran the gauntlet but not so our Federal Suffrage Amendment. It is with keen regret your committee reports that it has not had action in either the Senate or House of Representatives.

In the Senate the resolution was introduced Dec. 7, 1915, by Senators Sutherland, Thomas and Thompson of Kansas and referred to the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage. This committee reported favorably resolution No. 1, introduced by Senator Sutherland. The written report made from the committee by Senator Thomas is one of the best pieces of literature on the subject and copies were mailed to every State president and State chairman of congressional work. Since that early date our measure has been on the calendar. It has come to the top a number of times but at the request of suffrage Senators has been held until a more auspicious hour.

As the National Association was desirous of having a vote on the measure at this session, your committee began to work to that end immediately after receiving specific instructions from the Board June 17, 1916. The meaning of the suffrage planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms was disputed by some men in both parties. The leaders stated that the planks were silent as to the Federal Amendment and thus left men free to vote on the amendment as each decided. In order to ascertain the interpretation which would be given by members of Congress it was determined to push for a vote in the Senate. On June 27 Mrs. Catt, Miss Hannah J. Patterson, corresponding secretary of the National Suffrage Association, Mrs. Antoinette Funk, vice-chairman of the committee, Miss Hay and the chairman held an informal conference with the Senators of the enfranchised States in the office of Senator Shafroth to secure their assistance. As unanimous consent is required for the con-

sideration of such a measure, the Senators agreed that if we would have the vote taken without debate it would probably be possible, since this would not consume the time of the Senate. We believed that this was best in order to make sure of the vote. On July 22 Senator Thomas wrote to every Senator asking whether he would consent to a vote being taken without debate. He informed us that on both the Republican and Democratic sides there were men who would not give such consent, some stating that they had been asked by certain suffragists of the other organization not to consent. After the endorsement of the Federal Amendment by Judge Hughes, the candidate for President, frequent remarks were made in the Senate on it by members of both parties. Senator Clark (Republican) of Wyoming and Senator Pittman (Democrat) of Nevada were among those who urged action at this session but finally in August Senator Thomas gave up the effort.

The unfair treatment of the amendment resolution in the House Judiciary Committee and its final suppression by Chairman Edwin Y. Webb (N. C.) were described in full and the unsuccessful efforts, led by Mrs. Catt, to obtain action on it. [See Chapter on Federal Amendment.] The report continued:

Federal Elections Bill: On December 6 Representative Raker introduced at the request of the Federal Suffrage Association a bill to protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators and members of the House. The bill was referred to the Committee on the Election of the President, Vice-President and Representatives in Congress and has not yet been reported out. On December 10 this same bill was introduced by Senator Lane of Oregon, referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage and is still there.

United States Elections Bill: The United States Elections Bill, introduced by Senator Owen at the request of Miss Laura Clay on February 3, aims also to secure to women the right to vote for Senators and Representatives in Congress. Miss Clay says it is simply a declaratory act; that it does not permit Congress to specify qualifications of voters and therefore does not involve the issue of State's rights. This bill was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, where it remains. Your committee assisted the suffragists in the District of Columbia in the effort for a bill enabling it to elect a delegate to the Lower House. . . .

Planks:<sup>1</sup> For some time prior to June your committee used every

<sup>1</sup> On June 1, a short time before the meeting of Republican and Democratic National Conventions, twenty-nine members of the Lower House of Congress from States where women vote, who wished the conventions to put woman suffrage in their platforms, had a hearing before the House Judiciary Committee. The Representatives, both Democratic and Republican, who made brief arguments for the Federal Amendment were: Ariz., Carl Hayden; Cal., Denver S. Church, Charles H. Randall, William Kettner, John E.

opportunity with Senators and Representatives to further the work of securing suffrage planks in the Republican and Democratic national platforms. Its chairman was put in charge of drafting for submission to Mrs. Catt the planks which were to be offered to the two conventions on behalf of the National Association. Its members who went to Chicago and St. Louis concentrated their efforts on the planks. The two demonstrations of women planned and supervised by the National Board were the culmination of the campaign on behalf of these planks. In cooperation with your Congressional Committee, many State delegations of women who came for the demonstrations did special eleventh-hour work with the delegates to the conventions.

Your committee regrets that the planks in the two dominant national party platforms, since they mention method at all, do not specifically endorse Federal action, but they will be of great value in the States and progress there will help the Federal work. Every man in Congress is keenly alive to the strength of our movement in his district and State. For that reason we urged the women of each State to secure planks in the State platforms endorsing the principle of woman suffrage. As a last resort, if they could not secure a separate plank in their State platforms, we asked them to make sure that each State convention endorsed its party's national platform, that the plank might in this way have the equivalent of a State endorsement.

With the final yielding of the two dominant parties to the justice of woman suffrage all are now on record in favor of the principle; all except the Republican and Democratic endorse the Federal Amendment. Republicans have been strengthened in their advocacy of Federal action by Judge Hughes' personal endorsement of the amendment. Your committee must sound a note of warning here against over-confidence. Some too zealous suffragists, including one suffrage organ, state quite seriously, notwithstanding the fact that their attention has been called to their error, that "the Republican party has specifically declared for the Federal Suffrage Amendment." Alas! it has done no such thing. It has not done one bit more than the Democratic party. The personal endorsement of the Republican candidate for President can not properly be construed as party endorsement. Those of us who have had some years of experience have witnessed the worming and screwing, fallacy and treachery exhibited by members of a party after their leading candidate has endorsed a particular measure. We know that we can not hold the party responsible for one man's utterances made after the plat-

Raker; Colo., Benjamin C. Hilliard, Edward Keating, Edward T. Taylor; Ills., James T. McDermott, Adolph J. Sabath, James McAndrews, Frank H. Buchanan, Thomas Gallagher, Clyde H. Tavenner, Claudius U. Stone, Henry T. Rainey, Martin D. Foster, William Elza Williams (a member of the Judiciary Committee); Kans., Joseph Taggart (also a member), Dudley Doolittle, Guy T. Helvering, John R. Connelly, Jouett Shouse, William A. Ayres; Mont., John M. Evans, Tom Stout; Utah, James H. Mays; Wash., C. C. Dill.

Judge Raker acted as chairman and the remarkably strong presentation called out many questions from the anti-suffrage members of the Judiciary Committee.

form had been adopted by the party convention and accepted by the party candidate.

Committee: Mrs. Medill McCormick was unable to continue as chairman of the Congressional Committee and the present chairman was appointed by the National Board in January, 1916, immediately went to Washington and lived there eight months, until the opening of this convention. During the entire term of this session of Congress this committee has had some representatives on duty at the Washington headquarters every moment. The service of each member has not been continuous but has varied from a week to three months in length. In addition to the chairman, the committee consisted of Mrs. Funk of Illinois; Miss Hay of New York; Mrs. Jacobs of Alabama; Mrs. Cotnam of Arkansas; Mrs. C. S. McClure of Michigan; Mrs. Valentine of Virginia; Miss Martha Norris of Ohio; Mrs. Elizabeth Higgins Sullivan of Nebraska and Miss Ruth White of Missouri.

Mrs. Funk resigned March 14 to take up other work and in July Miss White was appointed secretary and has done much special work. Because of the amount of travel involved only two meetings of the full committee have been held, on March 2 and September 4. Every plan for congressional work has been submitted to the National Board or to the national president for approval.

Revision of Work: At the beginning of the present year the work of the National Association was revised and departmentalized, the organization branch was separated from the congressional work, made a distinct department, placed under another head and operated from the New York office. This division was advisable, since each task is big enough by itself. The only disadvantage resulted from the distance between the bases of operation of the two departments—one of the paramount reasons for the removal of all the headquarters to Washington. . . . The work of the committee in 1916 consisted of the supervision and direction of all activity connected with the Federal Amendment, including lobby work at the Capitol; the stimulating of congressional activity in the States; the cataloguing of information concerning Senators and Representatives; the assembling and filing of all information specifically relating to the Federal Amendment in Congress and in the States; the issuing of newspaper articles; the handling of the large correspondence.

Headquarters: The chairman had been on duty only a short time when the necessity for removing national headquarters to Washington was deeply impressed upon her—so deeply that she made a special trip to New York to labor with the national officers there to this end but was unsuccessful. The headquarters of the Congressional Committee at the opening of this session consisted of two rooms in the Munsey Building at Washington too diminutive to hold even our furniture, to say nothing of our workers. On February 19 it moved to two larger rooms in the same building.

A summary of the correspondence, etc., was given and the report said of the lobby work:

All the direct work with Senators and Congressmen is a time as well as brain consuming process. Usually it means tramping up and down the long stone corridors, hour after hour, in order to find one man in his office. Then he may be having a committee meeting or a previous engagement or emergency business and you are invited to come some other day. Perhaps you have waited an hour before you are sure that he can not see you. It is not uncommon for the members of our lobby to state that they have made as many as six, eight or ten calls before they succeeded in reaching a man. Speaking from my own knowledge, I have wasted hours at the Capitol trying to see men who would not make appointments. I have called eighteen times to see one man and have not seen him yet! He is the Representative from my own district. We carried the district for suffrage in Pennsylvania last year but I am told that he does not want to vote for the Federal Amendment. It is, of course, possible to interview members by calling them out of the session but this method is uncertain and not very successful, since they feel hurried and interviews in a public reception room are seldom satisfactory.

The latest piece of work done by the committee is the interviewing by letter of all congressional candidates who will stand for election in November. This has been done in cooperation with the State associations which have been urged to institute vigorous interviewing in the congressional districts.

Presidential Interviewing: The presidential candidates of the two parties whose platforms do not endorse the Federal Amendment have been interviewed in person. On July 17 Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, president of the New York suffrage association, called on Judge Hughes in New York and had a long and satisfactory conversation. He told them that in his speech of acceptance he could not endorse the Federal Amendment because this was the accepting of the party's nomination and of its platform, which had not mentioned it. He said, however, that he believed in it and that soon after his speech of acceptance he would announce his personal advocacy of the amendment. He asked them to hold this information in confidence, which of course they did. His public statement of August 1 was therefore no surprise to them but was nevertheless most gratifying.

On August 1 Mrs. Catt and your chairman called on President Wilson in Washington. He reiterated his belief that woman suffrage should come by State action. We presented the arguments in behalf of the Federal Amendment but he remained unconvinced. He is a fair and openminded man and your representatives have by no means given up hope of proving to him the justice and advisability of the amendment.

Conferences: At the last national convention a special committee

recommended that the Board of Officers should consider the suggestion of conferences between the Congressional Committee of the National Association and the Legislative Committee of the Congressional Union, with a view to securing more united action in the lobby work in Washington. Nine such conferences were held—one in January, three in February, three in March, one in June, one in July. Your chairman was present at each and Miss Anne Martin, representing the Union, was present at each. At some of them each organization had additional representatives. Mrs. Catt attended two and our corresponding secretary, Miss Patterson, attended one. The subject was the time at which action on the Federal Amendment should be secured in both branches of Congress. When on July 20 it was found that the National Committee wished to obtain a vote in the Senate before adjournment and the Congressional Union wished to postpone it the conferences came to an end. It is the unanimous judgment of your committee that they were of no value to the work on the amendment.

General: The congressional work done in Washington this year by the National Association has not been spectacular. Your committee had not been on duty long before they realized that many members had been irritated by the too-frequent calls of suffragists and by the inconsiderate demands on their time. As our last national convention was held at the opening session of this Congress, delegations of suffragists used the opportunity to call on their Senators and Representatives. Considering the strain of work of Congress during the past months and the fact that the men had already been interviewed by State delegations or representatives, we did not encourage further visits to the Capitol. In Washington such visits, like pageants and other spectacular forms of activity, have been overdone. There was nothing to be gained and probably something to be lost by them.

Your committee wishes to express its appreciation of the cooperation of many Senators and members of the House. Our friends have often gone out of their way to assist us and not once has any one refused a request for help. They have made speeches on the floor at our suggestion, taken polls for us, held conferences, arranged interviews, provided us with documents and extended all the official courtesies within their power. While we have not secured action we are not discouraged in the least. Even the most radical opponents acknowledge that our movement has grown tremendously this year. We have achieved recognition of the justice of our principle by the political parties and we have with us in our Federal fight the great majority of the leaders of thought and action who believe in suffrage at all. By a continuation of sane methods, sound tactics, coordination and concentration we shall soon accomplish the submission of the Federal Amendment.

Your chairman becomes more convinced each day that one of the next steps necessary to nationalize our work and to secure Federal action is the removal of the national headquarters to Washington.

She feels it to be her clear duty frankly to state to the convention her conviction on this point. It is her judgment, based upon her own observation this year and a study of the past work on the Federal Amendment, that it will not pass until the national headquarters are in Washington and the National Board as well as the Congressional Committee is in a position to give its direct attention to the work on this amendment.

A lobby in Washington for special educational purposes may be a good thing but you will have to do special educational and political work in the States if your committee is to achieve political action to the point of a two-thirds vote on the amendment. We appreciate that support has been given to it by many suffragists and a number of State chairmen and presidents but there has not been the intensive, persistent, determined congressional activity in the States which there must be before the amendment can be passed and ratified. Your committee has done its utmost, I believe, but it can no more put the Federal Amendment through Congress without your activity in the States than a State committee can achieve success without activity in the counties. Activity on the part of a small number of local Washington suffragists is not a sufficient backing for the work of the Congressional Committee. If you propose to secure the Federal Amendment you must work just as hard in the States as you expect it to work in Washington. Without a doubt we can secure the Federal Amendment if the women of this country enthusiastically want their enfranchisement that way. . . .

The friendliness of members of Congress toward the National Association and their continued respect for the suffrage movement in this country have been maintained by the dignity, poise and ability of the national lobby. In the many years of my connection with various kinds of organizations I have never served any in which there was more frankness, unity and good fellowship than in the National Board and the National Congressional Committee. That such harmony exists is due to our great president, to whom each is more indebted than all of us together can express. Her visits to Washington did for us what nothing and no one else could do. It was my duty and pleasure always to accompany her to the Capitol, and the unfailing impression of nobility, directness and power which she left upon the men was a joy to witness.

I can not close this report without acknowledging my personal debt to that co-officer who is not on our committee, Miss Hannah J. Patterson. It is but fair to say that had we not had her assistance at hazardous moments the suffrage planks would not be in the two national platforms today. Food, sleep, rest, pleasure, all were day after day given up by this most self-sacrificing officer. She it was who kept with one other [Mrs. Roessing] the lonely vigil the night of June 6 at the door of the Republican Resolutions Committee while it debated for hours its sub-committee's adverse report on the suffrage plank. The crisis in our work for both the planks came in this sub-committee of seven, for we knew that if we lost in Chi-



ago there would be no hope in St. Louis. At midnight that all-powerful sub-committee by a vote of 5 to 4 turned down our plank and refused to permit suffrage to be mentioned in the platform in any way. That committee has seldom been reversed in all the history of the party. When later Senator Borah, also sleepless and hungry, came to us in one of those agonizing moments when decision must be made at once, when we could not reach our president or our board, it was Miss Patterson who made the decision that won the plank.<sup>1</sup>

A comprehensive plan of work was adopted with the following principal features:

**Federal Work:** The National Board shall continue a lobby in Washington until the Federal Amendment shall be submitted; the matter of removing headquarters to Washington shall be left to the judgment of the Board; it shall conduct a nation-wide campaign of agitation, education, organization and publicity in support of the amendment, which shall include the following: a million-dollar fund for the campaign from Oct. 1, 1916, to Oct. 1, 1917; a monthly propaganda demonstration simultaneously conducted throughout the nation; at least four campaign directors and 200 organizers in the field and a vigorous, thorough organization in every State; a nationalized scheme for education through literature; national suffrage schools; a speakers' bureau; innumerable activities for agitation and publicity; a national press bureau and a national publicity council with departments in each State; a national committee to extend suffrage propaganda among non-English-speaking races.

**State Work:** A Council of the representatives of States shall meet in executive session in connection with each annual national convention to hear reports as to the status of each campaign State and to fix upon States which shall be recommended to go forward with campaigns.

No State association shall ask the Legislature for the submission of a State constitutional amendment or for the submission of the question by initiative or by a referred law until such Council or the National Board has had the opportunity to investigate conditions and to give consent.

Any State which proceeds to a referendum campaign without securing this consent shall be prepared to finance its own campaign without help from the National Board.

Any State which has secured the consent of the National Board to proceed with a campaign shall have its cooperation to the fullest extent of its powers.

<sup>1</sup> Senator Borah told them that the plank the National Suffrage Board had submitted, endorsing a Federal Amendment, was absolutely impossible but one could be obtained declaring for woman suffrage by State action. They accepted it, which was a wise thing to do, as had the Republican platform not favored woman suffrage *per se* the Democratic platform, adopted the following week, would not have done so.

As soon as possible experienced campaign managers shall be trained for the work and shall be supplied to a campaign State to work under the direction of the National Board in cooperation with the State board.

States willing to contribute to campaigns in other States should do so by the advice of the National Board, who should be informed as to conditions, and the money so contributed should be passed through the national treasury.

The rule that the National Board shall do nothing in States without the consent of the State shall be repealed.

The organization, press work, literature distributed and general activity of the States shall be standardized and regular reports on all of these departments shall be made to the National Board in order that advice and help may be rendered when most needed.

This Board shall have the authority to nationalize the suffrage movement by unifying the work as far as is possible.

Any States not desiring to work for the Federal Amendment may remain members of the National Association provided they do not work actively against it.

Dr. Shaw presided over the last evening session of the convention and three of the strongest speeches during the convention were made by the Hon. Herbert Parsons, New York member of the Republican National Committee; Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston (Me.), Superintendent of Franchise of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Raymond Robins, a national leader of progressive thought. The convention ended with a mass meeting Sunday afternoon in the New Nixon Theater with Mrs. Catt presiding. Rabbi Henry M. Fisher of Atlantic City gave the invocation and inspiring addresses were made by Mrs. David F. Simpson (Minn.) and the Rev. Effie McCollum Jones (Ia.). Dr. Shaw closed her address with a beautiful delineation of Americanism, saying at its close:

What is Americanism? Every one has a different answer. Some people say it is never to submit to the dictation of a King. Others say Americanism is the pride of liberty and the defence of an insult to the flag with their gore. When some half-developed person tramples on that flag, we should be ready to pour out the blood of the nation, they say. But do we not sit in silence when that flag waves over living conditions which should be an insult to all patriotism? Why do we care more about our flag than any other flag? Why, when we have been travelling and seeing others, does the sight of the American flag bring tears to our eyes and warmth to our hearts? Is it not because it is a symbol of the hopes and aspirations of the men and women of the whole world? They say Americanism is

the love of liberty, but men died for that and women gave their lives for it thousands of years before America was known. Others say it is the love of justice but the whole world is filled with that, no one country loves it more than another. Human love, sacrifice and sympathy have been manifested in the history of the world since the beginning of time. The American sees in Americanism just what he wants to see. He looks over the world and finds every good thing and calls it his own—justice, liberty, humanity, patriotism. It is not Americanism but humanism. There is only one thing we can claim in higher degree than the other nations—opportunity is the word which means true Americanism.

The anti-suffragists have said that when women have the vote they will have less time for charity and philanthropy. They are right—when we have the vote there will be less need for charity and philanthropy. The highest ideal of a republic is not a long bread line nor a soup kitchen but such opportunity that the people can buy their own bread and make their own soup. Opportunity must be for all, men and women alike, and the peoples of every nationality. Americanism does not mean militarism. The greatest need of Americans is not military preparedness nor changed economic conditions but a baptism of the spirit, higher religious ideals, deeper tolerance and sympathy. The human heart must be in accord with the Divine heart if America is to mean more than other countries, and, if we are to be what our mothers and fathers aspired to be, we must all be a part of the Government.

At 5 o'clock Mrs. Catt spoke the closing words and declared the convention adjourned.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1917.

The Forty-ninth National Suffrage Convention, which met in Poli's Theater at Washington Dec. 12-15, 1917, was held under the most difficult conditions that ever had been faced in the long history of these annual gatherings. Always heretofore they had been comfortable, happy times, when the delegates came from far and wide to exchange greetings, report progress and plan the future work for a cause to which many of them were giving their entire time and effort. Now great changes had taken place, as the Call for the convention indicated.

Since last we met the all-engulfing World War has drawn our own country into its maelstrom and ominous clouds rest over the earth, obscuring the vision and oppressing the souls of mankind, yet out of the confusion and chaos there has developed a stronger promise of the triumph of democracy than the world has ever known. Every allied nation has announced that it is fighting for this and our own President has declared that "we are fighting for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government." New Russia has answered the call; Great Britain has pledged full suffrage for women and the measure has already passed the House of Commons by the enormous majority of seven to one. Canada, too, has responded with five newly enfranchised provinces; France is waiting only to drive the foe from her soil to give her women political liberty.

Such an array of victories gives us faith to believe that our own Government will soon follow the example of other allied nations and will also pledge votes to its women citizens as an earnest of its sincerity that in truth we do fight for democracy. This is our first national convention since our country entered the war. We are faced with new problems and new issues and the nation is realizing its dependence upon women as never before. It must be made to realize also that, willingly as women are now serving, they can serve still more efficiently when they shall have received the full measure of citizenship. These facts must be urged upon Congress and our Government must be convinced that the time has come for the enfranchisement of women by means of an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Men and women who believe that the great question of world

democracy includes government of the people, by the people and for the people in our country, are invited to attend our convention and counsel with us on ways and means to attain this object at the earliest possible moment.<sup>1</sup>

On account of the large rush of soldiers to the eastern coast and the many other problems of transportation travelling had become very hard and expensive but so greatly had the interest in suffrage increased among women that nearly 600 delegates were present, the highest number that had ever attended one of the conventions. They came through weather below zero, snowstorms and washouts; trains from the far West were thirty-six hours late; delegates from the South were in two railroad wrecks. It was one of the coldest Decembers ever known and the eastern part of the country had never before faced such a coal famine, from various reasons. Washington was inundated with people, the vast number who had suddenly been called into the service of the Government, the soldiers and the members of their families who had come to be with them to the last, and this city of only a few hundred thousand inhabitants had neither sleeping nor eating accommodations for all of them. The suffrage convention had been called before these conditions were fully known and because of the necessity of bringing pressure at once on Congress. The national suffrage headquarters were now occupying a large private house and the officers were cared for there but the delegates were obliged to scatter over the city wherever they could find shelter, were always cold and some of the time not far from hungry and prices were double what was expected. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks the convention program was carried out and a large amount of valuable work accomplished, tried and loyal suffragists being accustomed to hardships and self-sacrifice.

The victory in New York State the preceding month had marked the beginning of the end and the universal enfranchisement of women seemed almost in sight. Even the intense excite-

<sup>1</sup> Signed: Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Mrs. Stanley McCormick and Miss Esther G. Ogden, vice-presidents; Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, recording secretary; Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, treasurer; Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, auditor; Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman Congressional Committee; Miss Rose Young, chairman of Press; Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, chairman of Literature.

ment of the war had not entirely overshadowed what had now become a national issue. Under the auspices of Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, resident in Washington, an Advisory Council was formed to act in an honorary capacity and extend official recognition to the convention, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers, Judges, clergymen and others prominent in the life of the capital, with their wives and other women of their family, cheerfully giving their names for this purpose.<sup>1</sup>

The evening before the convention opened a reception by invitation was given in the ball room of the New Willard Hotel to Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Catt and the other officers and the delegates, the following acting as hostesses: Mrs. William Gibbs McAdoo, Mrs. Newton D. Baker, Mrs. Thomas W. Gregory, Mrs. Albert Sidney Burleson, Mrs. Josephus Daniels, Mrs. Franklin K. Lane, Mrs. David F. Houston, Miss Agnes Hart Wilson, Mrs. James R. Mann, Mrs. Philip Pitt Campbell. The first seven were the wives and the eighth the daughter of the members of President Wilson's Cabinet, only Mrs. Robert Lansing being absent, who, like her husband, was an anti-suffragist. The last two were the wives of prominent Representatives from Illinois and Kansas. Because of the war the other social festivities that were usually

<sup>1</sup> On the list were: All the members of the Cabinet except Secretary of State Lansing; nineteen U. S. Senators and fourteen prominent Representatives; Speaker Champ Clark; U. S. Commissioner of Education Philander P. Claxton; Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Carl Vrooman; Justices of the Supreme Court of the District Wendell P. Stafford and Frederick L. Siddons; Secretary to the President Joseph P. Tumulty; Commissioners of the District Louis Brownlow and W. Gwynn Gardiner; former Commissioners Henry F. MacFarland and Simon Wolf; Major Raymond S. Pullman, Chief of Police; Resident Commissioner and Mme. Jaime De Veyra (Philippine Islands); Resident Commissioner Felix C. Davila (Porto Rico); John Barrett, director of the Pan-American Union; Major-General W. C. Gorgas; the Reverends U. G. B. Pierce, Henry N. Couden, chaplain of the House of Representatives; James Shera Montgomery, Rabbi Abram Simon, John Van Schaick, president of the School Board; *Theodore Noyes*, editor of the *Evening Star*; Arthur Brisbane, the *Times*; C. T. Brainerd, the *Washington Herald*; W. P. Spurgeon, the *Washington Post*; Gilbert Grosvenor, editor of the *National Geographic Magazine*; J. Leftwich Sinclair, president, and Thomas Grant, secretary of the Washington Chamber of Commerce; Dr. Harry A. Garfield, president Williams College and director Fuel Administration for the United States; Edward P. Costigan, U. S. Tariff Commission; Frank A. Vanderlip, V. Everit Macy, on War Boards; Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor; Alexander Graham Bell; Gifford Pinchot; Dr. Ryan Devereux; General Julian S. Carr, commander-in-chief United Confederate Veterans.

Miss Julia Lathrop, chief of the Children's Bureau; Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, president, and Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, secretary National Education Association; Mrs. George Thacher Guernsey, president-general Daughters of the American Revolution; Mrs. Cordelia R. P. Odenheimer, president-general Daughters of the Confederacy; Miss Janet Richards; Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood; Mrs. Blaine Beale; Mrs. Ellis Meredith; Mrs. Christian Hemmick; Mrs. Herbert C. Hoover; Mrs. A. Garrison McClintock.

so delightful a feature of these annual meetings were omitted. Before the convention opened Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, whose home was directly across from "suffrage house," the national headquarters, entertained the officers at luncheon.

The hearings before the committees of Congress which generally took place during the convention, had been held in the spring at an extra session and therefore Mrs. Catt had planned an effective ceremony for this occasion at the Senate office building, the senior Senator from each State where women were without a vote being requested to invite to his office the congressional delegation from the State to receive its women who were in attendance at the convention. There were thirty of these gatherings and in many instances all the delegation were present. Senators Penrose and Knox refused to call the Pennsylvania members together. It is impossible to go into details but most of the interviews were satisfactory, the women asking solely for votes in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and it was said that thirty-five were won for it. From fifty to one hundred women were in many of the groups. To the Missouri delegation, headed by Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, vice-president of the National Association, Speaker of the House Champ Clark said: "If my vote is necessary to pass the amendment I will cast it in favor," and the delegation was solid for it except Representative Jacob E. Meeker. Senator Warren G. Harding received the Ohio women, led by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, State president, and Mrs. Baker, wife of the Secretary of War, and later, he voted for the amendment. A hundred women called on the Virginia members and fifty on those of Alabama, without effect, but many of the large groups of southern women did receive much encouragement from the members from their States. President Wilson himself gave an audience to the Arkansas women, whose Legislature had recently granted full Primary suffrage and whose entire congressional delegation would vote for the Federal Amendment. This was found to be the case in nearly all of the northern and western States.

Forty-four States had sent delegates to the convention and from the equal suffrage States of Montana and Wyoming came Mrs. Margaret Hathaway and Mrs. Mary G. Bellamy, members

of the Legislature; from Colorado, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; from New Mexico, Mrs. W. E. Lindsay, wife of the Governor, and from Kansas, Mrs. W. Y. Morgan, wife of the Lieutenant Governor. Fraternal delegates were present from four countries. The convention was opened Wednesday afternoon, December 12, with an invocation by the honorary president of the association, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw. In her brief words of greeting Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the president, who was in the chair, declared her firm conviction that the American Congress would not allow this country to be outstripped in the race toward the enfranchisement of women while the countries of Europe were hastening to give woman suffrage as a part of that right to self-government for which the world is fighting today, and said: "For fifty years we have been allaying fears, meeting objections, arguing, educating, until today there remain no fears, no objections in connection with the question of woman suffrage that have not been met and answered. The New York campaign may be said to have closed the case. It carried the question forever out of the stage of argument and into the stage of final surrender. As the women of the country foregather for this convention nothing stands out more emphatically than the new stress that has been laid on suffrage as a political issue in the minds of women as in the minds of men. As such the Federal Amendment must now be dealt with by Congress."

Mrs. Catt emphasized the necessity for active war work and introduced Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, vice-president of the New York Suffrage Association, who presented the "service flag" and said: "The National American Suffrage Association's service flag, here unfurled—a field of white with golden stars surrounded by a deep blue border—shows thirteen stars for its first thirteen women serving at the front. These stars represent women who have been connected with the association or one of its State affiliations in official or representative capacity. The total of suffragists in foreign service numbers thousands."<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup>The names of the thirteen were given as follows: Miss Heloise Meyer of Massachusetts, first auditor of the association, scheduled for canteen work in France. Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, member of the Congressional Committee of the association, now on governmental assignment in Europe. Miss Irene C. Boyd, of the New York Suffrage



president accepted the flag on behalf of the convention. Miss Hannah J. Patterson, an officer of the Pennsylvania Association, presented the following resolution:

Whereas, The Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, assembled in executive session last February, pledged the loyalty of the organization to the country in event of war and forthwith placed a plan of intensive service at the Government's command in view of the impending peril, and

Whereas, America since then has entered into the dread actuality of war and is in greater need of woman's loyal service than our readiest anticipation could visualize last February, and

Whereas, The suffragists of this organization are already in compact formation as a second line of defense for husbands, sons, fathers and brothers "somewhere in France," therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, delegates to the Forty-ninth annual convention of the association, representing a membership of over 2,000,000 women, reaffirm this organization's unswerving loyalty to the Government in this crisis, and, while struggling to secure the right of self-government to the women of America, pledge anew our intention gladly and zealously to continue those services of which the Government has so freely availed itself in its war to secure the right of self-government to the people of the world.

On request of Dr. Shaw a rising vote was taken and the resolution was adopted with no dissenting vote.

The first evening meeting was devoted to the great victory in New York, where an amendment to the State constitution giving full suffrage to women had been carried at the November election by a majority of 102,353. The following program was given in the presence of a large and very enthusiastic audience, Mrs. Catt presiding:

Addresses: Mrs. Ella Crossett, former president New York State Woman Suffrage Association, 1902-1910. Miss Harriet May Mills, former president, 1910-1913.

Party, serving in a United States base hospital with the American Expeditionary Forces in France. Dr. Esther Pohl-Lovejoy of Portland, Ore., serving with the party sent by the "Fund for French Wounded." Miss Mary W. Dewson, chairman of legislative committee of the Massachusetts Suffrage Association, social worker in France at the call of Major Grayson M. P. Murphy. Miss Lodovine LeMoyné, publicity chairman of the Fall River Equal Suffrage League, serving in a United States base hospital with the American Expeditionary Forces in France. Miss Elizabeth G. Bissell, corresponding secretary of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association in the French Red Cross canteen. Miss Susan P. Ryerson, former corresponding secretary Chicago Equal Suffrage Association, now bacteriological expert attached to base hospital in France. Miss Lucile Atcherson, of the Ohio association, serving as secretary to Miss Anne Morgan in her relief work in France. To these nine will be added the names of the four doctors leading the New York Infirmary Hospital Unit, which is now seeking the support and authorization of the National Suffrage Association—Caroline Finley, Mary Lee Edwards, Anna Von Sholly and Alice Gregory.

Organization in New York State—Mrs. Raymond Brown, chairman. Campaign district chairman, Mrs. F. J. Tone. Rural assembly district leader, Mrs. Willis G. Mitchell. Election district captain, Mrs. Frederick Edey.

From the Organization to the Voter—Mrs. Laidlaw.

Organization and Campaign Work in New York City—Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman. Assembly district leader, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany. Election district captain, Mrs. Seymour Barrett.

State Departmental Work: Teachers—Miss Katharine D. Blake, chairman. Industrial: Miss Rose Schneiderman, proxy for chairman.

Speakers in War Time—Mrs. Victor Morawetz, chairman of speakers' bureau.

Financing a State Campaign—Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid, treasurer.

Winning New York—Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, State president.

The many phases of this remarkable campaign, which won the State of largest population and opened the way to certain victory in Congress, were presented in a most interesting manner. In speaking of the big city where the fight was actually won, Miss Hay, chairman of the committee, said: "We won, first, because of a continuous campaign in New York City begun eight years ago. On election day in 1915, about midnight, when we knew the amendment had not carried, we decided to have another campaign and began it the next day. Second, we won because of organization along district political lines. No State should ever go into a campaign unless the women are willing to organize in this way and stick to it. It was not the five borough leaders but the 2,080 precinct captains who carried the city. The campaign represented an immense amount of work in many fields. There were 11,085 meetings reported to the State officers and many that were never reported. Women of all classes labored together. 'If you want to reach the working men,' said Rose Schneiderman, 'remember that it is the working women who can reach them.' The campaign cost \$682,500. This sum, which lasted for two years and covered the whole State, was less than half the amount spent in three months in New York City that year to elect a Mayor. The largest individual gift to the New York City campaign was \$10,000 from Mrs. Dorothy Whitney Straight. Most of the money was given in small sums and represented innumerable sacrifices."

The story of the campaign in Maine the preceding September was told by the chairman of the campaign committee, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, the next afternoon, and the reasons given for its almost inevitable failure. [See Maine chapter.] A lively discussion took place on the advisability of campaigns for Presidential suffrage and Mrs. Catt gave the opinion that its legality when granted by a Legislature was unquestioned but if by a referendum to the voters it would be doubtful. The war work undertaken by the association was thoroughly considered, with a general review of Women's War Service by Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick, second vice-president. She sketched briefly the appointment of a woman's branch of the Council of National Defense and pointed out how the choice of Dr. Shaw for chairman had brought the suffragists into even closer cooperation with the Government if possible than would have resulted from their intense patriotism.<sup>1</sup> Reports were made by the chairmen of the association's four committees, as follows: Food Production—Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers; Thrift—Mrs. Walter McNab Miller; Americanization—Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley; Industrial Protection of Women—Miss Ethel M. Smith. A Child Welfare Committee was added to the list.

Dr. Shaw presided at the evening session of the second day of the convention and to this and other programs Mrs. Newton D. Baker contributed her beautiful voice, with Mrs. Morgan Lewis Brett at the piano. Mrs. Charles W. Fairfax and Paul Bleyden also sang most acceptably and there was music by the Meyer-Davis orchestra. This evening the speakers were the Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior; the Hon. Jeannette Rankin, first woman member of the National House of Representatives, and Mrs. Catt, who gave her president's address. The presence of Secretary Lane added much prestige as well as political significance to the program, for it was interpreted as an indication that President Wilson had advanced from a belief in woman suffrage itself to an advocacy of the Federal Amendment, which was the keynote of the convention. "I come to you tonight," the Secretary said, "to bring a word of

<sup>1</sup> See Mrs. McCormick's complete account in the last chapter on The War Work of Organized Suffragists prepared for this volume.

congratulation and good will from the first man in the nation. Dr. Shaw spoke of always being proud when she had some man back of her who could give respectability to the cause. What greater honor can there be, what greater pride can you feel, than in having behind you the man who is not alone the President of the United States but also the foremost leader of liberal thought throughout the world? It is to have with you the conscience, the mind and the spirit of today and tomorrow." He spoke of his own strong belief in the enfranchisement of women and the necessity of establishing for every one an individuality entirely her own, socially and politically. Only scattered newspaper references to this strong speech are available.

Especial interest was felt in the address of the young member of Congress, Miss Jeannette Rankin. In speaking of the bill which she had recently introduced to enable women to retain their nationality after marriage she said: "We, who stand tonight so near victory after a majestic struggle of seventy long years, must not forget that there are other steps besides suffrage necessary to complete the political enfranchisement of American women. We must not forget that the self-respect of the American woman will not be redeemed until she is regarded as a distinct and social entity, unhampered by the political status of her husband or her father but with a status peculiarly her own and accruing to her as an American citizen. She must be bound to American obligations not through her husband's citizenship but directly through her own."

Mrs. Catt's address had been announced as a Message to Congress and was eagerly anticipated. Miss Rose Young, the enthusiastic editor of *The Woman Citizen*, gave this vivid pen picture of the occasion:

When Mrs. Catt rose, the house rose with her. It was a crowded house and everybody was aware that the message in Mrs. Catt's hand was the vital message of the convention. Everybody wondered what would be its main focus. Nobody quite understood why an address to Congress should be delivered at a mass meeting. The latter point the speaker quickly cleared up. Once before in suffrage history, she said, there had been an address to Congress. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had made it. At this moment she was but doing over what they had done a half-century ago. She

would deliver her address to Congress from that platform to that audience and leave it to the printed page to carry the message on into the sacred halls themselves.

Then, with Senate and House visualized by the directness of her appeal to them and by the sharp limning of her argument, she pleaded for democracy, arraigned the obstructionists of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, showed up the harsh inconsistencies, the waste of time and energy and money asked of women in State referenda, clarified the reasons for establishing suffrage by the Federal route and brought the whole case into high relief by resting the responsibility where it belongs—on the Congress of the United States.

The speaker, never ornate in rhetoric or delivery, seemed to withdraw her personality utterly, so that there was left only the mental and spiritual content of her message. To hear her was like listening to abstract thought, warmed by the fire of abstract conviction. To see her was like looking at sheer marble, flame-lit. Many an orator sways an audience's mind by emotional appeal. Hers was the crowning achievement to sway an audience to emotion by the symmetry and force of her appeal to its mind. Again and again salvos of applause stopped her for a moment but again and again the steady rhythm of her strong voice regained control. At the end her grip on attention was so acute that a little hush followed the last word.

The address consumed an hour and a half in delivery and made a pamphlet of twenty-two pages when published. Up to the time the Federal Amendment was ratified it was a part of the standard literature of the National Association and thousands of copies were circulated.<sup>1</sup> Among the subheads were these: The History of our Country and the Theory of our Government; the Leadership of the United States in World Democracy compels the Enfranchisement of its Own Women; Three Reasons for the Federal Method; Three Objections Answered. It was an absolutely conclusive argument and closed with a ringing appeal for "the submission and ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in order that this nation may at the earliest possible moment show to all the nations of the earth that its action is consistent with its principles." Dr. Shaw, who never could forego a little joke, had said in introducing Mrs. Catt: "I had long thought I should be willing to die as soon as suffrage was won in New York; that I never should be interested in politics or the making of tickets,

<sup>1</sup> This Address to Congress in handsome pamphlet form was presented to every member in person by the various women of the association's Congressional Committee. After the Federal Amendment was submitted by Congress it was revised, printed under the title *An Address to Legislatures*, and through the mail or by the State suffrage workers was put into the hands of every one of the 6,000 members of the forty-eight State Legislatures.

but five minutes after the midnight of November 6 I had picked my ticket and now I don't want to die until it is elected." Here she stopped and presented the speaker. After Mrs. Catt had finished Dr. Shaw rose and looking at her with twinkling eyes said to the delighted audience: "The head of my ticket!"

The mornings of the convention were devoted to routine business and to the reports of the presidents of the States, most of whom were present, and almost without exception they told of active work and a great advance in public sentiment. It was such a time of rejoicing and hopefulness as suffragists had never known. The chief and universal interest, however, was centered in the action of Congress, as this had always been the goal and it now seemed near at hand. Therefore the report of the Congressional Committee, made through its chairman, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, was heard with close attention. The outline presented was as follows:

The duties of the present chairman began March 17, 1917, four days before President Wilson called an extra session of Congress to meet on April 2, a significant step toward the entrance of the United States into the World War. Thus our work started at a time of supreme importance in the history of our country and under conditions full of new possibilities for the cause of woman suffrage.

Mrs. Catt, keenly alive to the crisis in our national affairs, foresaw that our people, with their idealism fired by thought of increased freedom for the oppressed subjects of autocratic governments, might be aroused to new consciousness of the flaw in our own democracy. With this thought in mind, on the eve of the opening of the extraordinary session, she sent out a summons to the suffragists of the whole country to unite in a stupendous appeal to Congress for the immediate submission of the Federal Amendment.

The opening of the Sixty-fifth Congress was marked by another circumstance of unusual interest, the seating of the first woman member, the Hon. Jeannette Rankin of Montana, who made a speech from the balcony of our headquarters on the morning of April 2 and was then escorted to the Capitol by Mrs. Catt and other members of our association in a cavalcade of decorated motor cars. The day which opened so happily for suffragists ended with the President's message to Congress asking for the Declaration of War.

In the Senate the resolution for our amendment was introduced in behalf of our association by Senator Andrieus A. Jones of New Mexico, the new chairman of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, the other members of which were Senators Owen of Oklahoma; Ransdell of Louisiana; Hollis of New Hampshire; Johnson

of South Dakota; Jones of Washington; Nelson of Minnesota; Cummins of Iowa and Johnson of California. Chairman Jones, at our request, had secured the privilege of having his resolution made number one on the calendar, but when it was decided that the war resolution should be introduced immediately, he tactfully yielded his place. Similar suffrage resolutions were introduced by Senators Shafroth, Owen, Poindexter and Thompson.

In the House our resolution was introduced by Representative Raker, on the Democratic side, and by Representative Rankin, on the Republican side. Similar ones were introduced by Representatives Mondell, Keating, Hayden and Taylor.

The War Resolution was adopted by the Senate April 4 and by the House April 5. A few days later the Finance Committee of the Senate informally recommended and leaders of both parties agreed that only legislation included in the war program should be considered during the extra session. The Democratic caucus of the House passed a similar recommendation, which was acquiesced in by the Republicans. It soon became clear to your committee that the suffrage resolution would not be admitted under this rule, and a total revision of plans had to be made. Three meetings were held and it was the opinion of all that the aim should be to establish and maintain friendly relations with both parties rather than to arouse the antagonism of leaders whose support we must have if our measure is to succeed, so it was recommended and the National Board voted that our "drive" should be postponed until there was a possibility of securing a vote on the Federal Amendment. Happily, however, there were forms of work not prohibited by the legislative program.

The Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage gave a hearing to our association April 20 . . . and on September 15, Chairman Jones made a favorable report. The measure is now on the calendar of the Senate. In the House, resolutions calling for the creation of a Committee on Woman Suffrage had been introduced at the beginning of the session by Representatives Raker, Keating and Hayden and referred to the Committee on Rules.

Our first step was to get the approval of Speaker Clark, who gave us cordial support. Later, to offset the fear on the part of certain members of conflicting with President Wilson's legislative program, a letter was sent, at Mrs. Helen H. Gardener's request, to Chairman Edward Pou (N. C.), of the Rules Committee, by the President himself, who stated that he thought the creation of the committee "would be a very wise act of public policy and also an act of fairness to the best women who are engaged in the cause of woman suffrage." Then, through the efforts of a working committee made up of the six members who had introduced suffrage resolutions, a petition asking for the creation of a Committee on Woman Suffrage, as called for in the Raker resolution, was signed by all members from equal suffrage States and by many of those from Presidential suffrage States and from Primary suffrage Arkansas. This petition was presented to the Rules Committee, which on May 18

granted a hearing on the subject. On June 6, by a vote of 6 to 5, on motion of Mr. Cantrill of Kentucky, a resolution calling for the creation of a Committee on Woman Suffrage to consist of thirteen members, to which all proposed action touching the subject should be referred, was adopted, with an amendment, made by Mr. Lenroot of Wisconsin, to the effect that the resolution should not be reported to the House until the pending war legislation was out of the way.

The report of the Rules Committee, therefore, was not brought into the House until September 24, when the extremely active opposition of Chairman Edwin Y. Webb (N. C.) and most of the other members of the Judiciary Committee made a hard fight inevitable. Thanks to the hearty support of Speaker Clark, the good management of Chairman Pou and the help of loyal friends of both parties in the House, as well as to the admirable work done by our own State congressional chairmen, the report was adopted by a vote of 180 yeas to 107 noes, with 3 answering present and 142 not voting. Of the favorable votes, 82 were from Democrats and 96 from Republicans. Of the unfavorable votes, 74 were from Democrats and 32 from Republicans. Of those not voting, 59 were Democrats and 81 were Republicans. These facts show that the measure was regarded, as we had hoped it would be, as strictly non-partisan. The victory came so late in the session that the appointment of the new committee was postponed until the present session.

Referring to the housing of the Congressional Committee in the new headquarters of the National Association in Washington Mrs. Park said:

To the preceding chairman, Mrs. Miller, fell the hard work of finding new headquarters, moving the office and establishing the house routine which has been continued under the efficient care of our house manager, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Walker. The secretary of the committee, Miss Ruth White, who has worked indefatigably in the office since June, 1916, has had charge of the records of members of Congress and of correspondence with our State chairmen, besides lightening in numberless other ways the burdens of your chairman. To a member of the committee, who is a long-time resident of Washington, Mrs. Gardener, the association is profoundly indebted for constant advice and help, as well as for the most skillful handling of delicate and difficult situations. She has been called the "Diplomatic Corps" of the committee and the name in every good sense has been well won by the important services which she has rendered. Another member of the committee, a former chairman, Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, after helping to start the legislative work last December, generously came to our aid at busy seasons and took active charge of the work from July 10 to September 12, during the absence of the chairman. The management of the office



and the Department of Publicity have been in the hands of the executive secretary, Miss Ethel M. Smith.

Social activities through the spring and early summer were in charge of Miss Heloise Meyer, assisted by Mrs. J. Borden Harri- man. Miss Mabel Caldwell Willard has represented the committee in undertakings involving the house as a center for local work. These have included getting hostesses to receive visitors at headquar- ters, supplying speakers for local meetings, providing cooperation with the suffrage federation of the District of Columbia for the daily afternoon teas, and looking after hospitality for delegates to conventions meeting in Washington. Among the organizations for which receptions have been arranged are Daughters of the American Revolution, Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, Confederate Vet- erans. Sons of Veterans, Daughters of the Confederacy, Congress of Mothers, Parent-Teacher Associations and Farm and Garden As- sociations. Ten of the fourteen members of the committee, in ad- dition to the executive secretary, have given highly valued service in Washington during the last nine months. Other suffragists not members have kindly devoted days or weeks to our work and the local suffrage associations have been most cordial in their response to our requests.

Any attempt to state our obligations to our national president would be futile. Our high hope for the adoption of the Federal Amendment by the 65th Congress is linked inseparably with our faith in her leadership.

The report of Mrs. Walter McNab Miller (Mo.) first vice- president, described a year of continuous work, almost from ocean to ocean, speaking to State suffrage conventions, federations of women's clubs, federations of labor, trade unions, universities, normal schools, churches, meetings of all kinds and without number. In the two Dakotas she spoke twenty-nine times. She referred to her visit to Jefferson City, Mo., her luncheon with the wife of Governor Frederick D. Gardner, the suffrage meeting "which put the State capital in a ferment and caused the politicians to sit up and take notice" and the Governor's declaration for woman suffrage. Mrs. Miller said of the work during the five months when she was chairman of the Congressional Committee:

After mature consideration the board decided that, for various rea- sons, it was not wise to move the headquarters from New York to Washington but that more spacious quarters should be found than the office here where the efficient lobby work that had already been done could be followed up and supplemented by a social atmosphere. Finally we found our present home, a large private mansion at 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, just off of Scott Circle. It was taken for a



A LECTURE IN THE BANQUET HALL OF THE WASHINGTON SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS.  
Formerly occupied by the French Embassy.

term of eight months, the offices moved at once and cards sent out to 2,000 people for a housewarming before we had been there a week.

During five months Miss Meyer and I made 300 calls, organized a Junior Suffrage League, planned for publicity "stunts," such as the dedication of the Susan B. Anthony room, the presentation of a flag by Pennsylvania, a poster exhibit, celebration of the North Dakota victory and the mid-lenten bazaar. Much of the work was of the sort that would be impossible to tabulate, but the effect of the whole in making the National Association well known in Washington and able to work effectively from there has proved the wisdom of the expenditure for the headquarters.

The latter part of February the so-called War Council was called, a meeting of the association's Executive Committee of One Hundred, and planning for that and the mass meeting on Sunday kept us all busy for several weeks. This Council decided that the suffragists should undertake certain definite forms of war work and the chairmanship of the division of the Elimination of Waste was given to me. . . . Summing up the year I have attended six State meetings, spoken 200 times in 15 States, written 3,000 letters and travelled 13,000 miles.

All of Friday was given to symposiums on different phases of this movement, grouped as follows: What my State will do for the Federal Amendment. Should We Work for Woman Suffrage in War Time? What Good Will Woman Suffrage Do Our Country? What is the Best Thing it Has Done for my State? What Can the Enfranchised Women Do to Secure Suffrage for the Women of the Entire Nation? Twenty-five women, most of them State presidents, took part in these valuable discussions.

Mrs. McCormick related how her work as chairman of the national Press Committee had been taken over by the press department of the Leslie Bureau of Education when it was organized the preceding March and a merger committee appointed consisting of Miss Rose Young and Mrs. Ida Husted Harper of the Leslie Commission, and Mrs. Shuler and herself of the association.<sup>1</sup> The report of the Leslie Bureau filled over thirty pages of fine print as submitted by Miss Young, director, who said in beginning:

By January of 1917 it had become apparent that the National Association had an increasingly direct and comprehensive part to play in State and Federal campaigns through its Press department

<sup>1</sup>For information regarding the bequest of Mrs. Frank Leslie see Appendix.

as one of its various points of contact with the suffrage field. To inaugurate news and feature propaganda and information services that would be live wires of connection between 171 Madison Avenue and the State affiliations all over the country and the Capitol at Washington and the public press was the immediate prospect of the then Press department. . . . Its accumulated task included not only the conduct of its federal political campaign at Washington, not only its definite program of State propaganda and organization for constitutional amendment campaigns, it had on its hands as well the great "drive" for Presidential suffrage that had been initiated.

By spring Mrs. Catt's custodianship of the Leslie funds had been determined by court decision and plans that she had been mothering since 1915 could be put into execution. Those plans had for their central detail the founding of a bureau for the promotion of the woman suffrage cause through the education of the public to the point of seeing it as essential to democracy, and in March the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education was organized for that purpose. From the beginning the outstanding feature of the work was its size, and the outstanding need was to get it housed and departmentalized, with department heads and an adequate clerical staff. This done, the bureau, with a staff of twenty-four, swarmed out over the whole 15th floor, besides two small rooms on the 14th floor. It now includes six departments, counting the Magazine Department, which is an everlasting story by itself.

Miss Young told of merging the *Woman's Journal*, the *Woman Voter* and the *National Suffrage News* in the *Woman Citizen*, for which 2,000 subscriptions were taken at this convention. The report included those of Mrs. Harper, chairman of editorial correspondence; Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, of the research bureau; Miss Mary Ogden White, feature and general news department; Mrs. Rose Lawless Geyer, field press work. There was also a report of the Washington press bureau after the headquarters there were opened, at first in charge of Mrs. Gertrude C. Mosshart, afterwards of Miss Ethel M. Smith. The latter told of the unexcelled opportunities in that city for the distribution of news through the more than 200 special correspondents of the large newspapers and the bureaus of all the great press associations and syndicates. News had to be fresh and well written and 450 copies of each of her "stories" distributed. About half of them were sent to State press chairmen, presidents and others.

Mrs. Harper's work was almost wholly with editors, watching

the editorials, which now came in literally by hundreds every day. Her report of three closely printed pages said in part:

When an editorial was friendly a letter of thanks has been sent expressing the hope that the paper would contain many such editorials. When one made a strong appeal for woman suffrage the editor has had a letter expressing the deep appreciation of all at headquarters and saying that it would unquestionably affect public sentiment in his city and State. In many instances, even in the largest papers, there have been mistakes in facts and figures, as the question has not been a national issue long enough for editors to become thoroughly informed, and these have been corrected as tactfully as possible. Often carefully selected literature, suited to the editor's point of view, has been enclosed—to Western editors arguments in favor of a Federal Amendment; to Southern editors statements on the good effects of woman suffrage in the Western States; to Eastern editors a good deal of both. Where an editorial has been directly hostile an argument has been taken up with the editor, supported by unimpeachable testimony. When the editor has been implacable I have frequently written to suffragists in his city to learn what were the influences behind the paper, and usually have found they were such as gave the editor no chance to express his own opinions, but even those papers have almost invariably published my letters.

During the year letters were written to over 2,000 editors in the United States and several in Canada and the returns through the clipping bureaus indicated that a large majority were published. The report said: "I wish there were space to give concrete instances of the results of this year's experiment. Editors have written that, while for years their paper had supported woman suffrage, this was the first time they ever had come in touch with the national organization or known that their work was being recognized outside of their own locality. Many who were wavering have been persuaded to come out definitely in favor; this has been especially noticeable in the South. In a number of cases papers which condemned a Federal Amendment have been helped to see its necessity, and this in the South as well as the North. . . ." As an example of the many special articles it continued:

When the "picketing" began in Washington last January, almost every newspaper in the United States held the entire suffrage movement responsible for it. At once 250 letters were sent in answer to editorials of this nature, stating that the National American Associa-

tion organized in 1869, had been always strictly non-partisan and non-militant; that it represented about 98 per cent. of the enrolled suffragists of the United States; that all the suffrage which the women possessed to-day was due to its efforts and those of its State auxiliaries, and that Dr. Shaw, its honorary president, and Mrs. Catt, its president, strongly condemned the "picketing." The letter urged the newspapers in their comment on it to make a clear distinction between the two organizations. In countless instances this request was complied with but at the time of the Russian banner episode of the "pickets" before the White House another flood of more than 1,000 editorials poured into the national headquarters, many of them crediting it to the whole cause. A second letter more emphatic than the first was sent to 350 of the largest newspapers in the country, enclosing Mrs. Catt's protest against the "picketing." These had the desired effect and practically all of the papers thereafter, except those hostile to woman suffrage, exonerated the National Association from any part in it.

An argument for the Federal Suffrage Amendment and asking support for it was sent to a carefully selected list of 2,000 editors the month before the first vote was taken in Congress. Over 500 individual letters were sent, for the most part to prominent persons, called out by some expression of theirs, which almost without exception were cordially answered. A long letter to the International Suffrage News each month had been part of the work of this department.

Miss White's report on publicity should be reproduced in full, as it convincingly showed why all of a sudden the newspapers of the country were flooded with matter on woman suffrage. Not until the Leslie bequest became available had the National Association been possessed of the funds to do the publicity work necessary to the success of a great movement. She told how the very first "stories" sent out describing the granting of Presidential suffrage in the winter of 1917 brought back returns of about half-a-million words. The story of the Maine campaign returned 79 columns in 145 papers and Mrs. Catt's speeches, 50,000 words. Her protest against the "antis" charge of disloyalty against the suffragists instantly brought a return of 16 columns in 40 metropolitan papers. Feminism in Japan, a story written in the bureau around a little Japanese suffragist, was sent out by syndicate to a circulation of 10,000,000. The War Service of the National Suffrage Association was told in 15,000 words and the

first instalment came back in over 500 newspapers and 400,000 words. The papers gave 680,000 words to the story of the Woman's Committee of National Defense. These figures might be continued indefinitely. Plate matter was furnished to 500 papers in sixteen States in May, and the bulletins of facts, statistics and propaganda issued during the nine months would make a book of 25,000 words.

The report of Mrs. Geyer, a trained journalist, was equally valuable. A part of her work had been to organize a press committee in every State, arrange for the collection of news and put it in proper form for the bulletins, the plate service, the *Woman Citizen* or wherever it was needed and make a roster of the principal newspapers and their position on woman suffrage. She had managed in person the press work for the Maine campaign, the Mississippi Valley Conference in Columbus, O., and the present national convention.

Mrs. Boyd's painstaking, scholarly and efficient report on the service rendered by the Data department showed the vast amount of time and labor necessary to collect accurate data and how unreliable is much that exists. This was especially the case in regard to woman suffrage, which, when compiled from current sources and returned to the various States for verification, always required much correction. The report told of 350 letters sent to county clerks in the equal suffrage States for trustworthy information as to the proportion of women who voted, with most gratifying response. Many such investigations were made of women in office, laws relating to women, suffrage and labor legislation, women's war record, an infinite variety of subjects. Thousands of newspaper clippings were tabulated and a roomful of carefully labelled files testified to the unremitting work of the bureau. Twenty State libraries and some others were supplied during the year with the books issued by the National Suffrage Publishing Company and its pamphlets were widely distributed.

Miss Esther G. Ogden, president of the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, made an interesting report and showed how suffrage victories, the thing the company was working for, meant its financial loss, for as soon as a State had won the vote it ceased to order literature. The tremendous demands

of the campaigns of 1915 and 1916 had enabled the company to pay a three per cent. dividend but the entrance of the United States into the war, causing a general lessening of suffrage work, would create a deficit for the present year. For the New York campaign of 1917 the company furnished 10,081,267 pieces of literature, all promptly paid for. Miss Ogden gave an amusing account of how the company was "bankrupted" trying to supply "suffrage maps" up to date, for as soon as a lot was published another State would give Presidential or Municipal suffrage and then the demand would come for maps with the new State "white," and thousands of the others would have to be "scrapped."

The chairman of the Literature Committee, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, said that for the first time finances had been available for publishing a well-indexed catalogue with the publications grouped under more than twenty headings. These included efficiency booklets, suffrage arguments, answers to opponents, Federal Amendment literature, State reports, etc. Some of these publications were in book form, including Mrs. Catt's volume on the Federal Amendment, Mrs. Annie G. Porritt's *Laws Affecting Women and Children* and Miss Martha Stapler's *Woman Suffrage Year Book*. A number of pamphlets were printed in lots of 100,000, and 700,000 copies of the amendment speech of Senator John F. Shafroth of Colorado before the Senate.

The report of the Art Publicity Committee was made by its chairman, Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton, and related principally to the poster competition, which closed with the exhibition at the national suffrage headquarters in January. About 100 posters were submitted and \$500 in prizes awarded. Afterwards the prize winners and a selection from the others, about thirty in all, were sent to the Washington suffrage headquarters for display and then around to various cities which had asked for them.

One of the largest evening meetings was that devoted to American Women's War Service, with Mrs. Catt presiding. The first speaker was Secretary of War Newton G. Baker and a few detached paragraphs can give little idea of his eloquent address:

I sometimes ask myself what does this war mean to women? War always means to women sorrow and sacrifice and a mission of mercy but one of the large, redeeming hopes of this particular struggle



is that it will bring a broadening of liberty to women. This war is waged for democracy. Democracy is never an accomplished thing, it is always a process of growth, an endless series of advances. President Wilson has called it a rule of action. It is a rule that adapts conduct to environment. What was called a democracy in Greece was a small privileged class ruling over slaves. The members of the ruling class had certain democratic relations with one another. There was no more of real democracy in Rome. The first constitutional convention of the French Revolution had a very restricted electoral system with a property qualification. It was so with our own government in 1776 and 1789. It was a rule of conduct adapted to the environment of that time. . . .

The whole environment has changed. In 1789 we might quite possibly have defined ourselves as a democracy, although women did not vote, but not now. We speak of this as a war for democracy. Women are making sacrifices just like men. The activities of women in aid of the war are a necessary part of it. If all the women were to stop their work tonight we should have to withdraw from the war, at least temporarily, until we could entirely readjust ourselves. One of the things this war is bringing home to us is that men and women are essentially partners in an industrial civilization, and by the end of the war the women will be recognized as partners.

When the Secretary finished Dr. Shaw said: "May we not send a message to President Wilson and say: 'Mr. President, as you came to our convention a year ago to fight with us, so we come now to fight with you. As you have kept your pledge of loyalty to us, so we shall keep our pledge to you. We are with you in this world struggle.'" The convention enthusiastically endorsed the message. Other speakers were Mrs. McAdoo and Mrs. Bass—Financing the War; Miss Martha Van Rensselaer, department of Home Economics, Cornell University—Food and the War; Miss Jane Delano—The Red Cross and the War; Mrs. Laidlaw, Mrs. Louis F. Slade—Women's War Service in New York; Dr. Shaw, chairman Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense. Mrs. McAdoo, daughter of President Wilson and wife of the Secretary of the Treasury, said that she was a resident of New York State and a voter and that women were making a great fight for democracy but the thought which should now be first in the minds of all of them was how to win the war. She described briefly her work as chairman of the Women's Committee of the Liberty Loan and told of its wonder-

ful success in raising millions of dollars. Mrs. Bass, the only woman member of the War Savings Committee, added an earnest appeal to women to help finance the war, and the other speakers on their several topics raised the meeting to a high level of patriotic enthusiasm. In a stirring address Dr. Shaw showed what the country expected of women at this critical time, saying:

We talk of the army in the field as one and the army at home as another. We are not two armies; we are one—absolutely one army—and we must work together. Unless the army at home does its duty faithfully, the army in the field will be unable to carry to a victorious end this war which you and I believe is the great war that shall bring to the world the thing that is nearest our hearts—democracy, that “those who submit to authority shall have a voice in the government” and that when they have that voice peace shall reign among the nations of men.

The United States Government, learning from the weaknesses and the mistakes of the governments across the sea, immediately after declaring war on Germany knew that it was wise to mobilize not only the man power of the nation but the woman power. It took Great Britain a long time to learn that—more than a year—and it was not until 50,000 women paraded the streets of London with banners saying, “Put us to work,” that it dawned upon the British government that women could be mobilized and made serviceable in the war. And what is the result? It has been discovered that men and women alike have within them great reserve power, great forces which are called out by emergencies and the demands of a time like this.

Dr. Shaw described the forming of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense by the Government and her selection as its chairman. She said she had no idea what the committee was expected to do, so she went to the Secretary of the Navy to find out, and continued: “I learned that the Woman's Committee was to be the channel through which the orders of the various departments of the Government concerning women's war work were to reach the womanhood of the country; that it was to conserve and coordinate all the women's societies in the United States which were doing war work in order to prevent duplication and useless effort. This was very necessary, not because our women are not patriotic but because they are so patriotic that every blessed woman in the country was writing Washington, or her organization was writing for her, asking the Government what she could do for the war and of course the Government

did not know; it has not yet the least idea of what women can do."

An amusing picture was given of men supervising a department of the Red Cross where women were knitting, making comfort bags, etc. She showed how for the past forty years women in their clubs and societies had been going through the necessary evolution, "until today," she said, "they are a mobilized army ready to serve the country in whatever capacity they are needed. So when the Council of National Defense laid upon the Woman's Committee the responsibility of calling them together to mobilize women's war work, we knew exactly how to do it. . . . It is not a question of whether we will act or not, the Government has said we *must* act; it is an order as much as it is an order that men shall go and fight in the trenches. It is an order of the Government that the women's war work of the country shall be coordinated, that women shall keep their organizations intact, that they shall get together under directed heads. I said to the gentlemen here in Washington, when at first they feared our women might not be willing to cooperate: 'If you put before them an incentive big enough, if you appeal to them as a part of the Government's life, not as a by-product of creation or a kindergarten but as a great human, living energy, ready to serve the country, they will respond as readily as the men.' "

We must remember that more and more sacrifices are going to be demanded but I want to say to you women, do not meekly sit down and make all the sacrifices and demand nothing in return. It is not that you want pay but we all want an equally balanced sacrifice. The Government is asking us to conserve food while it is allowing carload after carload to rot on the side tracks of railroad stations and great elevators of grain to be consumed by fire for lack of proper protection. If we must eat Indian meal in order to save wheat, then the men must protect the grain elevators and see that the wheat is saved. We must demand that there shall be conservation all along the line. I had a letter the other day giving me a fearful scorching because of a speech I made in which I said that we women have Mr. Hoover looking into our refrigerators, examining our bread to see what kind of materials we are using, telling us what extravagant creatures we are, that we waste millions of money every year, waste food and all that sort of thing, and yet while we are asked to have meatless days and wheatless days, I have never yet seen a demand for a smokeless day! They are asking through the newspapers that we women shall dance, play bridge, have

charades, sing and do everything under the sun to raise money to buy tobacco for the men in the trenches, while the men who want us to do this have a cigar in their mouth at the time they are asking it! I said that if men want the soldiers to have tobacco, let them have smokeless days and furnish it! If they would conserve one single cigar a day and send it to the men in the trenches the soldiers would have all they would need and the men at home would be a great deal better off. If we have to eat rye flour to send wheat across the sea they must stop smoking to send smokes across the sea.

There is no end to the things that women are asked to do. I know this is true because I have read the newspapers for the last six months to get my duty before me. The first thing we are asked to do is to provide the enthusiasm, inspiration and patriotism to make men want to fight, and we are to send them away with a smile! That is not much to ask of a mother! We are to maintain a perfect calm after we have furnished all this inspiration and enthusiasm, "keep the home fires burning," keep the home sweet and peaceful and happy, keep society on a level, look after business, buy enough but not too much and wear some of our old clothes but not all of them or what would happen to the merchants? . . . We are going to rise as women always have risen to the supreme height of patriotic service. . . .

The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense now asks for your cooperation, that we may be what the Government would have us be, soldiers at home, defending the interests of the home, while the men are fighting with the gallant Allies who are laying down their lives that this world may be a safe place and that men and women may know the meaning of democracy, which is that we are one great family of God. That, and that only, is the ideal of democracy for which our flag stands.

The National Anti-Suffrage Association took this time to hold its one day's annual convention in a Washington hotel and re-elect for president Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., wife of the New York Senator, and elect as secretary Mrs. Robert Lansing, wife of the Secretary of State. Mrs. Wadsworth at this time sent to the members of Congress and circulated widely a pamphlet entitled Consider the Facts, in which she charged the suffragists with being pacifists and Socialists and asserted that the recent New York victory was due to the Socialist vote. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, who was chairman of the campaign committee in New York City, where the victory was won, expressed her opinion from the platform in this fashion:

Senator Wadsworth and his wife announced that they weren't going to give any entertainments till the war was over, nevertheless

they are dining tonight the Senators and Representatives who are opposed to the Federal Amendment. So I thought I would signalize the occasion by answering the circular Mrs. Wadsworth has sent broadcast asking people to "consider a few facts about the woman suffrage victory in New York." Here are some other facts to consider:

There were only three assembly districts in Manhattan where the suffrage amendment did not poll over a thousand more votes than the Socialists polled. Even in these three suffrage got an average of 600 more votes than the Socialist candidate got. In the 4th district suffrage had the advantage of the Socialists by 551 votes; in the 6th it got 600 more votes than Socialism got; in the 8th it got 656 more. In the 12th, a typical district, where the Socialists got only 1,822 votes, suffrage got 5,480. In my own district, the 9th, suffrage and Fusion ran almost neck and neck, suffrage polling 5,911, Fusion, 5,578; the Socialists polled only 977. In Brooklyn the 14th, 19th and 23rd assembly districts are accounted the Socialists' strongholds. In all three suffrage ran ahead of Socialism. In the 14th suffrage polled a "yes" vote of 4,052, the Socialists 3,142; in the 19th suffrage polled 3,608, the Socialists 3,037; in the 23rd suffrage polled 5,060, the Socialists 3,992.

Considering the suffrage vote in Greater New York in comparison with the vote for Mayor, suffrage polled a "yes" vote of 335,959, the Socialist candidate only 142,178. The Fusion candidate polled 149,307; the Republican, 53,678; the Democratic, the successful one, 207,282. Suffrage, therefore, polled 38,677 more affirmative votes than did the successful candidate. No candidate for Mayor was in the class with the amendment, though all were for suffrage.

Others prominent in the suffrage movement, both men and women, made indignant protest against Mrs. Wadsworth's accusation and pointed to the splendid organized work of the National Suffrage Association in cooperation with the Government from the very beginning of the war.

During this week of the convention the Federal Prohibition Amendment made its triumphant passage through the House, having already passed the Senate, and the suffragists saw the bitterest opponents of their amendment on the ground of State's rights throw this doctrine to the winds in their determination to put through the one for prohibition. They felt that the adoption of that amendment opened wide the way for the passing of the one for suffrage in the near future and this was the view generally taken by the public. Another event in this remarkable week was the creation and appointment of a Woman Suffrage Committee in the House of Representatives, for which the asso-

ciation had been so long and earnestly striving. This was done against the vigorous opposition of the Judiciary Committee, which for the past forty years had prevented the question of woman suffrage from coming before the House for a vote. At this time it reported the Federal Amendment "without recommendation" and tried to prevent its being referred to the new committee.

The report of the corresponding secretary, Mrs. Nettie R. Shuler, for 1917, continued the story of the immense amount of work that had been done at and through the national headquarters, beginning immediately after the great impetus of the Atlantic City convention. A nation-wide campaign was instituted under the three heads set forth by Susan B. Anthony at the beginning of the movement—Agitate, Educate, Organize. It was decided to center the effort even more than ever before on the Federal Amendment and a wide call was sent out for universal demonstrations in its favor, where a resolution for it would be adopted. Twenty-six States responded, New York leading with 101 such meetings. These were followed by visits to State political conventions to secure endorsements, which met with considerable success, and candidates for Congress were interviewed in most of the States. There was advertising in the street cars of Washington during the sessions of Congress. Carefully selected literature was distributed by the hundreds of thousands of copies to the clergy, the politicians, the business men, the rural population; no class was overlooked. Questionnaires were sent to the equal suffrage States for information which was compiled in pamphlets. The first experiment in "suffrage schools," which proved so successful that they were made a permanent feature of the work, was thus described:

It was the general of our suffrage army, Mrs. Catt, "the country's greatest expert in efficient suffrage methods," who first saw the need of suffrage schools and put them into effect in New York State. She knew the value of systematic training and realized that our failure many times had not alone been due to the fact that numbers of women would not work but that those who were willing were untrained and inefficient. It was at first proposed to charge for instruction in the schools but this plan had to be abandoned and the National Association assumed most of the financial obligation.

Our first school was held in Baltimore in December, 1916. The manager was Mrs. Livermore, the instructors herself, Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Geyer. The second was in Portland, Me., January 8-20, 1917. The nineteen schools were all under the direction of the organization department. They began with Maryland and extended through fourteen of the southern and middle-west States, closing March 30 in Detroit, Mich. Three instructors, Mrs. Halsey Wilson, Mrs. Cotnam and Miss Doughty, taught Suffrage History and Argument, Organization, Publicity and Press, Money Raising, Parliamentary Law. The chairman of organization, Mrs. Shuler, taught Organization, Parliamentary Law and Money Raising in the Portland school and in the last five schools of the series.

Mrs. Shuler referred to the war work of the association, which is described elsewhere, and told of the wide field that had been covered by organizers, who had reached the number of 225 during the year, many of them employed by the States. The organization work was classified and standardized. A conference of organizers met in New York where they were instructed by Mrs. Catt, and a pamphlet, the A. B. C. of Organization, was prepared by Mrs. Shuler. As an example of the work done, nine organizers reported 385 meetings in eleven weeks in 25 States and organization effected in 178 towns. The report told of the work done from the headquarters for the Presidential suffrage that had been obtained in various States and in campaigns.

The report of the Committee on Presidential Suffrage was of especial interest, as for the first time in all the years, with one exception, there were victories to record. This report had been made annually by Henry B. Blackwell, editor of *The Woman's Journal* until his death in 1910, but although he had implicit faith in the possibility of this partial franchise he did not live to see its first success in Illinois in 1913. Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates (R. I.) followed him in the chairmanship but met with an accident which caused her to relinquish it to Mrs. Robert S. Huse. She believed the granting of this form of the franchise helped the cause of full suffrage and through a questionnaire to the different States she had collected much information as to the best method of handling such bills. All wrote that the anti-suffragists were supported in their opposition to them by the liquor interests.

During a discussion of the war work of women Mrs. F. Louis Slade of New York moved (adopted) that as so large a share

of the work of the Red Cross is done by women, the association request that women be given adequate representation on the War Council of the American Red Cross. Miss Yates suggested that Clara Barton's name be introduced into Mrs. Slade's resolution. Dr. Shaw spoke of the far-reaching importance of the work Clara Barton had accomplished and of the unworthy manner in which it had been treated. Mrs. L. H. Engle (Md.) suggested that the Red Cross be reminded that the plan of having women nurses in army hospitals had originated with a woman and that the first military hospital in the world had been established by a woman. Mrs. Medill McCormick moved that the Chair appoint a committee of three to confer with the Executive Committee of the American Red Cross. The Chair appointed Mrs. McCormick as chairman, Mrs. Slade and Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College.

Mrs. Catt read telegrams from Governor W. P. Hobby of Texas, the *Houston Chronicle*, the Chamber of Commerce and the Mayor inviting the association to hold the next convention in that city; also a telegram from the Mayor of Dallas, Texas, inviting it to meet there. Fraternal delegates cordially received by the convention were Mrs. Flora MacDonald Denison, honorary president of the Canadian Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Philip Moore, president of the National Council of Women. Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery was presented by Dr. Shaw as having been corresponding secretary of the association for twenty-one years and was warmly greeted. Mrs. Frances C. Axtel was introduced as a former member of the Legislature in Washington, now chairman of the U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission. Mrs. Margaret Hathaway, a member of the Montana Legislature, addressed the convention. The Rev. Olympia Brown told of the memorial of Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, which she had prepared, and asked the delegates to see that copies were placed in libraries. Mrs. Catt paid high tribute to Mrs. Brown's many years of work for woman suffrage. The Rev. James Shera Montgomery, of the Fourth M. E. Church, and the Rev. Henry N. Couden, Chaplain of the House of Representatives, pronounced the invocation at the opening of two sessions.

The elections of the association were models of fairness with



no unnecessary waste of time. Mrs. Catt received all the votes cast for president but three. All of the other officers but one had only from 10 to 27 opposing votes. Five members of the old board retired at their own wish, one of them, Miss Meyer, being in the war service in France. Mrs. McCormick, Mrs. Rogers and Mrs. Shuler were re-elected. The new members were Miss Mary Garrett Hay (N. Y.), second vice-president; Mrs. Guilford Dudley (Tenn.) third; Mrs. Raymond Brown (N. Y.) fourth and Mrs. Helen H. Gardener (D. C.) fifth; Mrs. Halsey Wilson (N. Y.) recording secretary. The convention had voted to drop the two auditors from the list of officers and substitute two vice-presidents. A board of directors was elected for the first time, in the order of the votes received as follows: Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw (N. Y.); Miss Esther G. Ogden (N. Y.); Mrs. Nonie Mahoney (Tex.); Mrs. Horace C. Stilwell (Ind.); Dr. Mary A. Safford (Fla.); Mrs. T. T. Cotnam (Ark.); Mrs. Charles H. Brooks (Kans.); Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore (N. Y.).

In place of a flowery speech of acceptance Mrs. Catt laid out more and still more work and outlined a plan of organization for uniting the women of the enfranchised States in an association which should be auxiliary to the National American. Each State association would upon enfranchisement automatically become a member of this organization with an elected working committee of five persons, these State committees to be finally united in a central body to be known as the National League of Women Voters. [Handbook of convention, page 48.] Besides the obvious advantages, she suggested that such an organization would provide a way for recently enfranchised States to maintain intact their suffrage associations for the benefit of work on the Federal Amendment.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most vital reports was that of the treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers. It was a remarkable story especially to those who remembered the time when the receipts of the association for the whole year did not exceed \$2,000, laboriously collected by Miss Anthony, with possibly a little assistance, in subscriptions of from \$5 to \$10 with one of \$50 regarded as

<sup>1</sup> This organization, originated by Mrs. Catt even to the name, was effected at the national convention in St. Louis, March, 1919.

high water mark. The report began: "Our fiscal year closed October 31 with a balance of \$11,985 in the treasury and in addition to this our books showed investments of \$19,061, the interest of which we have received during the year." The feeling of many suffragists that they wished to use all their money for war work retarded contributions but the example of the National Association was pointed out, which undertook a widespread war service, as the treasury had proved, but did not leave its legitimate suffrage work undone. Mrs. Rogers, whose gratuitous services as treasurer had proved of the highest value to the association, told of the help of her committee of forty-two members in the various States and presented her report carefully audited by expert accountants. It showed expenditures for the year of \$803,729. This covered the expenses of the two headquarters, congressional work, State campaigns, publicity and organization throughout the United States. Mrs. Catt's plan to raise a million dollar fund for 1917 had met a generous response and had not lacked a great deal of fulfilment. Pledges to the amount of \$120,000 were made for the coming year, the Leslie Commission leading with \$15,000, Mrs. William Thaw, Jr., of Pittsburgh subscribed \$12,000; Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw of Boston, \$5,000; Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick, \$2,000; Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Joseph Fels, Mrs. V. Everit Macy of New York; Mrs. Wirt Dexter of Boston; Mrs. Arthur Ryerson, Mrs. Cyrus H. McCormick of Chicago, \$1,000 each.

The plan of work for the coming year provided for concentration on securing the submission of the Federal Amendment and the following was adopted: "If the Sixty-fifth Congress fails to submit the Federal Amendment before the next congressional election this association shall select and enter into such a number of senatorial and congressional campaigns as will effect a change in both Houses of Congress sufficient to insure its passage. The selection of candidates to be opposed is to be left to the Executive Board and to the boards of the States in question. Our opposition to individual candidates shall not be based on party considerations, and loyalty to the Federal Amendment shall not take precedence over loyalty to the country."

It was resolved that a compact of State associations willing

and ready to conduct such campaigns should be formed. It was directed that the six departments of war work should be continued and that each State association should be asked to establish a War Service Committee composed of a chairman and the chairmen of these departments, with an additional one for Liberty Loans, and that this committee cooperate with the State divisions of the Woman's Committee of National Defense.

In addition to the resolution of loyalty to the Government at the beginning of the convention the following, submitted by the committee, Miss Blackwell chairman, were among those adopted:

Whereas, the war is demanding from women unprecedented labor and sacrifices and women by millions are responding with utmost loyalty and devotion; and

Whereas, Abraham Lincoln, writing of woman suffrage, declared that all should share the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens; and

Whereas, it is important to a country in war even more than in peace that all its loyal citizens should be equipped with the most up-to-date tools; therefore be it

Resolved, that we urge Congress, as a war measure, to submit to the States an amendment to the United States Constitution providing for the nation-wide enfranchisement of women.

That we rejoice this year in the most important victories yet won in the history of the cause. Since January 1, 1917, women have received full suffrage in New York, practically full suffrage in Arkansas, Presidential suffrage in Rhode Island, Michigan and Indiana, Presidential and Municipal suffrage in Nebraska and North Dakota, statewide Municipal suffrage in Vermont, local Municipal suffrage in seven cities of Ohio, Florida and Tennessee and nationwide suffrage in Canada and Russia; while the British House of Commons has gone on record in favor of full suffrage for women by a vote of seven to one.

That we pledge our unswerving loyalty to our country and the continuance of our aid in patriotic service to help make the world safe for democracy both at home and abroad.

That we pledge our unqualified support to the campaign for the sale of the War Savings Certificates and Thrift Stamps and urge our members to aid it in every way. . . .

That we urge the establishment of the economic principle of equal pay for equal work as vital to the welfare of the nation. . . .

That an American-born woman should not lose her nationality by marrying a foreigner and we urge a change of the law in this respect.

A resolution of gratitude to the memory of the many earnest workers for woman suffrage who had passed away during the

year was adopted and letters of greeting were sent to the pioneers still living. A message of love and admiration was sent to Mrs. Catherine Breshkovsky, "the grandmother of the Russian Revolution." "Cordial and grateful appreciation for the inestimable service of the press," was voted.

The program for the last evening was devoted to Women's War Service Abroad. Miss Helen Fraser, representing Great Britain, was here on a special mission from its Government to tell what its women were doing. The audience was deeply moved by her simple but thrilling recital of the unparalleled sacrifices of the women of Great Britain and its colonies. Madame Simon pictured in eloquent language how the war had strengthened the devotion of France to America, not only through the unequalled assistance of this Government in money and soldiers but also through the sympathy and help of the American women. Miss C. M. Bouimistrow, a member of the Russian Relief Council, spoke of the warm feeling of that country for the United States and the bond between them created by the war in which they had a common enemy. Mrs. Nellie McClung, a leader of the Canadian suffragists, described what the war had meant to the women of the Dominion, and, as the *Woman Citizen* said in its account, "kept her hearers wavering between laughter and tears as she hid her own emotion behind a veil of stoicism and humor."

The convention ended with a mass meeting at the theater on Sunday afternoon at three o'clock with a notable audience such as can assemble only in Washington. Mrs. Catt presided. Mrs. McClung told enthusiastically the story of How Suffrage Came to the Women of Canada in 1916 and 1917, and Miss Fraser related how the work of women during the war had made it impossible for the British Government longer to deny them the franchise, that now only awaited the assent of the House of Lords, which was near at hand. It was always left to Dr. Shaw to finish the program. One who had attended many suffrage conventions said of her at this time: "As ever, Dr. Shaw's oratory was a marked feature of the week's proceedings. Sometimes she was the able advocate of loyalty to the country; sometimes she rose to heights of supplication for an applied democracy

which shall include women; sometimes the mischief that is in her bubbled and sparkled to the surface."

Mrs. Catt closed the meeting with ringing words of inspiration, with a call for more and better work than had ever been done before and with a prophecy that the long-awaited victory was almost won. This convention, which had been held under such unfavorable auspices, proved to have been one of the best in way of accomplishment, and, although the papers were overflowing with news of the war, they came to the national suffrage press bureau from 44 States with excellent accounts of the convention; there were over 300 illustrated "stories" and it was estimated that it had received half a million words of "publicity."

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It had been customary to have a hearing on the Federal Suffrage Amendment before the committees of every new Congress and this year an extra session had been called in the spring. As the question of a special Committee on Woman Suffrage in the Lower House was under consideration no hearing before its Judiciary Committee was asked for but a hearing took place before the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage April 20. This was largely a matter of routine as the entire committee was ready to report favorably the resolution for the amendment. Chairman Jones announced that the entire forenoon had been set apart for the hearing, which would be in charge of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Catt said: "The Senate Committee of Woman Suffrage was established in 1883. Thirty-four years have passed since then and seventeen Congresses. We confidently believe that we are appearing before the last of these committees and that it will be your immortal fame, Mr. Chairman, to present the last report for woman suffrage to the United States Senate." With words of highest praise she introduced Senator John F. Shafroth of Colorado, "who has been our staunch and unflinching friend through trial and adversity."

Senator Shafroth answered conclusively from the twenty-four years' experience of his State the stock objections to woman suffrage, which he declared to be "simply another step in the

evolution of government which has been going on since the dawn of civilization." He asked to have printed as part of his speech two chapters of Mrs. Catt's new book *Woman Suffrage by Constitutional Amendment*, which was so ordered. Senator Kendrick of Wyoming, former Governor, gave his experience of woman suffrage in that State for thirty-eight years. He declared that the early settlers were of the type of the Revolutionary Fathers and gladly gave to woman any right they claimed. He testified to the help he had received from them "in the promotion of every piece of progressive legislation" and said: "If for no other reason than the forces that are fighting woman suffrage, every decent man ought to line up in favor of it." He closed as follows: "Here and now I want to give this Constitutional Amendment my unqualified endorsement. No State that has adopted woman suffrage has ever even considered a plan to get along without it. It is soon realized that the votes of women are not for sale at any price, and, while they align themselves with the different parties, one thing is always and preeminently true—they never fail to put principle above partisanship and patriotism above patronage." Senator William Howard Thompson of Kansas sketched the steady progress of woman suffrage in his State, told of its beneficent results and submitted a comprehensive address which he had made before the Senate in 1914.

The committee listened with much interest to the first woman member of Congress, Representative Jeannette Rankin of Montana, who reviewed the almost insurmountable difficulties of amending many State constitutions for woman suffrage and made an earnest plea for the Federal Amendment. Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado, who for the past twenty-five years had been a consistent and never failing friend of woman suffrage, said in beginning: "I learned this lesson in my early manhood by reading the addresses of and listening to such advocates as Susan B. Anthony," and he summed up his strong speech by saying: "The matter is simply one of abstract and of concrete justice. We cannot preach universal suffrage unless we practice it and we can never practice it while fifty per cent. of our population is disfranchised." Senator Reed Smoot of Utah, to whom the women of his State could always look for help

in this and every other good cause, said in his brief remarks: "I have for many years watched the work and the sacrifices by many of the best women of this country to bring this question before the people and convince them of its justice and righteousness and I have gloried with them in every victory they have won. Nothing on earth will stop it. The country will not much longer tolerate it that a woman shall have the privilege of voting in one State and upon moving into another be disfranchised."

Mrs. Catt stated that Senators Chamberlain of Oregon and Johnson of California, were not able to be present and asked that the favorable speeches they would have made be put in the Congressional Record, which was granted. Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana made a thorough analysis of the attitude of the Federal Constitution toward suffrage and its gradual extension and declared that it was now "the duty of the government to see that every one of its citizens was assured of this fundamental right." The hearing was closed by Mrs. Catt with a comprehensive review of the status of woman suffrage throughout the world and the naming of the many countries where it prevailed. She pointed out that Great Britain and her colonies had recognized the political rights of women as the United States had never done, and, now that they were to be called on for the supreme sacrifices of the war, the British Government was granting them the franchise, which our own Government was still withholding. "This fact," she said, "has saddened the lives of women, it has dimmed their vision of American ideals and lowered their respect for our Government. The tremendous capacity of women for constructive work, for upbuilding the best in civilization and for enthusiastic patriotism has been crushed. In consequence this greatest force for good has been minimized and the entire nation is the loser." Senator Walsh's and Mrs. Catt's speeches were printed in a separate pamphlet and circulated by the thousands.

On April 26 the Senate Committee granted a hearing to that branch of the suffrage movement called the National Woman's Party. Miss Anne Martin, its vice-chairman, presided and able speeches were made by Mrs. Mary Ritter Beard and Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr of New York; Mrs. Richard F. Wainwright of the

District; Miss Madeline Z. Doty and Miss Ernestine Evans, war correspondents; Miss Alice Carpenter, chairman of the New York Women's Navy League; Miss Rankin and Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port of New York. On May 3 the National Anti-Suffrage Association claimed a hearing. Its president, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, introduced the president of the New York branch, the wife of U. S. Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., who presided. The speakers were Miss Minnie Bronson, national secretary; Miss Lucy Price of Ohio; Judge Oscar Leser of Maryland and Mrs. A. J. George of Massachusetts. Their speeches, which fill twenty pages of the printed report, comprise a full résumé of the arguments against the enfranchisement of women and will be read with curiosity by future students of this question. On May 15, at the request of the National Woman's Party, the committee granted a supplementary hearing at which the speakers were J. A. H. Hopkins of New Jersey, representing the new Progressive party being organized; John Spargo of Vermont, representing the Socialist Party; Virgil Henshaw, national chairman of the Prohibition party and Miss Mabel Vernon. They gave to the committee copies of a "memorial" which they had presented to President Wilson urging immediate action by Congress. It was signed also by former Governor David I. Walsh of Massachusetts for the Progressive Democrats and Edward A. Rumely for the Progressive Republicans. The pamphlet of these four hearings, of which the Senate Committee furnished 10,000 copies, was widely used for propaganda.

A hearing was held on May 18 before the Committee on Rules of the Lower House, with the entire membership present: Representatives Edward W. Pou, N. C.; chairman; James C. Cantrell, Ky.; Martin D. Foster, Ills.; Finis J. Garrett, Tenn.; "Pat" Harrison, Miss.; M. Clyde Kelly, Penn.; Irvine L. Lenroot, Wis.; Daniel J. Riordan, N. Y.; Thomas D. Schall, Minn.; Bertrand H. Snell, N. Y.; William R. Wood, Ind. Its purpose was to urge a favorable report for a Committee on Woman Suffrage. The speakers for the National American Suffrage Association were Judge Raker, Representatives Jeanette Rankin of Montana; Edward T. Taylor of Colorado; Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming and Edward Keating of Colo-



rado; Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman, and Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, member of the association's Congressional Committee. The speakers for the National Woman's Party were Miss Martin, Miss Maud Younger, Mrs. Wainwright, Miss Vernon, Representatives George F. O'Shaughnessy of Rhode Island; C. N. McArthur of Oregon; Carl Hayden of Arizona. On December 13 a Committee on Woman Suffrage was appointed.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1918-1919.

For the first time since it was founded in 1869 the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1918 omitted its annual convention. Suffragists were accustomed to strenuous effort but this year strained to the last ounce the strength of all engaged in national work. The Congressional Committee could not secure the respite of a single day and were summoning women from all parts of the country for service in Washington and demanding extra work from them at home, telegrams, letters, influence from the constituencies, etc. There was a vote Jan. 10, 1918, in the Lower House and a continual pressure from that moment to get a vote in the Senate, which did not come till October and was adverse. Then the committee pushed on without stopping. Mrs. Shuler, the corresponding secretary, had been in the Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma campaigns all summer and was exhausted. The three States were carried for suffrage and when the election was over all the forces were used to obtain Presidential suffrage in the big legislative year beginning January, 1919. It was a question of pressing forward to victory or stopping to prepare for and hold a convention and lose the opportunities for gains in Congress.

During the first ten months of 1918 the vast conflict in Europe had gone steadily on; the United States had sent over millions of soldiers and other millions were in training camps on this side of the ocean; transportation was blocked; the advanced cost of living had brought distress to many households; thousands of families were in mourning, and everywhere suffragists were devoting time and strength to those heavy burdens of war which always fall on women. By November 1, when it would have been necessary to issue the call for a convention, there was no prospect of a change in these hard conditions, and when on

November 11 the Armistice was suddenly declared no one was interested in anything but the end of the war and its world-wide aftermath.<sup>1</sup> During the dark days of 1918, however, there had come a tremendous advance in the status of woman suffrage. The magnificent way in which women had met the demands of war, their patriotic service, their loyalty to the Government, had swept away the old-time objections to their enfranchisement and fully established their right to full equality in all the privileges of citizenship. Early in the winter the Lower House of Congress by a two-thirds vote declared in favor of submitting to the Legislatures an amendment to the Federal Constitution, the object for which the National Suffrage Association had been formed, and the Parliament of Great Britain had fully enfranchised the majority of its women. In the spring the Canadian Parliament conferred full Dominion suffrage on women. Before and after the Armistice the nations of Europe that had overthrown their Emperors and Kings gave women equal voting rights with men. In November at their State elections, Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma gave complete suffrage to women. The U. S. Senate was still holding out by a majority of two against submitting the Federal Amendment but it was almost universally recognized that the seventy years' struggle for woman suffrage in this country was nearing the end.

With the opening of the year 1919 the progress was evident by the addition of seven more States to those whose Legislatures had granted the Presidential franchise to women; that of Tennessee included Municipal suffrage and that of Texas had given Primary suffrage the preceding year. The situation now seemed to require an early convention of the National Association and the time was especially opportune, as this year marked the 50th anniversary of its founding. A Call was issued, therefore, for a Jubilee Convention to be held in March, fifteen

<sup>1</sup> Although there was no national convention in 1918 Mrs. Catt called a conference of the Executive Council, consisting of the national officers, chairmen of standing and special committees and State presidents, at Indianapolis, April 18th and 19th. It was in effect a convention except for the presence of elected delegates and forty-five States were represented, including many of the South. They were entertained by the Indiana Women's Franchise League, welcomed by Governor Goodrich and Mayor Jewett and were guests at many brilliant social functions. A full program of daytime plans for work and committee reports and of evening addresses was carried out. The visitors were able to attend meetings of the Indiana State Suffrage Convention and the League of Women Voters.

months after the one of 1917. As it was the intention to launch the organization of Women Voters it was decided to meet in the central part of the country and the invitation of St. Louis was accepted.<sup>1</sup>

The Report of the annual convention of 1901, with which this volume begins, filled 130 printed pages; the Report of 1919 filled 322, which makes a complete account of its proceedings impracticable. Their character had been changing from year to year and at this convention it was almost transformed. At the public evening meetings there were no longer eloquent pleas and arguments for the ballot and the daytime sessions were not devoted to discussions of the many phases of the work. Now there was business and political consideration of the best and quickest methods of bringing the movement to an end and the most effective use that could be made of the suffrage already so largely won. It was a little difficult for some of the older workers to accustom themselves to the change, which deprived

<sup>1</sup> Call: The National American Woman Suffrage Association calls its State auxiliaries, through their elected delegates, to meet in annual convention at St. Louis, Statler Hotel, March 24 to March 29, 1919, inclusive.

In 1869, Wyoming led the world by the grant of full suffrage to its women. The convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of this event. In 1869, the National and the American Woman Suffrage Associations were organized—to be combined twenty years later into the National American. The convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the organization which without a pause has carried forward the effort to secure the enfranchisement of women. As a fitting memorial to a half-century of progress the association invites the women voters of the fifteen full suffrage States to attend this anniversary and there to join their forces in a League of Women Voters, one of whose objects shall be to speed the suffrage campaign in our own and other countries.

The convention will express its pleasure with suitable ceremonies that since last we met the women of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, Canada and Germany have received the vote, but it will make searching inquiry into the mysterious causes which deny patriotic, qualified women of our Republic a voice in their own government while those of monarchies and erstwhile monarchies are honored with political equality. Suffrage delegates, women voters, there is need of more serious counsel than in any preceding year. It is not you but the nation that has been dishonored by the failure of the 65th Congress to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Let us inquire together; let us act together.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.  
 ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Honorary President.  
 KATHARINE DEXTER McCORMICK, First Vice-President.  
 MARY GARRETT HAY, Second Vice-President.  
 ANNE DALLAS DUDLEY, Third Vice-President.  
 GERTRUDE FOSTER BROWN, Fourth Vice-President.  
 HELEN H. GARDENER, Fifth Vice-President.  
 NETTIE ROGERS SHULER, Corresponding Secretary.  
 JUSTINA LEAVITT WILSON, Recording Secretary.  
 EMMA WINNER ROGERS, Treasurer.

the convention of its old-time crusading, consecrated spirit, but the younger ones were full of ardor and enthusiasm over the limitless opportunities that were nearly within their grasp.

On Sunday evening the national officers and directors held an informal reception in the Hotel Statler for the delegates and all the sessions were held in this hotel, with the two evening mass meetings in the Odeon Theater. The convention opened Monday evening, March 24, with the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in the chair. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who was an ordained Methodist minister, pronounced the invocation and the community singing at this and all sessions was led by Mrs. W. D. Steele of St. Louis.<sup>1</sup> The Mayor, Henry W. Kiel, extended a cordial welcome to the city and pledged his earnest support of woman suffrage. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, president of the Missouri suffrage association, gave the welcome from the State. Mrs. B. Morrison Fuller, president of the Daughters of Pioneers, brought their greeting and referred to a convention held in St. Louis in 1872, introducing three ladies who were present at that time.

Dr. Shaw, honorary president, took the chair and presented Mrs. Catt. Her address, *The Nation Calls*, was a strong appeal for an organization of Women Voters to be formed in the States where they were enfranchised. The plan was outlined and she asked: "Shall the women voters go forward doing their work as free women in the great world while the non-free women are left to struggle on alone toward liberty unattained?" She showed how powerful an influence such a coordinated body could wield and among its primary objects she pointed out the Federal Suffrage Amendment, corrections in the present laws and true democracy for the world. She named nine vital needs of the Government at the present time, to which the proposed organization could contribute—compulsory education, English the national language, education of adults, higher qualifications for citizenship, direct citizenship for women and not through marriage, compulsory lessons in citizenship through foreign language

<sup>1</sup> Ministers who opened the different sessions with prayer were Mary J. Safford, of Iowa; Dr. Ivan Lee Holt, Rabbi Samuel Thurman, Dr. G. Nussman and the Rev. Father Russell J. Wilbur; at the meetings in the Odeon, Dr. J. W. McIvor and Dean Carrol Davis, all of St. Louis.

papers, oath of allegiance as qualification for citizenship, schools of citizenship in every city ward and rural district and an educational requirement for voting.

This comprehensive and convincing address is given in part in the chapter on The League of Women Voters, by Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, corresponding secretary. It showed beyond question the great work that awaited the action of women endowed with political power and it swept away all doubts of the necessity for this new organization to which Mrs. Catt and her committee had given so much time and thought. Throughout the convention the League was the dominating feature, meetings being held daily to discuss its organization, constitution, objects, methods, officers, etc.

At the close of Mrs. Catt's address Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Tennessee, with a group of sixteen women from as many southern States came to the platform and with eloquent words presented her and Dr. Shaw with large framed parchments on which President Wilson's appeal to the Senate for the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment Sept. 30, 1918, was beautifully wrought in illuminated letters by the artist Scapechi. At Mrs. Catt's request Dr. Shaw made the response for both of them.

Tuesday morning the convention was cordially welcomed to the city by Mrs. George Gellhorn, president of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League and chairman of local arrangements. There were present 329 delegates, seventeen officers and three chairmen of standing committees. The chair announced that because of the crowded program the separate reports of officers and committee chairmen, which always had been read to the conventions, would be replaced with a general report of the year's work by Mrs. Shuler, chairman of Campaigns and Surveys. This report was a remarkably comprehensive survey of the varied work of the association. After recounting the gains in the States she said:

Our question is now political. The past year has seen suffrage by Federal Amendment endorsed by twenty-one Democratic and twenty Republican State conventions; by all those of the minor parties and by many State Central Committees, while many others have approved the principle of equal suffrage by a large vote. In July, 1918, our second vice-president, Miss Mary Garrett Hay,

was made chairman of the platform committee at the State Republican conference in Saratoga, N. Y., a distinct suffrage victory, inasmuch as the men realized that in thus signally honoring her they were honoring the woman, who, by her work in winning the suffrage campaign in New York City, had made possible the victory in the State. Miss Hay has since been made a member of the Republican State Executive Committee and chairman of the Executive Committee Woman's Division of the Republican National Committee.

The work of the last fifteen months has been accomplished under most trying and difficult conditions. Many women under the allurements of war work dropped suffrage work altogether, and could not be persuaded that it was necessary at this time; others were unable to endure the criticism that they would be "slackers" if they did anything besides war work; still others thought if they did this well that men, "seeing their good works" would "reward them openly" with the ballot.

**Mobilization:** The mobilization of our suffrage army came April 18, 1918, with the call for the Executive Council meeting at Indianapolis. At that time Mrs. Catt, our chief, plainly stated that there could be no "go it alone" campaigns but that provincial shackles must be dropped, nation-wide plans adopted and constructive cooperation from all branches assured. Her plans were accepted unanimously. On May 14 a bulletin was issued asking for a nation-wide protest campaign against further delay in passing the Federal Amendment. Resolutions were to be passed by State bodies and points given to be stressed at mass meetings and in publicity. Resolutions of protest were sent from the women of the Allied countries of Europe to the President of the United States; from National Republican and Democratic Committees; General Federation of Women's Clubs; National Women's Trade Union League; American Collegiate Alumnae; American Nurses' Association; National Education Association; National Convention of Business Women; Woman's Christian Temperance Union; American Federation of Labor. Many States responded with resolutions from State political parties, press associations, churches, granges, labor and business organizations, political leaders and large numbers of citizens.

**Our Fighting Units:** From honorary president to the last director, every member of the board of the National Association had some part in war work. Our service flag representing suffrage officials of our branches carried twenty-five stars. Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Catt and Mrs. McCormick were conscripted for the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense; Mrs. Catt for the Liberty Loan's National List; Miss Hay, Mrs. Gardener and Mrs. Dudley for Congressional and Mrs. Brown for Oversea Hospitals work. Other members of the board were sent from time to time to various States on special missions.

**Congressional Work:** Mrs. Rogers went to New Jersey; Mrs.

Wilson and Mrs. Stilwell to Delaware and Mrs. Livermore to New Hampshire for work connected with the Federal Amendment. Mrs. Wilson attended the State suffrage conventions in Maine, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and made a longer stay in Florida and Vermont. Mrs. Shuler went to the three campaign States twice, spending five weeks in South Dakota, holding a suffrage school there; five weeks in Michigan and nearly five months in Oklahoma, later going to West Virginia. Others who were sent by the National Association on special missions were Miss Louise Hall, Mrs. Fitzgerald, Mrs. Anna C. Tillinghast and Miss Eva Potter to New Hampshire; Miss Mabel Willard to Delaware; Mrs. Cunningham, Miss Marjorie Shuler and Mrs. Mary Grey Brewer to Florida, while Mrs. Brewer made a trip as special envoy to five of the western States. Our nineteen national organizers have been in twenty States. In eighteen part or all of the expenses have been borne by the National Association. At present we have ten organizers in the field.

To the one who has made our victories possible, our national and international president, Mrs. Catt, women owe a debt of gratitude that can never be paid. Her strength and sagacity, her unerring judgment and masterful leadership have acted as a stimulus and inspiration, not only to those of us who have been privileged to work at close range but also to the women of the entire world. Our national suffrage headquarters have been a place of peace and happiness because of her patience, good-nature and sympathy. Her battle for the past fifteen months has been with adverse conditions and reactionary forces, which are always the hardest to combat, but not once has her courage faltered or her strength of purpose failed.

Our Ammunition: At national headquarters in New York City our work is departmentalized and functions through the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education under three department heads: The *Woman Citizen*, Press Bureau and Research. These cooperate with a fourth department, the National Publishing Company, and all are so closely co-ordinated that they work as one.

The *Woman Citizen*—Our National Organ. (See special report.) As you will remember, the Leslie Commission took over the Press Bureau March, 1917, and since then has paid all of its expenses.

In order to keep our official machinery moving, there are about fifty people on the two floors at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Circularization: The *Woman Citizen* has been sent each week to members of Congress and on thirty different occasions they received literature prepared in the most tempting fashion for their instruction and edification. Mrs. Catt put into operation the plan for resolutions from the Legislatures calling upon the Senate to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. These from twenty-four States were read into the Congressional Record, and while they did not put the Federal Amendment through they were effective as showing the



nation-wide urge for favorable action. The Legislatures themselves were circularized with excellent literature.

In February, 1918, a bulletin was sent to State presidents offering one or more traveling libraries of sixty-two volumes, the Leslie Commission to pay expenses to the State and its association to pay them within the State. A library could be held one year. Quantities of literature have been sent to the States for distribution while requests for special literature have received prompt attention.

The activity regarding the appointment of a woman or women on the Peace Commission originated in the national office and stirred the people of the entire country. On Dec. 8, 1918, the association held a meeting of war workers in the National Theatre in Washington, D. C., to protest against further delay in the Senate on the Federal Amendment. Twenty-seven delegates representing the association attended the eight congresses held throughout the United States in the interest of the League of Nations.

Field Work. The resolution committing the National Association to an aggressive policy was passed at its convention of 1917. It read: "If the 65th Congress fails to submit the Federal Amendment before the next Congressional election the association shall select and enter into such a number of campaigns as will effect a change in both houses of Congress sufficient to insure its passage."

October came; the November elections were approaching; the 65th Congress had failed to pass the amendment. Probabilities had to be weighed which would produce the necessary two votes if possible and it was decided to enter the campaigns in New Hampshire, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Delaware. The first two were at no time specially hopeful, as they were likely to poll Republican majorities and the Republican Senatorial candidates of both were against woman suffrage. However, as a result of the work done in New Jersey, Senator Baird fell much behind his ticket, while in New Hampshire the women and the advertising made so strong a case for the pro-suffrage candidate that for a day or two the result was in doubt, but it was finally declared that Moses had won by 1,200 votes. . . . The two most important and successful contests were in Massachusetts against the Republican Senator Weeks; in Delaware against the Democratic Senator Saulsbury. . . .

Under the sub-title "In the trenches" Mrs. Shuler told of the three great State campaigns of the year in Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma (described in the chapters for those States) and said:

The National Association gave to these States eighteen organizers, all of whom rendered valuable service. It gave plate matter at a cost of \$4,600; 100,000 posters, 1,528,000 pieces of literature, eighteen street banners and 50,000 buttons. It gave to South Dakota a "suffrage school," June 3-20, sessions in the daytime in seven cities and street meetings in ten of the nearby towns in the evenings.

The sending of Miss Marjorie Shuler as press chairman to Oklahoma enabled it to issue 126,000 copies of a suffrage supplement and supply 300 papers with weekly bulletins, information service and two half-pages of plate. These three campaigns cost the association \$30,720. This was the financial cost, but the immense output of time and energy by the women cannot be computed. It is safe to say that all of them as they emerged from this trench warfare again questioned the advisability of trying to secure suffrage by the State route.

Mrs. Shuler's fine report closed with an optimistic peroration on Seeing it Through. [See Handbook of convention.]

The carefully audited report of the treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, showed almost incredible collections during a period when the war was making its endless calls for money. In part it was as follows: "The year 1918 has been a very remarkable one for the national suffrage treasury. The large demands of the war on every individual, both for money and work, seemed to forebode financial difficulties for us before the close of our fiscal year. Instead, the response to the needs of our treasury was never more fully met, both in the payment of pledges made at the last convention and in securing new pledges and donations. Early in the year the treasurer was asked to assume also the duties of treasurer of the association's Women's Oversea Hospitals Committee and this fund has passed regularly through the treasury, amounting in all to \$133,339. The very generous and hearty response of the State suffrage associations to the demands of our Oversea Hospitals' war work has been most gratifying and its financing has not diminished the regular income of the association. . . . About one-third of the association's income has been received from the State auxiliaries and two-thirds from individual donations. The receipts for suffrage work were \$107,736; balance on hand \$11,874." [The Leslie Commission contributed \$20,000.]

A message to the convention from President Wilson was received conveying his greetings and best wishes for the success of the Federal Amendment. On motion of Dr. Shaw the convention sent to the President an expression of its appreciation of his support. Mrs. Philip North Moore, president of the National Council of Women, brought its fraternal greetings.

Others were received from far and wide. . . . On motion of Mrs. Shuler a telegram of appreciation was sent to Mrs. Helen H. Gardener of Washington, and on motion of Dr. Shaw one to Mrs. Ida Husted Harper of New York. A message of sympathy in the loss of her husband was sent to the veteran suffragist, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert of Pasadena, formerly of Chicago. It was voted that letters from the convention should be sent to the pioneers, Dr. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Miss Rhoda Palmer, Mrs. Charlotte Pierce, Miss Emily Howland and Mrs. C. D. B. Mills.

During the convention the Legislature of Missouri passed the bill giving Presidential suffrage to women by 21 to 12 in the Senate and 118 to 2 in the House. The convention sent a message of enthusiastic appreciation. [For full account see Missouri chapter.] Miss Anna B. Lawther, president of the Iowa Suffrage Association, requested the National Association and the League of Women Voters to appeal to the Legislature of that State to pass a similar bill. Mrs. Dudley of Tennessee and Miss Mary Bulkley of Connecticut made the same request for these States and it was granted for all three. Mrs. Frederick Nathan (N. Y.) urged the suffragists to contribute to the Women's Roosevelt Memorial Association. Mrs. Gellhorn's young daughter was introduced as having recently organized a Junior Suffrage League in St. Louis of thirty-two members. Mrs. Katharine Philips Edson (Cal.) announced that though it had no regular suffrage organization, Northern and Southern California each had telegraphed a contribution of \$500 to the work of the National Association.

The present policies of the association were endorsed. The reason given for wishing the officers to hold over until the next annual convention in 1920 was that the complete ratification of the Federal Amendment by that time was considered certain and these officers would be best fitted to close up the affairs of the association, which would then be merged into the League of Woman Voters. From the list of candidates the following eight directors were elected: Mrs. George Gellhorn (Mo.); Mrs. Richard E. Edwards (Ind.); Mrs. C. H. Brooks (Kans.); Mrs. Ben Hooper (Wis.); Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore (N. Y.);

Mrs. J. C. Cantrill (Ky.); Miss Esther G. Ogden (N.Y.); Mrs. George A. Piersol (Penn.). Mrs. Brooks, Mrs. Livermore and Miss Ogden were re-elected.

The afternoon session of Tuesday was devoted to suffrage war work, with Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick, chairman of the War Service Department, presiding. At the meeting of the Executive Council of the National Association in Washington, in February, 1917, just before the United States entered the war, it formed a number of committees in order that the suffragists throughout the country might do their especial work for it under the same generalship as they were accustomed to, and later chairmen of these committees were appointed to organize and superintend State branches. At the present session of the national convention these chairmen reported as follows: General Survey of War Program, Mrs. McCormick (N. Y.); Food Production, Miss Hilda Loines (N. Y.); Americanization, Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley (Mass.); Child Welfare, Mrs. Percy Pennybacker (Tex.); Industrial Protection of Women, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot (D. C.); Food Conservation, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller (Mo.); Oversea Hospitals Service, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany (N. Y.), chairman, and Mrs. Raymond Brown (N. Y.) director general in France.

These reports are considered at length in Mrs. McCormick's chapter on War Work of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and they conclusively refuted the charge publicly made again and again by the National Anti-Suffrage Association through its official organ and on the platform that the suffragists were "slackers," unpatriotic, pro-German and concerned only in getting the franchise for themselves. This charge was frequently made by the editor of the paper and president of the association, Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., wife of the Republican U. S. Senator from New York, also a strong opponent of woman suffrage.

At the close of this very interesting session the convention enjoyed an automobile ride to see the beautiful city and its environs, tendered by the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League and under the auspices of Mrs. Philip B. Fouke. The "inquiry dinner" in the banquet room of the hotel in the evening, with Mrs.

Catt presiding, carried out the clever idea of trying to ascertain why American women could not obtain their enfranchisement. The program was as follows: What is the matter with the United States? Women want it! Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout (Ills.); Men want it! the Rev. W. C. Bitting (Mo.); Political Parties want it! Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe (Wash.); The Press wants it! Miss Rose Young (N. Y.); The Old South wants it! Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs (Ala.); Congress wants it! Mrs. Maud Wood Park (Mass.); The Legislatures want it! Mrs. T. T. Cotnam (Ark.); All other Countries have it! Mrs. Guilford Dudley (Tenn.); Who doesn't want it! Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton (Ohio); Well then what is the matter? Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore (N. Y.); Making it right next time! U. S. Senator Selden P. Spencer (Mo.).

At one business session Miss Laura Clay (Ky.) argued that the time had come to change the form of the Federal Suffrage Amendment to meet the objections of the southern members of Congress. Discussion showed a preponderance of sentiment in favor of the old amendment and the convention so voted, but at the suggestion of Mrs. Park it empowered the Congressional Committee to make any minor changes which might seem advisable. At another session there was considerable talk of merging the National American Association into the new organization of voters and dropping its name at this convention, but Miss Hay carried the delegates with her in urging that they retain the old name until they celebrated Miss Anthony's one-hundredth birthday and were safely through the ratification of the Federal Amendment. This decision was especially pleasing to the older members for whom the name had many endearing memories. Mrs. Catt announced that suffrage societies had been formed in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines and it was voted to extend an official invitation to them to join the National Association without payment of dues. Mrs. Catt called attention to the increased educational value of the convention through the many opportunities extended to the delegates for addressing bodies of various kinds in the city. These included the churches, synagogues, Ethical Society, public schools, Chamber of Commerce, Junior Chamber of Commerce, City Club, Rotary Club,

Town Club, Wednesday Club, Women's Trade Union League and other organizations.

One of the leading features of the convention was the report of Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the Congressional Committee, which gave a complete summary of the status of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in Congress from the time of the last convention to the present. This and Mrs. Shuler's secretary's report offer so comprehensive a survey of the important work of the National Association that a considerable amount of space is devoted to them. The report of Mrs. Park filled over thirty pages of the Handbook of the convention and was an interesting account of the struggle of the past year and a half to secure from Congress the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. A large part of it will be found in the chapter devoted to that amendment. It showed the work done at the national headquarters in New York City and Washington and also in the States and gave an idea of the tremendous effort which was necessary before the measure was sent to the Legislatures for ratification. It told of the House Judiciary Committee reporting the resolution on Dec. 11, 1917, "without recommendation," after amending it so as to limit the time for ratification to seven years, and of the determination of the opponents to force a vote on it before the appointment of a Woman Suffrage Committee for which the friends were striving. This committee was announced, however, on December 13, 1917.

All the members but three of the committee were in favor of the amendment. Chairman Raker introduced a new resolution omitting the seven-year clause and the committee gave a five-days' hearing to the National American Association, the National Woman's Party and the Anti-Suffrage Association, January 3-7 inclusive. The committee made a favorable report to the House on January 8. On the 9th twelve Democratic members called by appointment on President Wilson, who *advised the submission of the amendment*. Speaker Clark gave valuable assistance, as did many prominent Democrats and Republicans both in and out of Congress. A five-hours' debate took place in the House on the afternoon of Jan. 10, 1918, and the vote resulted as follows:

	In Favor	Opposed
Republicans .....	165	33
Democrats .....	104	102
Miscellaneous .....	5	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	274	136

This was a majority of less than one vote over the necessary two-thirds.

Mrs. Park gave a graphic account of the struggle to secure a favorable vote in the Senate. She described the influences brought to bear from all possible sources; the conferences with committees and individuals; the fixing and then postponing of days for a vote; the difficulty in arranging "pairs"; the "filibustering" of the opponents, the adjournments, the endless tactics for preventing a vote which for years had been employed against this amendment. She described the great five days' discussion in the Senate September 26-October 1; the appeal to President Wilson for help and his magnificent response in person on September 30 with its contemptuous treatment by the opponents; the failure of the Republican leaders to supply the thirty-three votes promised and of the Democrats to provide from their ranks the thirty-fourth, which would complete the necessary two-thirds, and she gave the summary of the result of the balloting on October 1. Analyzed by parties and including pairs the vote stood:

	Yes	No
Democrats .....	30	22
Republicans .....	32	12
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total .....	62	34

The amendment was lost by two votes. This debate, printed in full in the Congressional Record for those days, hands down to posterity the noble effort of some members of the U. S. Senate to grant to women a voice in the Government to which they were giving the most loyal and devoted service in this hour when it was joining with other nations in the greatest battle for democracy ever fought. It preserves also the determination of other U. S. Senators to deny them this citizen's right and to continue their disfranchised condition. The *Woman Citizen*, official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Associa-

tion, in its issue of Oct. 5, 1918, gave a spirited account of the proceedings of those momentous five days.

Mrs. Park took up the story after the defeat in the Senate and said in part: "The election returns on Nov. 6, 1918, indicated that the necessary two-thirds majority in the 66th Congress had been secured. This belief was shared by prominent Democrats, who from that time on spared no effort to make unfriendly Democratic Senators realize the folly of their position in leaving the victory for a Republican Congress. Only the stupidity of extreme conservatism or a thoroughly provincial point of view can account for their failure to yield, unless we are to suppose that more sinister forces were at work. . . . On the eve of his sailing for Europe December 2 President Wilson included in his address to a joint session of Congress another eloquent appeal for the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment."<sup>1</sup> She described the mass meeting of the suffrage war workers on December 8 at the National Theater in Washington arranged by Miss Mabel Willard with the following program: Mrs. Catt, the national president, in the chair; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, chairman Woman's Committee of National Council of Defense; Mrs. William Gibbs McAdoo, chairman National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee; Mrs. Josephus Daniels, member National War Work Council, Y. W. C. A.; Miss Jane Delano, director Department of Nursing, American Red Cross; Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, representing Community War Work and Women's Oversea Hospitals; Mrs. F. Louis Slade, of Young Women's Department, Y. M. C. A.; Mrs. Raymond Robins, president National Women's Trade Union League; Miss Hannah Black, Munitions Worker. An overflow meeting was held and strong resolutions for the amendment were adopted at both and sent to each Senator.

Resolutions calling on every Senator to vote for submission of the amendment were adopted by twenty-five State Legislatures during January and February, 1919, and the gaining of

<sup>1</sup> From the address of President Wilson:

And what shall we say of the women? . . . Their contribution to the great result is beyond appraisal. They have added a new luster to the annals of American womanhood. The least tribute we can pay them is to make them the equals of men in political rights as they have proved themselves their equals in every field of practical work they have entered, whether for themselves or for their country. These great days of completed achievements would be sadly marred were we to omit that act of justice.



Presidential suffrage in Vermont, Indiana and Wisconsin that winter increased hope. The suffrage Democrats were desirous of taking one more vote before going out of power. Mrs. Park's report said: "On petition of twenty-two Senators, a Democratic caucus on suffrage was held on February 5, the first since the United States entered the war. On a motion to adjourn, the suffragists without proxies defeated the "antis," who voted proxies, by 22 to 16. On a resolution recommending that the Democratic Senators support the Federal Amendment, twenty-two voted in the affirmative and when ten had voted in the negative, those ten were allowed by Senator Thomas S. Martin (Va.), Democratic floor leader, to withdraw their votes in order that he might declare that, as the vote stood 22 to 0, a quorum had not voted and the resolution was lost! This decision was, of course, most irregular and unfair but it afforded a good illustration of the kind of tactics used by the opponents.

"After the close of the morning business February 10, Senator Jones moved to take up the amendment. An extremely strong speech in its favor was made by the new Senator, William P. Pollock of South Carolina. The only other speeches were by Senator Frelinghuysen (N. J.), on the question of individual naturalization of women and by Senator Gay (La.) in opposition to the amendment. The vote taken early in the afternoon showed 55 in favor and 29 opposed. As on October 1, all the members who were not present to vote were accounted for by pairs, so that it stood practically 63 in favor to 33 opposed. In other words the amendment was lost in the 65th Congress by one vote. The responsibility for the defeat lies at the door of every man who voted against it. Analyzed by parties and including pairs, the vote on February 10, was:

	Yes	No
Democrats .....	30	21
Republicans .....	33	12
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total .....	63	33

"Thus the Democrats lost their last opportunity and on March 1 the resolution for the amendment was again favorably reported by the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Lower House to be

acted upon by a Republican Congress." In commenting on this result Mrs. Park said: "While we are condemning the un-American stand of our opponents, we should never lose sight of the hard work done by many of the Senators who were our friends. There is not space here for the record of all who helped us but special mention should be made of one, the Hon. John F. Shafroth, who will not be present to vote when victory comes in the next Congress. When our cause had only a handful of supporters in public life, he, then a member of the House, helped Miss Anthony bring the amendment forward, and from that time to the present his loyal and devoted service never flagged. Chairman Jones, Senators Ransdell, Hollis, Wesley Jones, Cummins and the other members of the Woman Suffrage Committee worked in constant cooperation with your committee. Among the others who were most frequently called on for help were Senators Curtis, Smoot, Walsh, Pittman, Lenroot, McNary, Hollis and Sheppard."

Mrs. Park spoke briefly of the hearing before the House Committee on Woman Suffrage April 29 on the bill granting to the Legislature of Hawaii the power to enfranchise its women. (See the chapter on Territories.) This bill had passed the Senate in September, 1918. On Jan. 3, it passed the House without a roll call.

Tribute to the association's Congressional Committee and other workers in Washington was paid by Mrs. Park, who said:

During the past fifteen months there have been several changes in the personnel of the committee, chief among them the resignation in September, 1918, of Miss Ruth White, whose gratuitous service as secretary had extended more than three years. She was succeeded by Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, but just as her marked gift for political work was making itself felt in Washington, the submission of a constitutional amendment in Texas made it necessary for her to return home in January, 1919. In August, 1918, the National Board appointed as a special congressional steering committee two women of widely known political acumen and experience, Miss Mary Garrett Hay of New York and Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Nashville, with Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Park ex officio. In October Mrs. Frank Roesing, who had been residing in Washington since the preceding April and thus had been able to give help from time to time, sent in her resignation. In November Miss Marjorie Shuler was added to the committee as secretary in charge of publicity, a designation that by

no means expresses the varied duties which have fallen to her lot or the extent to which she has proved of service. To Mrs. Helen H. Gardener a new title, that of vice-chairman of the Congressional Committee, has been recently given by the National Board. . . . Her work can rarely be reported because of its confidential nature, but this may truly be said, that whenever a miracle has appeared to happen in our behalf, if the facts could be told they would nearly always prove that Mrs. Gardener was the worker of wonders. . . .

Other members of the Congressional Committee who have been in Washington for the whole or a part of the period covered by this report are, in addition to its chairman, Miss Mabel Caldwell Willard, chairman of the social activities; Mrs. George Bass and Mrs. Medill McCormick, representing respectively the organizations of Democratic and Republican women affiliated with the national party committees; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Mrs. C. W. McClure and Mrs. William L. McPherson. No report of the Washington headquarters would be complete without mention of the help given in innumerable ways by our house manager, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Walker, whose patience, tact and good judgment have made comfortable living possible under the most trying circumstances.

Members of the National Board who have been called on to assist are first and foremost our honorary president, Dr. Shaw; Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick and Mrs. Horace C. Stilwell of Indiana. Upon Mrs. Catt, the national president, your committee has constantly depended for advice and direction. Our misfortune has been that we could not have her continually in Washington.

To these a list of names was added of those who assisted during long or short periods. There was an account of the social uses of the Washington headquarters. In January, February and March of 1918 Miss Willard, with the help of Mrs. Louis Brownlow, arranged a series of weekly teas on Wednesday afternoons. Among the hostesses, the guests of honor and those serving at the table were some of the most prominent women in Washington—wives of the members of the Cabinet, Senators and Representatives. Social affairs were finally given up as war relief work absorbed other interests. Under the direction of Mrs. Brownlow, daughter of Representative Sims (Tenn.) and wife of the Chief Commissioner for the District of Columbia, the Washington Equal Franchise League established a Red Cross Branch at headquarters, where valuable work was done by suffragists. Several entertainments for the benefit of the Oversea Hospitals were given at the house and over \$1,000 raised.

At the close of this report the convention gave a rising vote of

thanks to Mrs. Park and a number of delegates paid special tribute to the excellent work of the chairman and the committee. A discussion which followed by Miss Katharine Ludington (Conn.); Mrs. Andreas Ueland (Minn.); Miss Anna B. Lawther (Iowa); Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine (Va.) and Mrs. Leslie Warner (Tenn.), under the head "And Now—What?" was devoted to ways and means for carrying the Federal Amendment. A number of conferences were held to consider various phases of the work of the association which had become all-embracing. The one on How to do Political Work for Suffrage was led by a past-master in it, Miss Hay. One on How to use our Organization to Win was under the direction of Mrs. Shuler. The conference of press workers was in charge of Miss Young. Why We Did Not Win was told by Mrs. Lydia Wickliffe Holmes, president of the Woman Suffrage Party of Louisiana, referring to the defeat of the State suffrage amendment; Why We Did Win, by Mrs. Ben Hooper, president of the Wisconsin association, describing the gaining of the Presidential franchise. There were reports by the State presidents of the work that had been done by women during the year throughout the country for the war, for suffrage, for civic improvement.

A report that was heard with the deepest interest was that of the Oversea Hospitals in France, by Mrs. Raymond Brown, general director, and Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman of the committee. This had been a very important part during the past two years of the work of the association, which had raised \$133,000 for its maintenance. [See the chapter on War Work.]

When it had been arranged to hold the convention the last week in March, 1919, it was supposed that the Federal Suffrage Amendment would have been submitted by Congress by that time, as it had passed the Lower House early in January. It seemed especially appropriate that this jubilee convention could celebrate this event on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the National Association for the sole purpose of obtaining this amendment but to the keen disappointment of its leaders and members two obdurate Senators had spoiled this beautiful plan. Its success, however, was so universally conceded that it was decided to hold the semi-centennial celebration and the afternoon of

March 26 was dedicated to this purpose and to the honoring of the early leaders. Fifty Years of Ever Widening Empire was the motto at the head of the program. The tribute to the Pioneers of the National Association was paid by Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, for twenty-one years from 1881 the corresponding secretary of the association and closely associated with Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony and the other pioneers almost from her girlhood. To Miss Anthony she was like a daughter and she gave a touching account of her personal relations with these noble leaders. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell drew from her stores of memory a wealth of incidents of the lives of her parents and the eminent men and women who were associated with them in founding the American Woman Suffrage Association, also begun in 1869. A resolution offered by Mrs. Desha Breckinridge was enthusiastically adopted—that “we owe an undying and inextinguishable debt to Henry B. and Lucy Stone Blackwell for their great service in behalf of suffrage for women but believe their greatest gift was their daughter, who has kept us true to the trust which they committed to the care of their followers.”

Mrs. Catt, who always had an eye to the practical and who was on the program to urge the members of the united associations to Finish the Fight, soon yielded her time to Miss Hay, the noted money-raiser, whose subject was, Make the Map White. In a very short time the delegates had shown their appreciation of the pioneers by subscribing \$120,000, the whole amount of the “budget” for the work of the coming year. Dr. Shaw then closed the afternoon’s services with reminiscences of her forty years’ companionship with the workers in both associations. “The suffragist who has not been mobbed,” she said, “has nothing really interesting to look back upon.” She spoke of the last national convention which Miss Anthony ever attended, in 1906 at Baltimore, and how she had set her heart on a grand triumph for the cause in that old, conservative city, describing how her hopes had been realized in the most successful one from every point of view that ever had been held. And then she told with exquisite pathos how one month later Miss Anthony passed into eternal rest. Little did the listeners think that the next annual

convention would hold memorial services for Dr. Shaw herself and for Mrs. Avery!

Throughout the week the meetings of the National Association alternated with the conferences for organizing the enfranchised women and the name officially decided on was League of Women Voters. A constitution for it was adopted and Mrs. Charles H. Brooks of Kansas was elected chairman. Mrs. Catt presented its first aims as outlined in her annual address and with some additions they were adopted. The addresses made by the chairmen of the war committees evinced statesmanship of a high order. The entire proceedings of the convention connected with this new organization are fully described in Mrs. Shuler's chapter on the League of Women Voters. There could be no greater contrast than between the firmness and authority of the speakers on this program and the pleading and argument of just as able women in earlier years for the opportunity and power to help in the solution of great national problems.

The large Odeon Theater was crowded on the evening of March 27 by an audience that heard with much interest the story of the recent campaigns for full and Presidential suffrage as told in the following program: The Indiana Irritation, Mrs. Richard E. Edwards; The Vermont Vortex, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson; The Nebraska Nightmare, Mrs. W. E. Barkley; The South Dakota Sore Disasters, Mrs. John L. Pyle; The Michigan Mystery, Mrs. Myron B. Vorce; The Oklahoma Ordeal, Mrs. Nettie R. Shuler; The Texas Turmoil, Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham; The Duty of Citizenship, Mrs. Raymond Robins; All Roads Lead to Rome, Dr. Shaw.

The report of the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education, made by its director, Miss Rose Young, filled eighteen pages of the printed Handbook and covered a vast field of activity which included service to 25,000 publications—2,500 dailies, 16,000 weeklies, 3,233 monthlies, a number issued fortnightly, quarterly, etc., and the large syndicates and press associations. In addition were the mimeographed news bulletins and the editorial service. An idea was given of the varied character of the material sent out and the immense amount furnished during the campaigns. A compliment was paid to the press work of Mrs.

Rose Geyer, "whose task it is to collect the news, State by State, and distribute the parts of nation-wide interest through weekly bulletins, and who has by direct personal correspondence of an intimate and tactful kind trained State organization women to send in reports of conventions, political and legislative situations, candidates, etc." Many incidents were cited of important publicity, special editions of papers and display advertising. Six pages were devoted to the mission of the weekly official magazine, the *Woman Citizen*, and the way it had been fulfilled. A tribute was paid to its very able associate editor, Miss Mary Ogden White. The invaluable service of the Research Bureau, under the expert direction of Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, assisted by Miss Eleanor Garrison, was strongly set forth.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, who conducted the editorial correspondence, referred in her report to her full accounts in preceding years of the wide correspondence with editors. "The scope of the department was gradually enlarged," she said, "and many letters were sent to prominent people in reference to their speeches, interviews in newspapers and other public expressions. For instance, in the debates on the Federal Amendment in the Senate, whenever a speaker showed lack of correct information, a letter giving it was sent to him. Other letters also were sent to Senators and usually received courteous answers from themselves, not their secretaries." The report continued:

Several letters were written to Colonel Theodore Roosevelt urging him to use his influence with the Republican leaders and always were fully answered. A letter dictated and signed by him on January 3, 1919, enclosed one he had just sent to Senator Moses of New Hampshire, strongly urging him to cast his vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment on the 10th. I received it on January 4 and he died the night of the 5th.

Letters were sent to Chairman Hays and members of the National Republican Committee and to different State chairmen on various points connected with the suffrage amendment. The pamphlet on the Difficulty of Amending State Constitutions, which was prepared and sent to every Senator, was put into the Congressional Record by Senator Shafroth, and a circular letter on the founding and record of the National Woman's Party by Senator Thomas. Scores of letters were sent out showing up the fallacies of the Anti-suffragists during the year; others exposing the connection of the German-American Alliance with the Antis; others giving his-

toric information and still others telling of gains in our own and foreign countries.

During the first year I wrote to over 2,000 editors in the United States and Canada. At the end of that time, and after the New York victory, so many were in favor of woman suffrage itself that during 1918 the work was very largely concentrated on the Federal Amendment. In the two months from November, 1917, to January, 1918, when the vote was taken in the House of Representatives, 2,600 circular letters containing an argument for this amendment went out from this department to the principal newspapers of the United States and in addition 100 special articles were sent to the largest papers. After that vote was taken this record was kept up to obtain favorable action by the Senate and a second and different circular argument was sent to 2,000 papers. A carefully selected list of several hundred southern newspapers was furnished to Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas, to which he sent franked copies of his excellent speech on this amendment.

An open letter to Senator Baird was supplied to all the principal papers of New Jersey; one to Senator Benet to those of South Carolina; one to Senator Shields to Tennessee papers. A letter showing the attitude of the National Association toward organized labor went to a considerable number of labor papers in the various States. During the week following the failure to vote on the Federal Amendment in May, 250 letters and articles in regard to it were sent out from this department. Most of them enclosed printed or typed suffrage literature, some of Mrs. Catt's editorials and articles, and some from other sources, including my printed pamphlet on the Federal Amendment. Altogether nearly 8,000 letters and articles went out from this department.

Several pamphlets also were prepared and an article of about 2,000 words was furnished every month to the *International Suffrage News* in London, with many clippings for its files. A number of letters and clippings also were sent to Mrs. Fawcett, the national president of Great Britain, keeping her informed on the progress of the movement in the United States, of which she was very appreciative, and letters of information were written to other countries.

By the end of 1918 from 300 to 500 editorials on woman suffrage were received every month and it was as much a subject of comment in the newspapers as any political issue of the day. The old-time attacks were almost entirely absent; the editorials showed knowledge and discrimination; fully nine-tenths of the northern newspapers advocated not only woman suffrage but the Federal Amendment, while in every southern State some leading papers were in favor of enfranchising women and a few approved of its being done through this amendment. This editorial department of the Leslie Bureau might venture to claim some share in the evolution of editorial opinion, to which, of course, many causes contributed. While the need for its work was by no means at an end, another task yet remained for the bureau to see accomplished.



Mrs. Harper then stated that it was the wish of both the Leslie Commission and the Board of the National Association that the final volume of the History of Woman Suffrage should be written while the excellent facilities of the headquarters were available. Because of her experience in writing Volume IV this work was entrusted to her and the editorial department, therefore, was discontinued and the History begun in January, 1919.

The report of the Washington Press Bureau was made by its secretary, Miss Marjorie Shuler, dating from the preceding November and it stated that weekly press articles had been furnished to the big news services, the 200 newspaper correspondents in Washington, the papers of that city and many outside; State presidents, Congressional and press chairmen, in addition to a certain daily service; feature articles and Washington letters to the *Woman Citizen*. Material for favorable editorials was sent out through the Washington correspondents and 244 friendly to the policy of the National Association were received with only 12 opposed. The social activities at the Washington headquarters furnished good local publicity.

In the report of Miss Esther G. Ogden, president of the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., she called attention to the almost insuperable difficulties of the publishing business during the past eighteen months through the high cost of production, deterioration of materials and uncertainties of transportation. With all these handicaps the company had printed 5,000,000 pieces of literature for the association and 1,000,000 for its own stock. It had filled orders from Great Britain, Canada, South America, Mexico, Porto Rico and the Philippines. She told of prominent visitors from foreign countries who expressed much surprise at the variety and extent of the literature and took samples home with them for translation. Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, chairman of the Literature Committee, gave a list of the new publications which filled two printed pages and told of a notable group of booklets dealing with patriotic subjects; a large amount of special literature to facilitate the passage of the Federal Amendment; maps, folders, booklets and posters.

The following recommendations were made by the Executive Council and adopted by the convention:

1. That the N. A. W. S. A. continue to support and endorse the Federal Amendment which has been before Congress for the past forty years.
2. That the next convention be in the nature of a centennial celebration of the birthday of Susan B. Anthony and be held in February, 1920.
3. That the Board of Officers be asked to serve until that date, thus confining the election of officers at this convention to Directors only.
4. That the budget for 1919 be adopted as presented by Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, the treasurer—\$120,000 if the Voters' League is formed and \$100,000 if it is not formed.
5. That the six War Service Committees appointed at the last convention be discontinued with the exception of the Oversea Hospitals Committee, which shall be discontinued at the conclusion of its work, and those on Americanization and Industrial Protection of Women, which shall be continued.
6. That the post-convention board be requested to reappoint Mrs. Maud Wood Park as chairman of the Congressional Committee and extend to her a vote of appreciation of her services.
7. That the Board of Directors shall have authority to enter any State to carry on work without the authority of that State, if necessary.
8. That the policy of the association in regard to referendum campaigns be affirmed.
9. That an organization of women voters be formed.
10. That the constitution when amended and made satisfactory to the needs of the association be substituted for the present constitution; that, with this end in view, the Chair be instructed to appoint a committee of five women from enfranchised States and five from the Executive Council to whom the constitution shall be referred.<sup>1</sup>

It was recommended that the following resolution be adopted "in view of the fact that a request had been made for a new definition of 'non-partisan' in relation to the National Association as at present constituted or as it may be constituted": "Resolved, That the N. A. W. S. A. shall not affiliate with any political party or endorse the platform of any party or support or oppose any political candidates unless such action shall be recommended by the Board of Directors in order to achieve the ends and purposes of this organization as set forth in its constitution. Nothing in this resolution shall be construed to limit the liberty of action of any member or officer of this association to join or serve the party of her choice in any capacity whatsoever as an individual."

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, chairman of the committee, offered fourteen resolutions, the last which were acted upon by representatives of the National American Suffrage Association, the first having been presented in 1869. They illustrate the wide scope

<sup>1</sup> For action of this committee see Appendix for Chapter XIX.

of women's interests considered by that body. After full discussion the following, which are somewhat condensed, were among those adopted:

Whereas, women may now vote for President in twenty-six States of the Union, and for all elective officers in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada and throughout the largest part of Europe; our eastern and southern States are now the only communities in the English-speaking world in which women are still debarred from self-government; our nation has just emerged from a war waged in the name of making the world safe for democracy and ought in consistency to establish real democracy at home; and every political party in the United States has endorsed woman suffrage in its national platform; therefore be it

Resolved, that we call upon the 66th Congress to submit the Constitutional Amendment for nation-wide woman suffrage to the States at the earliest possible moment.

Whereas, one-fourth of the men examined for the army were unable to read English or to write letters home to their families, be it

Resolved, that we urge the establishment at Washington of a national department of education with a Secretary of Education in the Cabinet.

Resolved, that this association earnestly favors a League of Nations to secure world-wide peace based upon the immutable principles of justice.

Resolved, that we protest against the unfair treatment of professional women by the United States authorities in declining the services of women physicians, surgeons and dentists in the recent war, thus compelling loyal, patriotic women to serve under the flag of a foreign government. We recommend that in future our Government recognize the fitness of accepting the services of professional women for work for which their training and experience have qualified them.

Resolved, That we urge our Government to bring about the prompt redress of all legitimate grievances, as the removal of the sense of injustice is the surest safeguard against revolution by violence.

Whereas, the Woman in Industry Service of the U. S. Department of Labor was established as a result of the war emergency,

Resolved, that we call upon Congress to establish this service as a permanent Women's Bureau in the U. S. Department of Labor with adequate funds for the continuance and extension of its work.

Resolved, that we ask the U. S. Government in its next census to classify definitely the unpaid women housekeepers as homemakers, thus recognizing their important service to the nation.

Resolved, that we call upon Congress to give military rank to army nurses.

Resolved, that we tender to our national president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, our deep appreciation of her sagacity, good judgment, fairness and indefatigable devotion to the cause of equal

rights, and we pledge our best efforts to carry out her wise and far-reaching plans for ultimate victory.

The last evening of the convention was given to a second mass meeting at the Odeon Theater with Dr. Shaw presiding and a notable program. The first speaker was Miss Helen Fraser of Great Britain, who had been making a tour of the United States in the interest of the women's war hospital work of that country. She was announced on the program as "Great Britain's foremost speaker," and she eloquently pictured Women and the Future. The Hon. Henry J. Allen, Governor of Kansas, stirred the audience to enthusiasm with an address on Woman's Place in War and Peace. Mrs. Catt's splendid closing speech on Looking Forward ended a convention whose keynote throughout had been "progress"; a farewell to the past years of toil and disappointment, a preparation for the future work of women under better conditions than had ever before existed. A spirit of hope, courage and unlimited expectation pervaded the army of younger women, who were soon to take up the great work committed to their care.

On Saturday three important meetings took place. In the morning was the formal organization of the League of Women Voters, election of officers, appointment of committees and adoption of a program; also the final business session of the convention to harmonize the work of the National Association and that of the league. In the afternoon the two bodies met in joint session to discuss the question of how voting and non-voting women might best cooperate and the three following objects were agreed upon: (1) To secure the vote for all the women of the nation in the shortest possible time; (2) to obtain the vote for women in all civilized countries; (3) to carry out the legislative program of the new organization.

Thus ended the perfectly managed Jubilee Convention, probably the most important and far-reaching in the long history of the National Association.

HEARING ON THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT BEFORE THE  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE OF THE 65TH  
CONGRESS, JAN. 3-7, 1918.

There was no longer any necessity for a hearing before the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, as it had unanimously reported in favor of the Federal Amendment. The suffrage leaders were profoundly thankful that they would never again have to address a hostile Judiciary Committee of the Lower House, which not in all the years had permitted the amendment to come before the Representatives for discussion, and which had now under pressure reported it out but "without recommendation." A new era had dawned and a Committee on Woman Suffrage had been formed, whose chairman, Judge John E. Raker of California, by advice of Speaker Clark, had introduced another resolution for the submission of the amendment which was sent to this committee and it desired to have a hearing.<sup>1</sup> This began Jan. 3, 1918, and in opening it the chairman said: "We have determined to hear first the National American Suffrage Association and then the Woman's Party. There seem to be a few opponents—a few men—and they will be given an opportunity to be heard, as well as Mrs. Wadsworth and her organization." This hearing extended through four days and the stenographic report filled 330 closely printed pages. It was the last of the committee hearings on a Federal Suffrage Amendment which began in 1878 and had been held during every Congress since that date. If an investigator of this subject has time to read only one document it should be the report of this hearing.

The committee was composed of seven Democrats and six Republicans and it was well known that all but three—Saunders, Clark and Meeker—would report in favor of submitting the amendment. The National Suffrage Association was represented the first day by its honorary president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw; its president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt; the chairman of its Congressional Committee, Mrs. Maud Wood Park; Mrs. Rosalie

<sup>1</sup> Names of Committee: John E. Raker, California, chairman; Edward W. Saunders, Virginia; Frank Clark, Florida; Benjamin C. Hilliard, Colorado; James H. Mays, Utah; Christopher D. Sullivan, New York; Thomas L. Blanton, Texas; Jeannette Rankin, Montana; Frank W. Mondell, Wyoming; William H. Carter, Massachusetts; Edward C. Little, Kansas; Richard N. Elliott, Indiana; Jacob E. Meeker, Missouri.

Loew Whitney, an able lawyer of New York; Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Tennessee, a vice-president of the association; Mrs. Henry Ware Allen, a prominent suffragist and war worker of Kansas. Their speeches were among the strongest ever made at a hearing. Those of the opponents show the character of their objections up to the very end of the long contest. Dr. Shaw's address was especially notable for two reasons: it was devoted largely to the work of women in the war, which was now at its height, and it was the last one before a congressional committee by this eloquent woman, who had been coming to the Capitol for almost thirty years in behalf of the amendment, as she died the following year. She was introduced as having been appointed by the Secretary of War chairman of the Woman's Committee of National Defense and as such the head of the war work of women throughout the country. Dr. Shaw began by referring to the new line of attack which was now being made on suffragists as pro-Germans and pacifists but scattered quotations can give small idea of the strength and beauty of her answers to these charges. Regarding the one of pacifism she said:

We grant that we are in favor of peace; we grant that we have a large sympathy for the sufferings of humanity, but we also claim to be possessed of intelligence and knowledge and these have convinced us that there could be nothing more disastrous to the human race than a peace at this time, which would lead to greater suffering than a continuation of the war. Therefore, because we love peace and because we have large sympathy for human sufferings, we are opposed to anything that will bring a peace which does not forever and forever make it impossible that such sufferings shall again be inflicted on the world, and the women of all countries take that stand with us. We have only to face the present situation to know that any charges that women as a whole are not courageous, are not patriotic, are not devoted to the highest interests of their country are wholly false. . . . Even before war was declared the National American Woman Suffrage Association met in convention in this city and was the first organized body of women to formulate a definite line of action and present to the President and the Government a plan which would be followed by its more than 2,000,000 members, provided hostilities went so far that war should be declared. The President accepted our services, and not only did he accept them but the devotion of the suffragists to the welfare of the country was so uniformly recognized that when the Government decided upon war and upon the necessity for organizing the woman-power of the nation, it called upon the leaders of this

association and appointed them on a committee for co-ordinating the war work of women throughout the United States. Can it for a moment be supposed that the men in whose charge the great interests of our nation rested would have called upon women whom they did not know to be thoroughly endowed with patriotic devotion and loyalty to their country for such a service at such a time?

Dr. Shaw told of the loyalty of women in other countries and quoted from the tributes of their distinguished men, such men as Mr. Asquith, Lloyd George, Lord Derby and General Joffre to the services of these women and in our own country of General Pershing and scores of others. She told of how the Canadian Government gave the suffrage to women and how they voted for conscription; of the splendid courage of the men of Australia and New Zealand, born of enfranchised mothers. She said that in ten of the eleven western States which filled their quota of volunteers before any eastern State had done so, there was equal suffrage. She referred to the eminent supporters of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, beginning with President Wilson and his Cabinet and Theodore Roosevelt; asked if these men were pro-Germans and pacifists and matched them with equally loyal women. In conclusion she said:

To fail to ask for the suffrage amendment at this time would be treason to the fundamental cause for which we, as a nation, have entered the war. President Wilson has declared that "we are at war because of that which is dearest to our hearts—democracy; that those who submit to authority shall have a voice in the Government." If this is the basic reason for entering the war, then for those of us who have striven for this amendment and for our freedom and for democracy to yield today, to withdraw from the battle, would be to desert the men in the trenches and leave them to fight alone across the sea not only for democracy for the world but also for our own country. . . . The time of reconstruction will come and when it comes many women will have to be both father and mother to fatherless children, and these mothers and their children will have no representatives in this Government unless it is through the mothers who have given everything that it might be saved and democracy might be secured. . . . No men better than those of the South know what it owes to southern women and shall those men stand in the way of freedom for the women who gave everything to retain for our country the very best of southern traditions—shall they plead in vain for the freedom of their daughters? What is true of the women of the South is true of the women of the North. . . . We are today a united people with one flag and one

country because the women are worthy of their men, and we plead because we are a part of the people, a part of the Government which claims to be a democracy, and in order that this country may stand clean-handed before the nations of the world.

The speech of Mrs. Whitney, analyzing the vote on the suffrage amendment which was carried in New York State the preceding November was a complete statistical refutation of the charge made by the anti-suffragists that the favorable vote was due to Socialists and pro-Germans. A letter was read from Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, saying that speaking personally and not officially he favored the submission of the amendment. Telegrams urging it were received from well-known women in the southern States and Mrs. Catt read editorials strongly favoring it from a number of southern newspapers. Mrs. George Bass, head of the Democratic Women's National Committee, protested against the circulation in the Capitol which was being made by the "antis" of President Wilson's declaration made in 1914, "I believe this is a matter to be fought out in the individual States," because in 1916 he addressed the National Suffrage Convention in Atlantic City, saying: "I have come to fight with you . . . and in the end we shall not differ as to methods."

Mrs. Dudley represented the women of the South, saying in the course of her address:

What has happened to the State's rights doctrine? Recently the Federal Constitution has been twice amended and that under a Democratic administration. While the child labor bill and eight-hour bill are not amendments, they are really open to the same objections because they impose upon a State laws to which it has not given consent. These bills were proposed in one House or both by southern Democrats; Federal prohibition was proposed in both Houses by southern Democrats and passed by the votes of others. So it appears that the theory of State's rights is only invoked when women plead at the bar of justice for that voice in their Government to which all those who submit to authority are entitled. Now, as to the negro problem. We southern women feel that the time has come to lay once and for all this old, old ghost that stalks through the halls of Congress. It is a phantom as applied to woman suffrage. In fifteen States south of the Mason and Dixon line there are over a million more white women than negro men and women combined. There are only two States in which the negro race predominates, South Carolina and Mississippi. In the former the percentage is 55.2, but there a voter must read and write and own



and pay taxes on \$300 worth of property. In Mississippi the percentage is 56.2 but there also they impose an educational qualification. In the eight years since these figures were estimated by the Government this percentage has greatly decreased, so that South Carolina claims that there is now no preponderance of negroes. In the other four States also in the so-called "black belt" an educational test is imposed upon the voters. In addition to all this we must consider that during the last decade the negro population has increased 11 per cent and the white population 22 per cent. Furthermore, in the past year alone 75,000 negroes have gone from one southern State to the north, and 73,000 have gone from three other southern States to one northern State alone. So it appears that we must transfer part of our rather hysterical anxieties with regard to the southern negro vote to some other States.

Mrs. Allen spoke from the standpoint of one who had lived many years in a State where women voted and asked the question: "Can you gentlemen not think what it means to women to know that their men are so chivalrous and have such a belief in their integrity and their intelligence that they are willing to make them their equal partners politically? Can you not see that under such conditions men and women are firmer friends; that husbands and wives are closer together and that all of the family relations are better because the adults of all the families are equally interested in city, State and national affairs?" She told how on the battlefield and in the hospitals in France could be heard in all languages the one cry, "mother," and she ended with the plea: "Our world is weary and wounded and sick and if you will listen in the silence of the night you will hear the same cry; the world is calling for the mother voice in its councils and in its activities."

The afternoon was devoted to the address of Mrs. Catt, which, with the questions of the committee and her answers, filled twenty-five pages of the printed report. For four decades the distinguished presidents of the National Suffrage Association had made their arguments and pleadings before committees of Congress—Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and then Mrs. Catt for eight years. This was the last time it would ever be necessary and the first time before a House committee which intended to report in favor. The changed character of her speaking was shown in her opening sentence: "The time of argument on woman suffrage has gone by. The controversy has been waged over a greater part of the

civilized world for the last fifty years, with the result that many nations have capitulated and woman suffrage is now established under many flags. That it is still pending in the Congress of the United States is a disgrace to our country and a reflection on the intelligence and progress of our people." She illustrated how the doctrine of State's rights had been ignored by the southern members in their fight for prohibition, led by Mr. Webb of North Carolina, who as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee had also led the opposition to woman suffrage on this same ground. She proved by editorial quotations from southern papers the changing attitude on this point.

The vast number of American men who would be in the army in France at the time of the next election was pointed out and the question was asked: "When the election comes who will do the voting? Every 'slacker' has a vote; every newly-made citizen; every pro-German who cannot be trusted with any kind of war service; every peace-at-any-price man; every conscientious objector and even the alien enemy. It is a risk, a danger, to a nation like ours to send millions of loyal men out of the country and not replace their votes by those of the loyal women left at home." In referring to the "negro problem" in the South Mrs. Catt said:

In talking with some of the members of Congress we have learned that an idea prevails throughout the South that the colored women are more intelligent, ambitious and energetic than the men, and that while it is easy enough to keep the men from exercising too much ambition in the matter of politics, it will not be easy to control the women. When talking with these same men about the white women of the South, I have never known an exception to the rule that they have finally rested their case upon the statement that the women of the South do not want the vote anyway and if they did they would only vote as their husbands do. To say that means what? That the women of the South in the estimate of those men are too weak-minded to have an opinion of their own; it means that they have no independence of character; it means that they have been reduced so far to nonentity that they will only echo their husbands' opinions. Is living in the homes of the white men of the South so degrading to the character of the white women that they really cannot be trusted to have an honest conviction of their own, but that living in the South outside of those homes renders women more ambitious and more intelligent than the men? Do these men realize that they are saying almost in the same breath that the colored woman is superior to the colored man but that the white woman

is the inferior of the white man? Or is it possible that the climate of the South produces a stronger "female of the species" than male, and that the men of the South are afraid of both the white and the black women?

Detached quotations give a most inadequate idea of this masterly address which embodied the complete case for the advocates of the Federal Amendment. Toward its close Mrs. Catt, in speaking of the assertion of the "antis" that President Wilson was opposed to the Federal Suffrage Amendment, made this significant answer: "I request you, Mr. Chairman, to ask Mr. Wilson for a conference and go to it taking Democrats and Republicans and say: 'Mr. President, are you or are you not for this Federal Amendment?' Then you will know. I trust that you will do this and that, if then it is possible to make a public statement, you will do so." Afterwards it was apparent that she knew of Mr. Wilson's complete change of opinion and his intention to support the amendment. On January 9 Mr. Raker and eleven other members of the Lower House held a conference with the President and he urged the submission of the amendment.

At the continuation of the hearing on January 4 the American Constitutional League, formed after the suffrage amendment was adopted in New York out of the Men's Anti-Suffrage Association, was represented by the chairman of its executive committee, Everett P. Wheeler, a lawyer of New York City, and by one of its members introduced as "Dr. Lucian Howe of Buffalo, a very eminent surgeon, a Fellow of the Royal Academy of Medicine and the Royal Academy of Surgeons." The two men occupied the entire day, Mr. Wheeler about two-thirds of it, but the committee consumed a good deal of this time by a running fire of questions not far from "heckling." Mr. Wheeler offered for insertion in the *Record* a page and a half of finely printed statistics compiled by the Men's Anti-Suffrage Association to prove that the laws for women and children were not so good in equal suffrage States as in those where women could not vote.

The session of January 5 began with the reading of another sheaf of urgent telegrams from women of the southern States and petitions for the amendment signed by a long list of southern women. The first speaker was Mrs. L. A. Hamilton, president

of the National Equal Franchise Association of Canada and president also of the Women's Union Government League of Toronto, who was thoroughly informed on the granting of Provincial and Dominion suffrage and able to answer convincingly all the questions of the committee. The hearing was then turned over to the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, with its president, Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., in charge. I am much pleased by the personnel of this committee," she said, "because both the Republican Speaker, Mr. Gillett, and the Democratic floor leader, Mr. Kitchin, promised us that, unlike the suffrage committee in the Senate, this one would have a fair representation of 'antis.' I find we have been given two out of thirteen. Of course we think that a perfectly fair ratio, as we have always felt that one 'anti' was worth about five suffragists, but we did not suppose you would admit it." "That is about the ratio that exists in the House," observed Mr. Blanton, of the committee. "We will know more about that when we vote in the House," answered Mr. Clark, member from Florida. "I am going to give you the privilege this morning of hearing from my general staff," said Mrs. Wadsworth, "and I will have some of my officers of the line here Monday. I want to introduce Miss Minnie Bronson, our general secretary." The second speaker was Mr. Eichelberger, who presented elaborate charts and figures to show that woman suffrage was carried in New York by the Socialists. To the question of Chairman Raker, "This is nothing more or less than a compilation of figures as an idea of your own, to show what certain votes could do or certain figures would do, isn't it?" he answered: "Yes, absolutely, that is the idea." At one point Miss Jeannette Rankin of the committee asked: "Are you the gentleman who compiled some figures on the Democratic and Republican women's vote in Montana last year?" "I think so," was the answer. "Where did you get your figures?" "From the official election report." "How could you tell a Democratic woman's vote from a Republican woman's vote?" "Well, that part of it was estimation!" The statements of Mr. Eichelberger and the questions of the committee filled twenty-four pages of the stenographic report and with Miss Bronson's address consumed one session.

The hearing in the afternoon was given to the National

Woman's Party, in charge of its vice-chairman, Miss Anne Martin of Nevada. Mrs. William Kent of California introduced the speakers—Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Mrs. Townsend Scott, Miss Ernestine Evans, Mrs. Francis J. Heney, Miss Elizabeth Gram, Miss Maud Younger, Mrs. Adeline Atwater, Mrs. Ellis Meredith.

Monday morning the hearing of the Anti-Suffrage Association was resumed, Mrs. Wadsworth presiding and speaking at length, saying: "We never have and never will ask a man to vote with us against his conscience but the men we do blame are those spineless opportunists who for political expediency or because they are too lazy to fight are preparing to surrender their principles for the sake of a dishonorable and, we believe, a temporary peace." Mrs. Edwin Ford followed and then Miss Lucy Price. Her remarks and the committee's questions filled fourteen pages of the report. About fifty telegrams opposing the amendment were received, nearly half of them from men and all from Massachusetts. One purported to represent 250 women of Wellesley and another 1,000 of New Bedford. Henry A. Wise Wood was introduced as president of the Aero Club of America. During his speech he declared that "this was no time to unman the Government by this foolhardy jeopardizing of the rights of both sexes"; that "one wonders at the spectacle of strong, masculine personalities urging at such an hour the demasculinization of Government—the dilution with the qualities of the cow, of the qualities of the bull upon which all the herd safety must depend"; that "this from now on is a man's job—the job of the fighting, the dominating, not the denatured, the womanlike man." Referring to Miss Rankin's vote against war he said: "I do not think she cried; I was speaking of the real woman, the woman that men love." He also said that during his campaign for "preparedness" he discovered that "the woman suffrage movement was hopelessly given over to pacifism in its extreme socialistic form." In closing he said that "for any sentimental or political reason it is a damnable thing that we should weaken ourselves by bringing into the war the woman, who has never been permitted in the war tents of any strong, virile dominating nation." This speech was made Jan. 7, 1918, after nearly a year's experience in the United States of the war work done by women.

At this hearing the opponents made their supreme effort, knowing that it was their last chance, and they brought to Washington one of the South's most noted orators, former U. S. Senator Joseph W. Bailey, of Texas. He began by saying: "I shall confine my speech entirely to the political aspect of the question, leaving these very intelligent women to explain the effect of suffrage on their sex and on our homes," but he got to the latter phase of it long before he had finished. He believed that under the Federal Constitution the right to control the suffrage belonged absolutely to the States but he said: "I am opposed to women voting anywhere except in their own societies; I would let them vote there but nowhere else in this country. . . . No free government should deny suffrage to any class entitled to it and no free government should extend suffrage to any class not entitled to it, for the ultimate success or failure of every free government will depend upon the average intelligence and patriotism of the electorate. I hope to show that as a matter of political justice and political safety women should not be allowed to vote. . . ."

Giving other reasons why women should not be allowed to vote, he said: "The two most important personal duties of citizenship are military service and sheriff's service, neither of which is a woman capable of performing." Reminded by the chairman that there were many places where women then were performing the duty of sheriff, constable, marshal and police, he answered: "They may be playing at them but they are not really performing them. If an outlaw is to be arrested are you going to order a woman to get a gun and come with you? If you did she would sit down and cry, and she ought to keep on crying until her husband hunts you up and makes you apologize for insulting his wife. . . . A woman who is able to perform a sheriff's duty is not fit to be a mother because no woman who bears arms ought to bear children. . . . We agree, I think, that the women of this country will never go into our armies as soldiers or be required to serve on the sheriff's posse comitatus. That being true I hardly think they have the right to make the laws under which you and I must perform those services." The chairman asked: "When the men go to front with the cartridges and guns the women assisted in making are the latter not participating in the

war the same as men?" He answered: "They are doing their part and it may be just as essential as the man's, for if there is not somebody here to provide the ammunition the guns would be useless, but it is not military service."

The war had been in progress three and a half years when these assertions were made and the whole world knew the part that women had taken in it.

"The third personal duty of citizenship is jury service," Mr. Bailey said, "and while women are physically capable of performing that service there are reasons, natural, moral and domestic, which render them wholly unfit for it. . . . We go to the court house for stern, unyielding justice. Will women help our courts to better administer justice? They will not. Nobody is qualified to decide any case until they have heard all the testimony on both sides but the average woman would make up her mind before the plaintiff had concluded his testimony." The awful consequences of "sending women with strange men into the jury room to discuss testimony which a sensible mother would not talk over with her grown daughter" were declared to be that "modesty for which we reverence women would disappear from among them." "Who will care for the children during the mother's absence? . . . They tell me they will require the unmarried women to act as jurors. There will be enough of them, for marrying will become a lost habit in our country if we apply ourselves much longer to this business of making women like men." Mr. Bailey appeared not to know that women had been serving on juries for from twenty to forty years in the western States where they were enfranchised.

"Will women vote intelligently? Can they do it? What time will a woman have to prepare herself for these new duties of citizenship? Will she take it from her home and husband or from her church and children or from her charities and social pleasures? She must take it from one or all of them and will she make herself or the world better by doing so?" Mr. Bailey asked. He said he wished that "every woman in the land was fortunate enough to have servants to do their work"; deplored "the unfortunate situation of eighty per cent. of the good women whose hard lot it is to toil from sunup to sundown" and inquired: "Do

you think when they have done all this they will have time and strength to learn something about their duties as a citizen?" Asked if he did not think a woman ought to have something to say about the laws that concern the education and disposition of her children, he answered: "If she cannot trust that to the father of her children I pity her." "How about the women who have lost their husbands?" asked a member of the committee. "If they have neither father nor son nor brother to provide for them the public will do so," Mr. Bailey replied. In pointing out how favorable "man-made laws" are to women he said: "In my State, where women have never voted and where I sincerely trust they never will, the law gives to the wife as her separate property everything she owns at the time of her marriage and everything she may afterwards acquire by gift, devise or descent," but he omitted to say that all of it passes under the absolute control of the husband and that the wages she earns belong to him.

Further on he said: "We must have two sexes and if the women insist on becoming men I suppose the men must refine themselves into women. . . . I dread the effect of this woman's movement upon civilization because I know what happened to the Roman republic when women attained their full rights. They married without going to church and were divorced without going to court." After having discussed widows' pensions, the double standard of morals, divorce, alimony and various other matters in carrying out his promise at the beginning to confine his remarks "entirely to the political aspect of the question" he reached the subject of women's smoking. He summed up his opinion of this by saying: "If it were a question between their smoking and their voting and they would promise to stay at home and smoke I would say let them smoke." In this connection he said: "A single standard of conduct for men and women is an iridescent dream. We cannot pay women a higher tribute than to insist that their behavior shall be more circumspect than ours."

Finally Mr. Blanton of Texas, a member of the committee, having obtained Mr. Bailey's assent that the right of petition is the most sacred right of the people and that legislators should give it careful consideration, said: "I have here a very extensive petition from your State signed by prominent citizens of the leading



cities urging Congress to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment and I notice from Houston, your city, the following: He then read a long list of bank presidents, judges, editors, college professors, the Mayor and other city officials, officers of labor unions, and, in addition, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Attorney General, District Attorney and other State officials, and pressed Mr. Bailey to admit their high character and standing. He did so but said: "I would not vote for this amendment if a majority of my constituents asked me to do so."

An undue amount of space is given to the address of Mr. Bailey because he had been selected by the anti-suffragists as the strongest speaker for their side in the entire country and it embodied their views as these had been presented ever since the suffrage movement began. He was thoroughly representative of the opposition, and the officers and members of the women's Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage who were present applauded his remarks from beginning to end. He made this speech Jan. 7, 1918, and the following March the Texas Legislature by a large majority gave Primary suffrage to women for all officers from President of the United States down the list and the bill was immediately signed by the Governor. The primaries decide the election in that State.<sup>1</sup>

The committee received petitions asking their favorable action on the amendment from the Texas State Federation of Women's Clubs and those of Houston and other cities; from women's clubs of many kinds in Waco representing 2,000 members; from women's organizations all over the State and from individuals, the number reaching thousands. There was the same outpouring from the other southern States, although it was the principal argument of the opposition that the vote was being forced on southern women. There was also a remarkable expression from southern men. Seventy-five pages of these petitions were printed in the official report of this hearing. As the sentiment in the northern States was now so largely in favor it was considered

<sup>1</sup> In the summer of 1920, Mr. Bailey, who had been living in New York City ever since he resigned from the Senate, returned to Texas and made the race for Governor to "rescue" the State from woman suffrage, prohibition and other progressive measures which had made great headway since he left it. He was badly defeated for the nomination, with women voting.

unnecessary for them to send petitions, although many did so. There were presented to the committee a message from the Governor of every equal suffrage State urging the immediate submission of the amendment and strong letters to this effect from Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels and Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo, Southerners and Democrats. None of this pressure was necessary to influence it but the leaders of the National Suffrage Association arranged this demonstration in order to show that favorable action by the committee would be fully sustained by the sentiment of the country, and as an answer to the charge that "a small, insistent lobby was forcing the amendment through Congress." The anti-suffragists did not present one communication of any kind from any State except Massachusetts.

The valuable space in this volume could not be better used perhaps than for the closing speeches of Mrs. Park, chairman of the association's Congressional Committee, and Mrs. Catt, its president. A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than that between their statesmanlike quality and the rambling, inconsequential, prejudiced character of Mr. Bailey's. "After the eloquent address of the last speaker," began Mrs. Park with delicious satire, "I sympathize with the committee and the audience who will have to return to the plain subject of the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage. . . . I think those who have been listening to all of these hearings will agree that the opponents have made many interesting statements but have given comparatively few facts." Saying that Mrs. Catt would reply to Mr. Bailey's speech she answered the points in the others with a keenness and clearness that no lawyer could have exceeded and met with dignity and acumen the questions of the opponents on the committee. She was not once disconcerted or unable to reply convincingly and always with a disarming courtesy but she did not deviate from her subject or allow the questioners to do so.

Mrs. Catt's answer to Mr. Bailey's speech, which filled twenty-five pages of the stenographic report, occupied seven pages and there was not a superfluous word. She began by calling attention to the petitions as a whole from the southern States, printed copies of which were furnished to each member of the committee. They included the names of over a thousand prominent men, among

them two and a half pages of Mayors; the Governors of Arkansas, Tennessee and Florida and many other State officials. She said that as she listened to Mr. Bailey's speech she was reminded of the declaration of a president of Harvard College, who asserted that without question there were witches and it was the duty of all good people to hunt them out, but twenty-five years later every intelligent man knew there had never been such a thing as a witch. A man once wrote a book to prove that a steamship could never cross the ocean and the book was brought to America by the first one that crossed. Daniel Webster made a speech against admitting as a State one of the western Territories because its members of Congress after their election would not be able to reach Washington until the session was over. "These men lacked vision," she said, "and so does the last speaker. He does not know what has been happening in the world." She referred to the vast changes in the industrial life of women since the days of the mother of Washington and the wife of Jefferson, whom he had used as models for those of the present day, and said: "It is my pleasure to inform him that I myself am that which he regrets—a voter—and I would rather have my vote as a protector than the reverence even of the gentleman from Texas."

Mrs. Catt continued: "The speech to which we have listened has been interesting because it has seemed to be a chapter from a book that was written long ago. The week before the war began it was my privilege, sitting in the balcony of the House of Commons, to look down upon the bald head of Mr. Asquith while he made a speech against woman suffrage. 'I am unalterably opposed to woman suffrage because Great Britain is a mighty empire and it will always be necessary to defend it by military power and what do women know about war?' he asked. Three years later he humbly confessed before the world that when a nation like Great Britain goes to war, and such a war as this one, which calls for every ounce of power the nation can offer in its defense, men and women make equal sacrifices and therefore it is not a man's job but it is a man's and a woman's job and they are doing it together. So the Premier demanded woman suffrage and voted for it in the House of Commons. Remembering Mr. Asquith, I think there is hope for Mr. Bailey."

Mrs. Catt pictured eloquently the marvelous work being done by women in Great Britain in the munitions factories, the railway service, the dockyards, and also in our own and all countries; she described the heroic sacrifices of the nurses; she told how the women of Canada and New Zealand had voted for conscription and how in all countries the women were backing their men in the war. "It is declared that American women cannot carry a gun," she said. "Why that is the kind of talk we heard forty years ago and Mr. Bailey's speech is just that much behind the times. . . . I am sorry for any man who has stood still while the world has moved on."

Only the merest outline of this convincing address is given but before its conclusion Mr. Bailey had deliberately insulted Mrs. Catt by leaving the room. Mrs. Wadsworth, when asked if she wished her side to be heard in rebuttal, introduced Miss Charlotte E. Rowe of Yonkers, N. Y., who made a vigorous plea for saving the home, children and womanhood and declared woman suffrage would lead to Socialism. During the course of her speech she said, according to the official stenographic report: "If working girls and women in colleges will study cooking and sewing and domestic science and hygiene, or simple rules of health and how to care for the sick and the fine and beautiful art of home making, it will be much better for them and better for the country than if they spend their time parading up the avenue of a crowded city and praying that they may some day, somehow, become policemen or boiler-makers side by side with men. . . . I say to you that it has remained for this self-sufficient 20th century to have produced a womanhood which would stand—even a small proportion of it—in legislative halls and say that they are doing more in this great and terrible war than the men are doing. . . . Gentlemen, if I were a married woman and my husband was a feminist and on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November he said to me, 'Come, walk by me so as to strengthen and sustain me as I go to the polls,' I would say to him, 'Look here, Mabel, here is the key of the flat; I am going home to father.' I would advise men and women suffragists—and especially those suffragist men who need their wives to strengthen and sustain

them on election day—I would advise them to go to the cellar and check over the laundry.”

This last hearing on the Federal Suffrage Amendment closed on January 7 and the following day the committee made a favorable report to the House of Representatives. By consent of the Committee on Rules the 10th was set for the debate and vote and on that day the House by a two-thirds majority voted to submit the amendment to the State Legislatures.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### NATIONAL AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1920.

The official report of the Fifty-first convention, in 1920, was entitled Victory Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and First Congress of the League of Women Voters and the Call was as follows:

“Suffragists, hear this last call to a suffrage convention!

“The officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association hereby call the State auxiliaries, through their elected delegates, to meet in annual convention at Chicago, Congress Hotel, February 12th to 18th, inclusive. In other days our members and friends have been summoned to annual conventions to disseminate the propaganda for their common cause, to cheer and encourage each other, to strengthen their organized influence, to counsel as to ways and means of insuring further progress. At this time they are called to rejoice that the struggle is over, the aim achieved and the women of the nation about to enter into the enjoyment of their hard-earned political liberty. Of all the conventions held within the past fifty-one years, this will prove the most momentous. Few people live to see the actual and final realization of hopes to which they have devoted their lives. That privilege is ours.

“Turning to the past let us review the incidents of our long struggle together before they are laid away with other buried memories. Let us honor our pioneers. Let us tell the world of the ever-buoyant hope, born of the assurance of the justice and inevitability of our cause, which has given our army of workers the unswerving courage and determination that at last have overcome every obstacle and attained their aim. Come and let us together express the joy which only those can feel who have suffered for a cause.

“Turning to the future, let us inquire together how best we can now serve our beloved nation. Let us ask what political parties

want of us and we of them. Come one and all and unitedly make this last suffrage convention a glad memory to you, a heritage for your children and your children's children and a benefaction to our nation.<sup>17</sup>

The seven days of the convention were divided between the National Association and the League of Women Voters, the latter having the lion's share as a new organization requiring much time and attention. All of February 12 was given to the meetings of its committees, with dinners for all delegates and a program of speakers at the Auditorium, Morrison and La Salle Hotels in the evening. All matters relating to the league are considered in the chapter on the League of Women Voters by Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, corresponding secretary. The addresses at the convention, with the exception of those on Miss Anthony's one hundredth birthday and the memorial meeting for Dr. Shaw, were given under the auspices of the league and the Resolutions were prepared by its committee.

The convention of the National Association began February 13 but the two preceding days had been occupied by almost continuous business sessions of the officers and board of directors. Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, State president, was chairman of the local committee of arrangements of nearly forty women of Chicago, Evanston and suburban towns for this largest national suffrage convention ever held and the arrangements had never been surpassed. Nothing was forgotten which could contribute to the success or pleasure of the convention. A hostess was appointed for each State to make its delegates acquainted and contribute to their comfort. There were present 546 delegates, a large number

<sup>1</sup> Following are the officers of the association who were elected at the convention in St. Louis in 1919 and re-elected in Chicago in 1920 to remain in office until the association should go out of existence: President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt; first vice-president, Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick; second vice-president, Miss Mary Garrett Hay; third vice-president, Mrs. Guilford Dudley; fourth vice-president, Mrs. Raymond Brown; fifth vice-president, Mrs. Helen H. Gardener; treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Nettie R. Shuler; recording secretary, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson. All were of New York City except Mrs. Dudley of Tennessee and Mrs. Gardener of the District of Columbia. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who had been president from 1904 to 1915 and honorary president thereafter, had died July 2, 1919.

Directors: Mrs. Charles H. Brooks (Kans.); Mrs. J. C. Cantrill (Ky.); Mrs. Richard E. Edwards (Ind.); Mrs. George Gellhorn (Mo.); Mrs. Ben Hooper (Wis.); Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore (N. Y.); Miss Esther G. Ogden (N. Y.); Mrs. George A. Piersol (Penn.).

of alternates and thousands of visitors, while for the audiences at the public meetings there was not even standing room.<sup>1</sup>

At the morning session on the 13th, with Mrs. Catt presiding, the following program was presented by the Executive Council for the consideration of the delegates and was discussed at this and other business sessions:

1. Shall the National American Woman Suffrage Association dissolve when the last task concerning the extension of suffrage to women is completed?

2. Shall it recommend its members to join the League of Women Voters?

3. Shall this be the last suffrage convention held under its auspices? If not, when shall the next be called?

4. If this is to be the last convention, shall a Board of Officers be elected at this convention to serve until all tasks are completed? If this is done, to whom shall such a board render its final report and by whom shall it be officially discharged?

5. If dissolution is determined upon, what disposition shall be made of (a) the files of data; (b) the property; (c) the funds, if any remain?

6. In the event that the association shall be dissolved what agency shall become the auxiliary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance?

7. What plan for the intensive education of new women voters is possible and shall it be recommended that the League of Women Voters take up this work or shall it be conducted under the National American Woman Suffrage Association?

At the beginning of the afternoon session Mrs. Catt said that for twenty-eight years the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw had opened the national conventions with prayer and she asked that in memory of her the delegates rise and join in silent prayer. They did

<sup>1</sup> Fraternal delegates were present from the Association of Collegiate Alumnae; Florence Crittenden Mission; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic; National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association; National Congress of Mothers; Parent Teachers' Association; National Council of Jewish Women; National Council of Women; National Council of College Women; National Women's Trade Union League; National Women's Association of Commerce; National Women's Relief Corps; National Women's Relief Society; State Federation of Women's Clubs; State Trade Union League; Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Women's City Club; State League of Women Voters; Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom.



so and many were in tears. The Rev. Herbert L. Willet then offered the invocation. Mrs. Trout, president of the Illinois Suffrage Association, cordially welcomed the delegates to Chicago. The greeting from the Canadian Woman Suffrage Association was brought by its president, Dr. Margaret Gordon. Mrs. Catt made a gracious response and resigning the chair to the first vice-president, Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick, gave a brief address, reserving a longer one for the League of Women Voters. She said in part:

When we met at St. Louis a year ago in the 50th annual convention of our association, we knew that the end of our long struggle was near. We comprehended in a new sense the truth of Victor Hugo's sage epigram: "There is one thing more powerful than Kings and Armies—the idea whose time has come to move." We knew that the time for our idea was here, and as State after State has joined the list of the ratified we have seen our idea, our cause, move forward dramatically, majestically into its appropriate place as part of the constitution of our nation. We have not yet the official proclamation announcing that our amendment has been ratified by the necessary thirty-six States, but thirty-one have done so and another will ratify before we adjourn; three Governors have promised special sessions very soon and two more Legislatures will ratify when called together. There is no power on this earth that can do more than delay by a trifle the final enfranchisement of women.

The enemies of progress and liberty never surrender and never die. Ever since the days of cave-men they have stood ready with their sledge hammers to strike any liberal idea on the head whenever it appeared. They are still active, hysterically active, over our amendment; still imagining, as their progenitors for thousands of years have done, that a fly sitting on a wheel may command it to revolve no more and it will obey. They are running about from State to State, a few women and a few paid men. They dash to Washington to hold hurried consultations with senatorial friends and away to carry out instructions. . . . It does not matter. Suffragists were never dismayed when they were a tiny group and all the world was against them. What care they now when all the world is with them? March on, suffragists, the victory is yours! The trail has been long and winding; the struggle has been tedious and wearying; you have made sacrifices and received many hard knocks; be joyful to-day. Our final victory is due, is inevitable, is almost here. Let us celebrate to-day, and when the proclamation comes I beg you to celebrate the occasion with some form of joyous demonstration in your own home State. Two armistice days made a joyous ending of the war. Let two ratification days, one a National and one a State day, make a happy ending of the denial of political freedom to women!

Our amendment was submitted June 4, 1919, and to-day, eight months and eight days later, it has been ratified by thirty-one States. No other amendment made such a record but the time is not the significant part of the story. Of the thirty-one ratifications twenty-four have taken place in *special sessions*. These mean extra cost to the State, opportunity for other legislation and the chance of political intrigue for or against the Governor who calls them. These obstacles have been difficult to overcome, far more difficult than most of you will ever know, and in a few instances well-nigh insurmountable, but the point to emphasize to-day is that they *were* overcome. As a whole the ratifications have moved forward in splendid triumphal procession. There have been many inspiring incidents of daring and clever moves on the part of suffragists to speed the campaign and there have been many incidents of courage, nobility of purpose and proud scorn of the pettiness of political enemies on the part of Governors, legislators and men friends. On the other hand there have been tricks, chicanery and misrepresentation, but let us forget them all. Victors can afford to be generous.

Referring to the cost of special sessions, Mrs. Catt said :

If the Governor is a Republican tell him that had it not been that two Republican Senators, Borah of Idaho and Wadsworth of New York, refused to represent their States as indicated by votes at the polls, resolutions by their Legislatures and planks in their party platforms, the suffrage amendment would have passed the 65th Congress. It then would have come into the regular sessions of forty-two Legislatures with more than thirty-six pledged to ratify and without a cent of extra cost to any State! When a Republican Governor calls an extra session in order to ratify he merely atones for the conduct of two members of his own party. They, not he, are to blame that it became necessary. If the Governor is Democratic say that had it not been for two northern Democratic Senators, Pomerene of Ohio and Hitchcock of Nebraska, who refused to represent their States on the question as indicated by their Legislatures and platforms, Congress would have sent the amendment to the 1919 Legislatures and it would have cost the States nothing. The Democratic Governor who calls a special session only makes honorable amends for the misrepresentation of members of his own party. . . .

We should be more than glad and grateful to-day, we should be proud—proud that our fifty-one years of organized endeavor have been clean, constructive, conscientious. Our association never resorted to lies, innuendoes, misrepresentation. It never accused its opponents of being free lovers, pro-Germans and Bolsheviki. It marched forward even when its forces were most disorganized by disaster. It always met argument with argument, honest objection with proof of error. In fifty years it never failed to send its representatives to plead our cause before every national political convention, although they went knowing that the prejudice they would

meet was impregnable and the response would be ridicule and condemnation. It went to the rescue of every State campaign for half a century with such forces as it could command, even when realizing that there was no hope. In every corner it sowed the seeds of justice and trusted to time to bring the harvest. It has aided boys in high school with debates and later heard their votes of "yes" in Legislatures. Reporters assigned to our Washington conventions long, long ago, took their places at the press table on the first day with contempt and ridicule in their hearts but went out the last day won to our cause and later became editors of newspapers and spoke to thousands in our behalf. Girls came to our meetings, listened and accepted, and later as mature women became intrepid leaders.

In all the years this association has never paid a national lobbyist, and, so far as I know, no State has paid a legislative lobbyist. During the fifty years it has rarely had a salaried officer and even if so she has been paid less than her earning capacity elsewhere. It has been an army of volunteers who have estimated no sacrifice too great, no service too difficult.

Mrs. Catt enumerated some of the immortal pioneer suffragists and said: "How small seems the service of the rest of us by comparison, yet how glad and proud we have been to give it. Ours has been a cause to live for, a cause to die for if need be. It has been a movement with a soul, a dauntless, unconquerable soul ever leading onward. Women came, served and passed on but others took their places. . . . How I pity the women who have had no share in the exaltation and the discipline of our army of workers! How I pity those who have not felt the grip of the oneness of women struggling, serving, suffering, sacrificing for the righteousness of woman's emancipation! Oh, women, be glad today and let your voices ring out the gladness in your hearts! There will never come another day like this. Let joy be unconfined and let it speak so clearly that its echo will be heard around the world and find its way into the soul of every woman of every race who is yearning for opportunity and liberty still denied. . . ."

After this inspiring address the convention was turned into a jollification meeting for a considerable time until the delegates were tired out by their enthusiasm and composed themselves to receive a telegram of greeting from President Woodrow Wilson addressed to Mrs. Catt: "Permit me to congratulate your association upon the fact that its great work is so near its trium-

phant end and that you can now merge it into a League of Women Voters to carry on the development of good citizenship and real democracy; and to wish for the new organization the same wise leadership and success." On motion of Mrs. McCormick it was voted that "the gratitude of the convention be expressed to the President for his constant cooperation and help, with deep regret for his illness." On motion of Miss Mary Garrett Hay, second vice-president, the convention authorized a letter of appreciation to be sent to the Governors of States that had ratified the Federal Amendment and telegrams to those who had not called special sessions strongly urging them to do so.<sup>1</sup> This was made especially emphatic to Governor Louis F. Hart of Washington, the only equal suffrage State which had not ratified. [The session was called and the Legislature ratified unanimously March 22, leaving but one more to be gained.]

At the evening session the Recommendations were considered as presented by the Executive Council, which consisted of the president of the association, officers, board of directors, chairmen of standing and special committees, presidents of affiliated organizations and one representative of each society which paid dues on 1,500 or more members. After discussion and some amendment they were adopted as follows:

Whereas, The sole object of many years' endeavor by the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been "to secure the vote to the women citizens of the United States by appropriate national and State legislation" and that object is about to be attained, and

Whereas, The association must naturally dissolve or take up new lines of work when the last suffrage task has been completed, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the association shall assume no new lines of work and shall move toward dissolution by the following process:

(1) That a Board of Officers shall be elected at this convention, as usual, to serve two years (if necessary) in accordance with the provisions of the constitution;

<sup>1</sup>To Governors who called special sessions: "On behalf of the National American Woman Suffrage Association meeting in its 51st annual convention I am instructed to express its official appreciation and gratitude to you for your assistance in ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Woman suffrage will soon be a closed chapter in the history of our country and we are confident that the pride and satisfaction of every Governor and legislator who has aided the ratification will increase as time goes on. We want you to know that the women of the nation are truly grateful to you for your part in their enfranchisement. Nettie Rogers Shuler, corresponding secretary.

(2) That the eight directors elected at the 50th annual convention, and whose term of office does not expire until March, 1921, shall be asked to serve until the term of elected officers shall expire;

(3) That any vacancy or vacancies occurring in the list of directors shall be filled by election at this convention;

(4) That all vacancies in the Board of Directors occurring after this convention shall be filled by majority vote of the board;

(5) That the Board of Officers so constituted shall have full charge of the remainder of the ratification campaign and all necessary legal proceedings and shall dispose of files, books, data, property and funds (if any remain) of the association subject to the further instruction of this convention. The Executive Council shall be subject to call by the Board of Officers if necessary;

(6) That the Board of Officers shall render a quarterly account of its procedure and an annual report of all funds in its possession duly audited by certified accountant, to the women who in February, 1920, compose its Executive Council. When its work is completed and its final report has been accepted by this council it may by formal resolution dissolve.<sup>1</sup>

A resolution was adopted regarding action in case of a referendum to the voters of ratification by a Legislature but later the U. S. Supreme Court declared this unconstitutional. Another urged the new league to make political education of the voters its first duty. The last resolution was as follows:

"We recommend that the League of Women Voters, now a section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, be organized as a new and independent society, and that its auxiliaries, while retaining their relationship to the Board of Officers to be elected in this 51st convention in form, shall change their names, objects and constitutions to conform to those of the National League of Women Voters and take up the plan of work to be adopted by its first congress."

Following the precedent of the last convention, in order to save time, all headquarters' activities were summed up in the report of the corresponding secretary, Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler. Much condensed the report was as follows:

In the greater glory of the Federal Amendment and the ratifications which are bringing about our ultimate victory we should not overlook the solid, constructive work of the past ten and a half months and those successes of the National American Woman Suf-

<sup>1</sup> For account of meetings of the Board of Officers and Executive Council in April and June, 1921, see Appendix for this chapter.

frage Association and its branches in the various States, which made possible the Federal Amendment.

At our convention in St. Louis, March 24-29, 1919, when we met to counsel together for the future and to gird on our armor for the "one fight more—the last and the best," we celebrated the Missouri victory, the twenty-seventh State to give Presidential suffrage to women. Mrs. Catt, by resolution of the convention, immediately wrote to the legislators of Tennessee and Iowa urging passage of a similar bill. Tennessee gave Presidential and Municipal suffrage to women April 14 and Iowa Presidential suffrage on April 19, increasing the number of presidential electors for whom women may vote to 306 out of 531, the total in the United States.

Connecticut women made a magnificent campaign for Presidential suffrage, failing by only one vote in the Legislature. The strength displayed by the suffragists, the obtaining of 98,000 women's signatures and the dignity and ability shown under the leadership of Miss Katherine Ludington, so advanced suffrage in that State as to make the battle seem a victory rather than a defeat.

Municipal suffrage was given by the Legislature to the women of Orlando, Fla., April 21, making sixteen towns in ten counties in that State where women have this right. An effort to secure a Primary suffrage bill for the entire State failed.

Suffrage in the Democratic municipal primaries was granted by the local Democratic committee to the women of Atlanta, Ga., May 3, for one election.

In a referendum vote on a State amendment, May 24, 1919, full suffrage was defeated in Texas. The main causes were: The large number of men who were so confident of the success of the amendment that they did not take the trouble to go to the polls to vote for it; illegal changes in the numbering and position of the amendment on the ballots of the various counties; the absence from the State of about 200,000 soldiers; unfavorable weather conditions; the shortness of the time allowed for the campaign, and, chief of all, the organized opposition of the foreign-born and negro voters. The Texas suffragists won a clear-cut victory January 28 when the State Supreme Court upheld the decisions of the lower courts that the Primary suffrage bill was constitutional. . . .

On June 28 the women of Nebraska won a distinctive victory when the State Supreme Court held the Presidential and Municipal suffrage act of 1917 to be constitutional. The history of woman suffrage records no harder fought legal battle than this. They won another victory in the decision by Attorney General Clarence E. Davis that they had the right to help choose delegates to the national political party conventions. On February 12 the constitutional convention voted to leave the word "male" out of the new constitution.

In Tennessee the decision of the Court of Chancery, which declared the Presidential and Municipal suffrage bill of 1918 unconstitutional, has been reversed by the State Supreme Court. . . .

On February 13 the suffrage committee of the constitutional convention then in session in Illinois voted unanimously to strike "male" out of the new constitution.

We began the year 1918 with nineteen organizers, but as the legislative work came to occupy the place of chief importance most of the States expressed a preference for the services of their own women and it became necessary to reduce the national staff.<sup>1</sup>

During the winter of 1918-1919 a series of conferences was offered to the southern States but for various reasons not accepted. At the St. Louis convention in March, 1919, Mrs. Catt requested the southern representatives to outline the definite help desired from the National Association and their requests were accepted by the board at its post-convention meeting as follows: The National to give (a) one speaker or organizer to each State for two months; (b) a suffrage school to each; (c) one thousand copies of Senator Pollock's speech to each. This help from the National was conditional upon the promise of the southern States (a) that each State would furnish one of its own workers to be under the instruction of the national worker and to continue in charge after her departure; (b) that it would establish and maintain a speakers' bureau; (c) that it would begin the petition campaign. By October the association had fulfilled its promise of an organizer for two months to Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Tennessee and had arranged to send organizers to Kentucky, Delaware and Mississippi when those States were ready for them. Later, because of ratification, it gave additional help, sending Mrs. McMahan to Delaware, Mrs. Cunningham, Miss Watkins and Miss Peshakova to Mississippi; Miss Pidgeon, Miss Miller and Mrs. McMahan to Alabama, where a splendid campaign for ratification was directed by Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, State suffrage president.

Not only were the promised copies of Senator Pollock's speech sent but an additional 10,000 pieces of literature were given to Maryland, North Carolina and Delaware; 5,000 to Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida; 36,000 to West Virginia and 51,000 to Mississippi. In place of the suffrage schools a series of conferences was agreed to by the southern States. Three speakers were selected with great care and an outline for the trip was submitted to the States. Some responded that they could not arrange satisfactory conferences, others that they could not make dates to fit the

<sup>1</sup>The names of the organizers retained, all of whom gave most effective service, were Mrs. Augusta Hughston, Miss Edna Annette Beveridge, Mrs. Maria S. McMahan, Miss Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon, Miss Josephine Miller, Miss Lola Trax, Miss Edna Wright, Miss Marie Ames and Miss Gertrude Watkins. Their organized work extended over Iowa, Missouri, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Delaware and New Hampshire. In addition to the regular force Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham and Miss Liba Peshakova were sent to Mississippi for two months. The work of the organizers is regarded as the hardest and most difficult connected with a State campaign and Mrs. Shuler paid high tribute to them.

itinerary, two did not reply in time and two did not respond at all. Since speakers could not be sent at such great cost for small, unsatisfactory meetings or on an incomplete itinerary, we were reluctantly forced to cancel the conferences. With regard to the work which the southern States agreed to do, only one State met the provision to provide a worker of its own under the direction of the national organizer to take charge after her departure. None of the States established a speakers' bureau. Three States started the petition campaign but none finished it.

FEDERAL AMENDMENT. We were confident of victory for the amendment in 1919 in the 66th Congress. The House passed it May 21 by an affirmative vote of 304, a majority of 42 votes, and June 4 the Senate by a vote of 56 to 25. The passage of this amendment introduced in Congress over forty years ago by the National Suffrage Association closed a long and interesting chapter of the movement. The completion of that part of our work made it no longer necessary for us to maintain a Washington headquarters. Accordingly June 30, 1919, the doors of the Suffrage House, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, were closed after having received cabinet members, senators, congressmen, distinguished persons from this and foreign countries, thousands of American men and women and those active suffragists who were called to Washington from time to time to assist in the work of the congressional committee. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, to whose indefatigable energy, honesty of purpose and action and infinite tact we owe much, led the way to victory for the amendment. Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, whose diplomatic abilities made her the constant adviser of the committee, Miss Marjorie Shuler, chief of publicity, Miss Mabel Willard in charge of social affairs, Miss Caroline I. Reilly and Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, secretaries, formed the personnel of the Congressional Committee at the time of victory.

During the months preceding the passage of the Federal Amendment the National Association had carried not only the burden of the actual amendment campaign but had planned and carried out the preparatory work for ratification. Legislatures had been polled, Governors interviewed on the subject of special sessions and organization and publicity built up, looking forward to the final ratification battle. The presidential suffrage campaigns and the resolutions calling upon Congress to pass the suffrage amendment, which the National Association had secured in State Legislatures, were all part of the ratification strategy, a test of the suffrage sentiment in the current Legislatures as well as an impelling force on Congress to pass the amendment.

We had hoped that from this point the State associations would undertake their own campaigns and to that end Mrs. Catt issued a bulletin May 24 telling each one just what steps to take. She stated that the National Association would immediately ask Governors of all equal suffrage States to call sessions and would circularize all the Legislatures. She called upon the State associations to (1)



circularize their legislators with the news of the final victory; (2) send deputations to secure the pledge of the vote of each legislator for ratification; (3) begin a statewide campaign through the press, petitions, literature and meetings to secure their own special sessions. It soon became apparent that the States as a whole were not carrying out these plans and instead of promises of special sessions excuses came from the men with the endorsement of the women themselves. It was evident that the national office in New York must be in command.

During the following weeks up to the present time the days and nights have been filled with intensive effort. Never before have the members of the national force, the board, the office force of forty persons in the national headquarters, the Leslie Commission, the publicity department, the *Woman Citizen* and the Publishing Company worked with so little sparing of themselves and with such absolute concentration upon the matter in hand, still carrying on citizenship preparation, organization and all the routine work but always giving Ratification the right of way. It was Mrs. Catt who sounded the rallying call, who mapped out every step of the way, who did the work of a dozen women herself and cheered the rest on. No one will ever know the full story of her ingenious plans which brought about the ratification and in some States even the women think it was easily won because they do not know of the efforts put forth from the national office.

As soon as the amendment had passed the Senate, Mrs. Catt kept the agreement made by her in the bulletin and sent telegrams to the Governors of full suffrage States, asking for special sessions, and to Legislatures then in session asking for ratification. With the cooperation of the suffrage associations, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan ratified on June 10, in six days after the amendment was submitted by Congress. Kansas and New York ratified in special session and Ohio in regular session on June 16. Pennsylvania ratified on June 24, its blackness wiped off the map. The change of black Massachusetts to the ratified white on June 25 gave another big impetus to the campaign. Texas distinguished itself by ratifying on June 28. This made nine ratifications in nineteen days!

Mrs. Catt had previously asked the presidents of State suffrage associations to interview their Governors regarding special sessions and she had sent personal letters to them and to members of the Legislatures enclosing facts concerning the Federal Amendment. As a result the Governors of Nebraska, Indiana and Minnesota sent letters and telegrams to twenty-two other Governors asking them to call special sessions.

To carry the appeal to the West, two commissions were sent out the last of July, Mrs. John Glover South of Kentucky and Miss Shuler of New York to the Republican States; Mrs. Cunningham of Texas and Mrs. Hooper of Wisconsin to the Democratic States. After a tour of the States and visits to the Governors they went to Salt Lake City for the Governors' Conference. Their reports

revealed the fact that women in the enfranchised States had been absorbed into the political parties, and, with their suffrage campaign organizations practically dissolved, were in no position to determine or carry out independent political action. The replies of the Governors—that “the women of *my* State have the suffrage, it will not help us, the cost of a special session is too great, ill-advised legislation might be considered”—revealed an even more deplorable fact, that both men and women in those States were bounded in thought by their State lines and did not have a national point of view on national issues.

From the first Mrs. Catt had believed that the strategy of ratification demanded rapid action by the western full suffrage States, the partial suffrage States falling into line and the last fight coming in the eastern States where women had not yet become political factors. Therefore the Governors of the fully enfranchised States were wired as soon as the Federal Amendment passed. Those of Kansas and New York responded at once with special sessions on June 16. Then came an ominous pause. No far western States had yet ratified. What mysterious cause delayed them?

Ratifications came in Iowa July 2; Missouri July 3; Arkansas July 28; Montana July 30; Nebraska August 2; Minnesota September 8; New Hampshire September 10; Utah September 30. Another ominous pause, with Montana and Utah the only far western States yet heard from.

On October 23 Mrs. Catt opened a “drive” for ratification through sixteen conferences in twelve States, all but two with equal suffrage. She was accompanied by two chairmen of the League of Women Voters, Dr. Valeria Parker of the Committee of Social Hygiene, and Mrs. Edward P. Costigan of the Committee on Food Supply and Demand, with Mrs. Jean Nelson Penfield speaking for the Committee on Unification of Laws and Miss Shuler for that on Child Welfare. Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch of the Committee on Unification of Laws and Miss Julia Lathrop, chairman of the Child Welfare Committee, spoke at one of the conferences and Miss Jessie Haver substituted for Mrs. Costigan during the latter part of the trip. Mrs. Catt’s address—Wake Up America—was an appeal for special sessions to ratify in those States where there were to be no regular sessions until 1921 and an appeal to both men and women to use their votes for a better America. Ratifications in North Dakota December 1; South Dakota December 4; Colorado December 12; Oregon January 12; Nevada February 7—were in answer to those stirring appeals. California ratified November 1; Maine November 5; Rhode Island and Kentucky January 6; Indiana January 16. Following soon New Jersey ratified by regular session February 9. Idaho by special session February 11; Arizona February 12. The special session is called in New Mexico February 16 and in Oklahoma February 23. [Both ratified.]

In the story of our ratification campaign there occurs often the name of our second vice-president, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, whose

work for the National Association has always been valuable but who has made her greatest contribution in work for the passage of the Federal Amendment in the campaign to secure special sessions and the overwhelming number of ratifications in Republican States.

Mrs. Shuler told of the Oversea Hospitals, which are considered in another chapter. She gave an eloquent tribute to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and spoke of the beautiful memorial booklet prepared by a committee of officers of the National Association, who distributed 5,000 copies. It also aided in circulating 10,000 copies of her last speech—What the War Meant to Women—prepared as a memorial by the League to Enforce Peace. She spoke tenderly of the death of Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, corresponding secretary of the National Association twenty-one years; of that of Mrs. Elizabeth Wheeler Walker, who presided so charmingly over the headquarters in Washington, and of Miss Aloysius Larch-Miller, who as secretary of the committee on ratification in Oklahoma sacrificed her life through her work for it. Reference was made to the contributory work of the National Board in stabilizing the League of Women Voters; to the Citizenship Schools and Travelling Libraries, and the very complete report closed with a testimonial to the immeasurable value of the national organization which read in part:

Our State suffrage associations welded into a great chain have made the National Association. Our members have been one in heart, one in hope, one in purpose. We have held the same standards, the same ideals. When the way has seemed long and dark and the goal of our efforts afar off, we have supported, cheered and encouraged each other. We have rejoiced over even the smallest victory and have never been a downhearted group. The suffrage spirit has ever buoyed us up and carried us on even when the road was the steepest and the obstructions seemed almost insurmountable. These experiences could not have been realized through fifty-one years without "lengthening the cords and strengthening the stakes of friendship" but more—the result has been a liberal training, a greater belief in each other and more confidence in the merits of our cause.

While the value of any movement depends upon the success with which its practical details are worked out, yet in the final analysis the idealism of a movement is the mainspring of its vitality.

"The spirit stands behind the deed,  
In holy thought the dream must start  
And every cause that moves the world  
Was born within a single heart."

So to-day we render homage to our great leader, Mrs. Catt, whose hand has guided and whose genius has vitalized our movement. She has given to a world of women her love, her faith. She has dreamed a dream and then with prophetic vision and undaunted courage led the way to victory and the consummation of that dream.

The exquisite poem, "Oh, Dreamer of Dreams," was quoted and the report ended: "Year after year at national conventions women have agreed to 'carry on.' How well this has been done the records prove. All who have shared in the service and sacrifice which were necessary to bring about the great victory which we are here to celebrate will be glad that they were given and rejoice that they helped in putting to flight the powers of darkness."

In the course of her report as national treasurer Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers said:

It was in November, 1914, at the Nashville convention, that I was elected treasurer of the National Suffrage Association. In November, 1919, I completed my fifth year of service, these last three months additional being by way of good measure. I succeeded with trepidation Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick's very efficient service. She and I are the only members on the present board who were members in 1914.

In February, 1918, the duties of treasurer of the Women's Oversea Hospitals were added to those of the association and the sum of \$178,000 has passed through the special treasury of the hospitals to carry on the splendid war work undertaken by the National Suffrage Association. A balance of about \$35,000 remains in that treasury, the use of which in some form of memorial this convention will be asked to designate.<sup>1</sup>

The receipts of the treasury since I took office have been, for 1914-1915, \$43,186; 1915-1916, \$81,862; 1916-1917, \$103,826; 1917-1918, \$107,736; 1919-1920, \$97,379; a total of \$443,989. Adding the fund raised for the Hospitals the total is \$611,991. Each year I have solicited funds for the National Association from hundreds of suffragists, in addition to the large sums pledged at the conventions, and have had always most generous responses. In November and December, 1919, 38,000 letters were sent out signed by the president and treasurer of the National Suffrage Association asking for a ratification fund of \$100,000. Very gratifying returns have come from this appeal and are still coming. . . .

We come to this final convention of our National Association with a balance in the treasury and it must be determined here whether or not this sum is sufficient to finish the fight for nation-wide suf-

<sup>1</sup> The final report of the Oversea Hospitals Committee is given in the chapter on War Work of Organized Suffragists.

frage. Because of your sympathy and generous cooperation I have found the treasurership a real pleasure. The actual work has been lightened by the faithful service of Miss Eleanor Bates, accountant of the association since 1912. We cannot too gratefully acknowledge also the devoted service of many others, who, unheralded and unsung, have helped to make possible this victory hour. . . .

With this report were ten closely printed pages of perfectly kept and audited accounts. They showed a balance of \$10,905 in the treasury. Mrs. Rogers continued the duties of her office at unanimous request having given up to the present time about seven years of most efficient service, spending days, weeks and months at the national headquarters with no remuneration except the joy of helping the cause of woman suffrage. At one session through the efforts of Miss Mary Garrett Hay and Mrs. Raymond Brown, pledges of \$44,500 were obtained for the League of Women Voters, Miss Lucy E. Anthony making the first contribution of \$1,000 in memory of her aunt, Susan B. Anthony. The Leslie Commission guaranteed \$15,000 of this amount.

The Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington had during the year set apart a division of space for mementoes of distinguished suffragists, and Mrs. Helen H. Gardner, through whose efforts chiefly this concession had been secured, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: "This convention expresses to the Directors of the Smithsonian Institution profound appreciation of this section devoted to the great women leaders of liberty and civilization on the same broad basis accorded to men and believes that this shrine will be an object of the reverence and education of all womanhood.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this space have been placed the little mahogany table on which were written the Call for the first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848, the Declaration of Principles and the Resolutions; a portrait in oil of Miss Anthony on her eightieth birthday; large framed photographs of Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt; photographs of the signing of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by Vice-president Marshall and Speaker Gillett, the pens with which it was done and the pen with which Secretary of State Colby signed the Proclamation that it was a part of the National Constitution, and personal mementoes of Miss Anthony. The table has special historical value. It stood for years in the parlor of the McClintock family at Waterloo, N. Y., and was bequeathed to Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who, with Mrs. McClintock, Lucretia Mott and her sister, Martha C. Wright, wrote the Call, etc. When Mrs. Stanton died in New York City it stood at the head of her casket holding the Biography of Susan B. Anthony and the History of Woman Suffrage, of which Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony wrote the first three volumes. The table was left to Miss Anthony and was in her home at Rochester, N. Y., until her death, when it stood at the head of her casket, bearing a floral tribute

A resolution was adopted to send congratulatory and affectionate letters to the pioneers, Miss Emily Howland of Sherwood, N. Y.; the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell of Elizabeth, N. J., and Mrs. Charlotte Pierce of Philadelphia. The Rev. Olympia Brown of Racine, Wis., one of the few remaining pioneers, was guest of honor of the convention and received especial attention throughout the week. A telegram was sent to Mrs. Ida Husted Harper of New York in recognition of her constant, untiring work on the last volumes of the History of Woman Suffrage, still in progress. Very laudatory resolutions of "sincere gratitude" were adopted and sent to Will H. Hays and Homer Cummings, chairmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees, for their services in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Five large rooms in the hotel were required for the 1,400 guests who attended the "ratification banquet" the evening of February 14 and there were almost as many disappointed women who could not obtain seats. Mrs. Catt presided and the following program of sparkling speeches was given: The Apology of New York [for re-election of U. S. Senator Wadsworth], Mrs. F. Louis Slade; The Specials of the Middle West, Mrs. Peter Olsen, Minnesota; Tradition vs. Justice, Mrs. Pattie Jacobs, Alabama; By the Grace of Governors, Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Wyoming; "All's Well That Ends Well," Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Arkansas. Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, "cheer leader," had prepared a program of well-known songs cleverly adapted to suffrage and set to popular airs.

The culminating feature, arranged by Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, was a living "ratification valentine." On the stage was disclosed a big heart of silver and blue and in the opening appeared one after another the faces of the presidents of the States whose Legislatures had ratified and they recited caustic but good humored rhymes at the expense of the women whose States were still in outer darkness. It was a hilarious occasion greatly enjoyed by the younger suffragists and those who had come late

from the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It then passed to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and was in her home at Moylan, Penn., until the national suffrage headquarters were opened in Washington December, 1916, when it was taken there. At the time they were closed, after the Federal Suffrage Amendment had been submitted by Congress, the table found a final haven in the Smithsonian Institution.

into the movement. Many memories were awakened, however, in those older in years and service of the days when conventions were largely a time of serious conferences and impassioned appeal; a time when one banquet table was all sufficient but those who gathered around it were very near and dear to each other as they consecrated themselves anew to continue the work till the hour of victory, which seemed very far ahead.

The 14th of February was the seventy-third birthday of Dr. Shaw, who had died the preceding July 2, and the 15th was the one hundredth of Susan B. Anthony, falling on Sunday this year, but it was arranged to have the memorial services for Dr. Shaw on the afternoon of this day. The following program was carried out:

MEMORIAL TO DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW  
Fourth Presbyterian Church  
Corner Lake Shore Drive and Delaware Place  
Dr. Stone, pastor of the church, presiding.  
Sunday, February 15, 1921.

“She was a genuine American with all the qualities which in fiction collect about that name but which are not so often seen in real life; an American with the measureless patience, the deep and gentle humor, the whimsical and tolerant philosophy and the dauntless courage, physical as well as moral, which we find most satisfyingly displayed in Lincoln, of all our heroes.”—*New York Times*.

Organ Prelude, “In Memoriam.”

Anthem by Choir, “How blest are they.”

Invocation.

Anthem, “Crossing the bar.”

Scripture Lesson, Bishop Samuel Fallows, D.D., LL.D.

Greetings and Communications, Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees.

Address—Memory Pictures, Mrs. Florence Cotnam.

Anthem—The Shepherds and Wise Men. (Composed for this occasion by Witter Bynner and A. Madely Richardson.)

Address—The Courageous Leader, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw.

Address—Reminiscences, Miss Jane Addams.

Address—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

A Closing Word, Rev. John Timothy Stone, D.D., LL.D.

The Last Farewell, Dr. Caroline Bartlett Crane.

Hymn—“My Country 'Tis of Thee.”

Benediction.

Choir Refrain.

Organ Postlude—Toccata.

Eric Delamater, formerly director of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, was the organist. It was a most impressive occasion with many evidences of deep feeling, and, although it was a church service, the audience responded with warm applause as Mrs. Catt closed her eulogy with this beautiful comparison: "A significant ceremony is performed each Easter in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. In the wall that encloses the tomb of Christ there is an opening which on Easter Sunday is surrounded by priests of the shrine carrying unlighted candles. It is believed that the candles are touched into flame by a holy fire emanating from Divinity through this opening. Also provided with candles are the worshippers who throng the church, the nearby receiving their light from the priests and passing it on until every candle is aflame. Men nearest the door hasten to light the candles of horsemen outside who speed away on the mission of torchbearer to every home, so that by nightfall the candles on every altar burn with a new brightness that has been transmitted from the holy fire. Likewise the fire of inspiration, kindled in the great soul of Anna Howard Shaw, touched into flame the zeal and courage of her messengers, who in turn reached the homes throughout the nation with her fervor and power."

[Dr. Shaw had given forty-five years of consecrated devotion to the cause of woman suffrage and this was the first national convention for nearly thirty years without the inspiration of her presence. She first met Miss Anthony at the International Council of Women in Washington in 1888 and from that time gave her the deepest affection and truest allegiance. While the years went by she became nearer and dearer to Miss Anthony and was loved by her beyond all others. As an orator she played upon the whole gamut of human emotions, lifting her audiences to intellectual heights, touching their sentiment with her exquisite pathos, convincing them with her keen logic and winning their hearts with her irresistible humor. People not only admired but loved her, and this was true not alone in the United States but in all parts of the world, as she had addressed international congresses in most of the large cities of Europe. She lived to see the submission by Congress of the Federal Suffrage Amendment



and to render most valuable assistance to her country during the World War as chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, and she died in its service.]

There was considerable discussion in the convention of a suitable memorial to Dr. Shaw and finally a resolution was adopted that the association establish an official joint memorial—at Bryn Mawr College a Foundation in Politics and at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania a Foundation in Preventive Medicine—as a fitting continuation of her life work;<sup>1</sup> that a committee be appointed to carry out the project by appealing to the women throughout the country and that this committee be incorporated and assume the financial responsibility.<sup>2</sup> The Chair presented as the first donation towards the fund a check of \$1,000 sent by Mrs. George Howard Lewis of Buffalo, in memory of Dr. Shaw on her birthday. The gift was accompanied by an eloquent tribute from Mrs. Lewis, an intimate and devoted friend of nearly twenty years, in which she gave beautiful quotations from Dr. Shaw's letters and an extract from her charming autobiography, *The Story of a Pioneer*.<sup>3</sup>

As had long been the custom the officers of the association gave an informal reception to the delegates and friends on Sunday evening. This took place in the Congress Hotel and they were assisted by the local committee of arrangements.

The final report of the Oversea Hospitals maintained by the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Shaw was a graduate of Albion College, Mich.; of the medical department of Boston University and of its School of Theology. The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred on her by Temple University, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. John O. Miller, president of the Pennsylvania State Suffrage Association, was appointed chairman of this committee, to which six others were added and it was decided to raise \$500,000 to be divided between the two colleges. When Bryn Mawr was making its "drive" for \$2,000,000 in 1920 it included an appeal for \$100,000 for this chair in politics, which were subscribed. The Medical College raised \$30,000 for the chair in preventive medicine. The committee hopes to have the full amount by Feb. 14, 1922.

Several months before, at the invitation of Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, a meeting had been held at Barnard College, Columbia University, to arrange for the Anna Howard Shaw Chair of American Citizenship. It was addressed by President Nicholas Murray Butler, who strongly favored it; by Dean Gildersleeve, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw and other alumnae and a committee formed to raise \$100,000, of which amount \$4,000 were subscribed at that time. Mrs. George McAneny (a daughter of Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi) was made chairman and the other members were Barnard alumnae and well-known workers for woman suffrage. The convention was asked to endorse the project, which was done. The committee expects soon to have the full amount. These lectures on American Citizenship will not be confined to Barnard students but will be offered to women in general.

<sup>3</sup> For accounts and tributes see Appendix for this chapter.

National Association, as given by Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman, and Mrs. Raymond Brown, general director in France, is in the chapter on the War Work of Organized Suffragists.

A brief report of the Leslie Bureau of Education was made by Miss Young who said: "The Leslie Bureau was founded by Mrs. Catt in 1917, as administratrix of the fortune left to her to promote the cause of suffrage by Mrs. Frank Leslie. Mrs. Catt cherished the view that if the public were thoroughly educated on the subject of suffrage it would be wholly in favor of it. She proposed to set aside a large part of the Leslie fund for use in channels of education. I was appointed director of the bureau and departmentalized it under the following heads: News, Field Work, Features, Research. . . . The *Woman Citizen* was termed "an adventure in journalism." Miss Young was editor-in-chief and business manager and Miss Mary Ogden White was associate editor. "The great body of testimony shows," she said, "that the service of the magazine has been at all times indispensable."

Miss Esther G. Ogden, president of the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., supplemented Mrs. Shuler's report of its dissolution, paid a tribute to its board of directors and said: "In reviewing the six years of the company's existence a few facts come to my mind which I think may interest you. We have printed and distributed over 50,000,000 pieces of literature. Besides supplying suffrage material to practically every State in the Union we have filled orders from Switzerland, France, Italy, Great Britain, Norway, Canada, Philippine Islands, Hawaiian Islands, Porto Rico, Argentina, China and Japan. Recently we have been asked to send a complete line of our publications to the new American Library in Rome, Italy, and nearly every day we receive requests for pamphlets from libraries all over the United States and from universities for their extension courses. My correspondence and association with suffragists over the country through the Publishing Company will ever be among the happiest memories of my life."

Almost every State president submitted a report of vigorous work either to secure the suffrage or where this had been done to organize and put into operation a League of Women Voters.

Never before in the history of the National Association had so much interest and activity been manifest in the States.

The Pioneer Suffrage Luncheon with Mrs. McCormick presiding brought together many of the older workers, whose rejoicing over the final victory after their long years of toil and sacrifice such as the younger ones had never known, was lessened by the thought that this was the last of the love feasts which they had shared together for many decades. The response to the leading toast—What the Modern Woman Owes to the Pioneers—was made by the Rev. Olympia Brown, now eighty-four years old, whose excellent voice was not equalled among any of the younger women. Songs, reminiscences and clever, informal speeches contributed to a most delightful afternoon.

It had been a keen disappointment that the Jubilee Convention of the preceding year—March, 1919—which marked the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the association, could not have celebrated the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment but this had to await a new Congress. Now it was almost unendurable that this commemoration of Miss Anthony's one hundredth birthday could not have been glorified by the proclamation that this amendment was forever a part of the National Constitution. However, by the time another month had rolled by, this culmination of her life work awaited the ratification of only one more Legislature and it was so universally recognized as near at hand that this last meeting could appropriately be termed the Victory Convention. Following is the program of the celebration of her centenary:

#### SUSAN B. ANTHONY CENTENARY CELEBRATION.

"To me Susan B. Anthony was an unceasing inspiration—the torch that illumined my life. We went through some difficult times together—years when we fought hard for each inch of headway gained—but I found full compensation for every effort in the glory of working with her for the cause that was first in our hearts and in the happiness of being her trusted friend."—Anna Howard Shaw.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1920, 2 p. m.

What Happened in Ten Decades Briefly Told:

1820-1830—The Age of Mobs and Eggs.

Mrs. E. F. Feickert, president of New Jersey.

- 1830-1840—The First School Suffrage.  
Mrs. Desha Breckenridge, president of Kentucky.
- 1840-1850—The Dawn of Property Rights.  
Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, former president of Missouri.
- 1850-1860—The First High School for Girls.  
Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, president of Massachusetts.
- 1860-1870—The World's First Full Suffrage.  
Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, professor of Political Science, University of Wyoming.
- 1870-1880—The Negro's Hour.  
Mrs. Henry Youmans, president of Wisconsin.
- 1880-1890—The First Municipal Suffrage.  
Mrs. William A. Johnston, president of Kansas.
- 1890-1900—Suffrage Spreads.  
Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, former press director of Pennsylvania.
- 1900-1910—Ridicule Gives Way to Argument, Indifference to to Organization.  
Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, president of Ohio.
- 1910-1920—The Portent of Victory.  
Mrs. Raymond Brown, national vice-president.
- Miss Anthony—An Appreciation, Mrs. Harriette Taylor Treadwell, member of the Illinois board.
- Miss Anthony—A Historical Recognition, Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, national vice-president.

#### THE SUFFRAGE HONOR ROLL.

“Undaunted by opposition brave spirits led on.”

PRESENTATION OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS BY THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION to Pioneers, those who labored before 1880; Veterans, those who labored between 1880 and 1900; Honor Workers after 1900.

While Mrs. Catt was busy handing out the honor rolls to pioneers and veterans with a few precious words to each, Mrs. Upton came suddenly forward and laid a detaining hand on her arm. With tender reminiscence, relieved by the sparkles of humor never absent from whatever she said, she presented in the name of countless suffragists an exquisite pin, a large star sapphire surrounded by diamonds and set in platinum. It was the association's parting gift to its beloved leader, whose usually perfect poise deserted her and she could not acknowledge it. To her whispered appeal to Mrs. Upton to speak for her, the latter laugh-

ingly answered that this was the first time she ever was able to do something that Mrs. Catt could not.

The evening part of the celebration began with community singing, William Griswold Smith, director, and was followed by an illustration of *Then and Now, Told in Pictures*, under the management of Miss Young. Down a wide flight of stairs came one picturesque figure after another garbed to represent the passing years during the suffrage contest, beginning with the middle of the last century, many clothed in the actual garments worn at the period, and after crossing the stage they took their seats in tiers, a lovely spectacle. At the last came the Red Cross workers, the nurses, the motor corps and others in war service. The picture ended with a gay group of debutantes in filmy chiffon gowns to symbolize the present day of rejoicing. The triumphs of women in the intellectual field were told in the program that followed: Education—Professor Maria L. Sanford; Medicine—Dr. Julia Holmes Smith; Law—Miss Florence Allen; Theology—the Rev. Olympia Brown; Journalism—Miss Ethel M. Colson; Politics—Miss Mary Garrett Hay.

Different sections of the League of Women Voters were in session day and night perfecting the organization of this most significant association of women ever attempted. The culmination of seventy years' continuous effort was about to be reached in the complete and universal enfranchisement of women and now a new generation, under the guidance of the older workers who remained, was bravely taking up another great task, that of bringing about cooperation among women in the effective use of this supreme power for the highest welfare of the State. On the last afternoon of the convention the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the League of Women Voters held a joint session for discussion of matters in which they had a mutual interest. On the last evening, just before the beginning of the first session of the School for Political Education in the Florentine Room, Mrs. Catt, with suitable ceremony formally adjourned the Victory Convention, the last of a series held for fifty years by the old association.

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.<sup>1</sup>

The first convention in all history to consider the Rights of Women was called by Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and two others to meet July 19, 20, 1848, at Seneca Falls in western New York, Mrs. Stanton's home.<sup>2</sup> In 1851 the work was taken up by Susan B. Anthony, destined to be its supreme leader for the next half century. Meetings soon began to take place and societies to be formed in various States, so that by 1861 there was a well-defined movement toward woman suffrage. Large conventions were held annually in eastern and western cities, in which the most prominent men and women participated. The commencement of the Civil War ended all efforts for this object and its leaders devoted themselves for the next five years to the women's part of every war. In May, 1866, Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony issued a call for the scattered forces to come together in convention in New York City, and here began the movement for woman suffrage which continued without a break for fifty-four years.

No large extension of the franchise had been made since the government was founded except to the working men between 1820 and 1830 and this had been accomplished by amending State constitutions. There had been no thought of enfranchising women in any other way but now Congress, for the purpose of giving the ballot to the recently freed negro men, was about to submit an amendment to the National Constitution. This convention was called to protest against "class legislation" and demand that women should be included. It adopted a Memorial to Congress, prepared by Mrs. Stanton, which contained a portion of Charles Sumner's great speech, Equal Rights for All, and was

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, author of the Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, and with Miss Anthony of Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage, which ended with 1900.

<sup>2</sup> For full account see History of Woman Suffrage, Volume I, page 67.

a complete statement of woman's right to the franchise. In Miss Anthony's address she said: "Up to this hour we have looked only to State action for recognition of our rights but now, by the results of the war, the whole question of suffrage reverts to Congress and the United States Constitution. The duty of Congress at this moment is to declare what shall be the true basis of representation in a republican form of government."

As soon as the intention to submit the 14th Amendment was announced Miss Anthony and her co-workers began rolling up petitions to Congress that it should provide for the enfranchisement of women and tens of thousands of names had been sent to Washington. These petitions represented the first effort ever made for an amendment to the Federal Constitution for woman suffrage and the action of this convention marked the first organized demand—May 10, 1866. At this time the American Equal Rights Association was formed and the Woman's Rights Society merged with it, as having a larger scope.<sup>1</sup>

The following month the 14th Amendment was submitted by Congress for the ratification of the State Legislatures and it was declared adopted by the necessary three-fourths in July, 1868. By this amendment the status of citizenship was for the first time definitely established—"All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens." This plainly put men and women on an exact equality as to citizenship. Then followed the broad statement: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." This also seemed to guarantee the equal rights of men and women. It was the second section which aroused the advocates of suffrage for women to vigorous protest:

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to the *male* inhabitants of such State, being 21 years of age and citizens of the United States,

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, Chapter XVI.

or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such *male* citizens shall bear to the whole number of *male* citizens 21 years of age in such State.

Up to this time there was no mention of suffrage in the Federal Constitution except the provision for electing members of the Lower House of Congress but now for the first time it actually discriminated against women by imposing a penalty on the States for preventing men from voting but leaving them entirely free to prohibit women. When even this penalty proved insufficient to protect negro men in their attempts to vote, Congress in 1869 submitted a 15th Amendment which was declared ratified the following year: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Those who had been striving for two decades to obtain suffrage for women protested by every means in their power against this second discrimination. They implored and demanded that the word "sex" should be included in this amendment, which would have forever settled the question, just as the omission of the word "male" in the 14th Amendment would have settled it. The most of the men who had stood by them in their early struggles for the vote, when both were working together for the freedom of the slaves, now sacrificed them rather than imperil the political rights of the negro men. Some of the women themselves were persuaded to abandon their opposition to these amendments by the promise of the Republican leaders that as soon as they were safely entrenched in the constitution another should be placed there providing for woman suffrage. This promise they did not try to keep and it remained unfulfilled over fifty years. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were never for one moment deceived or silenced but in their paper, *The Revolution*, they opposed these amendments as long as they were pending.

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Although the protests were in vain the women had learned that they might be relieved of the intolerable burden of having to obtain the suffrage State by State through permission of a



majority of the individual voters. They had seen an entire class enfranchised through the quicker and easier way of amending the Federal Constitution and they determined to invoke this power in their own behalf. From the office of *The Revolution* in New York in the autumn of 1868 went out thousands of petitions to be signed and sent to Congress for the submission of an amendment to enfranchise women. Immediately after its assembling in December, 1868, Senator S. C. Pomeroy of Kansas introduced a resolution providing that "the basis of suffrage shall be that of citizenship and all native or naturalized citizens shall enjoy the same rights and privileges of the elective franchise but each State shall determine the age, etc." A few days later Representative George W. Julian of Indiana offered one in the House which declared: "The right of suffrage shall be based on citizenship . . . and all citizens, native or naturalized, shall enjoy this right equally . . . without any distinction or discrimination founded on sex." These were the first propositions ever made in Congress for woman suffrage by National Amendment.

In order to impress Congress with the seriousness of the demand, a woman's convention—the first of its kind to meet in the national capital—was held in Washington in January, 1869. It continued several days with large audiences and an array of eminent speakers, including Lucretia Mott, Clara Barton, Mrs. Stanton, a number of men and Miss Anthony, the moving spirit of the whole. In response Congress the next month submitted the 15th Amendment with even a stronger discrimination against women than the 14th contained.

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The annual gatherings of the Equal Rights Association had been growing more and more stormy while the 14th and 15th Amendments were pending and the point was reached where any criticism of them made by the women was met by their advocates with hisses and denunciation. Finally at the meeting of May 12, 1869, in New York City, with Mrs. Stanton presiding, an attempt was made, led by Frederick Douglass, to force through a resolution of endorsement. Miss Anthony opposed it in an impassioned speech in which she said: "If you will not give the whole loaf of justice to the entire people, then give it first to women, to the

most intelligent and capable of them at least. . . . If Mr. Douglass had noticed who applauded when he said black men first and white women afterwards, he would have seen that it was only the men."

The men succeeded in wresting the control of the convention from the women, who then decided that the time had come for them to have their own organization and endeavor to have the question of their enfranchisement considered entirely on its own merits. Three days later, at the Women's Bureau in East 23rd Street, where now the Metropolitan Life Building stands, with representatives present from nineteen States, the National Woman Suffrage Association was formed. Mrs. Stanton was made president, Miss Anthony chairman of the executive committee. One hundred women became members that evening and here was begun the organized work for an Amendment to the Federal Constitution to confer woman suffrage which was to continue without ceasing for half a century.<sup>1</sup> Its constitution declared the object of the association to be "to secure the ballot to the women of the Nation on equal terms with men." On June 1 its executive board sent a petition to Congress for "a 16th Amendment to be submitted to the Legislatures of the States for ratification which shall secure to all citizens the right of suffrage without distinction of sex."

Before the work for a 16th Amendment was fairly organized a number of members of Congress and constitutional lawyers took the ground that women were already enfranchised by the first clause of the 14th Amendment. At the convention held in St. Louis in the autumn of 1869, Francis Minor, a prominent lawyer of that city, presented this position so convincingly that the newly formed National Association conducted an active campaign in its favor for several years. In 1872 women tried to vote in a number of States and in a few of them were successful. Miss Anthony's vote was accepted in Rochester, N. Y., and later she was arrested, charged with a *crime*, tried by a Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court and fined \$100. The inspectors in St. Louis refused to

<sup>1</sup> The American Woman Suffrage Association was organized in Cleveland, O., Nov. 25, 1869, with the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, president; Lucy Stone, chairman of the executive committee, to work especially for amending State constitutions. The two bodies united in February, 1890, under the name National American and the association thenceforth worked vigorously by both methods.

register Mrs. Francis Minor, she brought suit against them, and her husband carried the case to the Supreme Court of the United States (*Minor vs. Happersett*). He made an able and exhaustive argument but an adverse decision was rendered March 29, 1875.<sup>1</sup>

The women then returned to the original demand for a 16th Amendment, which indeed many of them, including Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, never had entirely abandoned. Beginning with 1869 Congressional committees had granted hearings on woman suffrage every winter, even though no resolution was before them. Under the auspices of the National Association petitions by the tens of thousands continued to pour into Congress, which were publicly presented. Finally on Jan. 10, 1878, Senator A. A. Sargent of California offered the following joint resolution: "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."

The Committee on Privileges and Elections granted a hearing which consumed a part of two days, with the large Senate reception room filled to overflowing and the corridors crowded. Extended hearings were given also by the House Judiciary Committee and constitutional arguments of the highest order were made by noted women in attendance at the national suffrage convention. The Senate committee reported adversely, however, and the House committee not at all. This took place over forty years ago. Senator Sargent's amendment, which in later years was sometimes called the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, was presented to every Congress during this period and hearings were granted by committees of every one. The women who made their pleadings and arguments simply to persuade these committees to give a favorable report and bring the question before their respective Houses for debate comprised the most distinguished this country had produced. It is only by reading their addresses in the *History of Woman Suffrage* that one can form an idea of their masterly exposition of laws and constitution, their logic, strength and oftentimes deep pathos.

There are in the pages of history many detached speeches of rare eloquence for the rights of man but nowhere else is there so

<sup>1</sup> *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume II, page 734.

long an unbroken record of appeals for these rights—the rights of man and woman. Again and again at the close of the suffrage hearings the chairman and members of the committee said that none on other questions equalled them in dignity and ability. From 1878 to 1896 there were five favorable majority reports from Senate committees, two from House committees and four adverse reports. Thereafter, when Miss Anthony no longer spent her winters in Washington and persisted in having a report, none of any kind was made until the movement for woman suffrage entered a new era in 1912. One significant event, however, occurred during this time. Largely through the efforts of Senator Henry W. Blair (Rep.) of New Hampshire, the resolution for a 16th Amendment was brought before the Senate. After a long and earnest discussion the vote on Jan. 25, 1887, resulted in 16 ayes, all Republican; 34 noes, eleven Republican, twenty-three Democratic; twenty-six absent.<sup>1</sup>

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It early became apparent to the leaders of the movement that there would have to be a good deal of favorable action by the States before Congress would give serious consideration to this question and therefore under the auspices of the National American Association, they continuously helped with money and work the campaigns for securing the suffrage by amendment of State constitutions. Miss Anthony herself took part in eight such campaigns, only to see all of them end in failure. Up to 1910 there had been at least twenty and only two had been successful—Colorado, 1893; Idaho, 1896; Wyoming and Utah had equal suffrage while Territories and came into the Union with it in their constitutions, but all were sparsely settled States whose influence on Congress was slight. Commercialism had become the dominating force in politics and moral issues were crowded into the background. Nevertheless in every direction was evidence of an increasing public sentiment in favor of woman suffrage in the accession of men and women of influence, in the large audiences at the meetings, in the official endorsement of all kinds of organizations—the Federation of Labor, the Grange and many others of men, of women and of the two together, for educational, patriotic,

<sup>1</sup> For full account see *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume IV, Chapter VI.

religious, civic and varied purposes almost without number. There was not yet, however, any strong political influence back of this movement which was so largely of a political nature.

In 1910 an insurgent movement developed in Congress and extended into various States to throw off the party yoke and the domination of "special interests" and adopt progressive measures. One of its first fruits was the granting of suffrage to women by the voters in the State of Washington. Under the same influence the women of California were enfranchised in 1911, a far-reaching victory. In 1912 Oregon, Arizona and the well populated State of Kansas adopted woman suffrage by popular vote. In 1913 the new Legislature of Alaska granted it, and that of Illinois gave all that was possible without a referendum to the voters, including municipal, county and that for Presidential electors. In 1914 Nevada and Montana completed the enfranchisement of women in the western part of the United States, except in New Mexico.

The effect upon Congress of the addition of between three and four million women to the electorate was immediately apparent. A woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution had suddenly become a live question. A circumstance greatly in its favor was the shattering of the traditional idea that the Federal Constitution must not be further amended, by the adoption of two new Articles—for an income tax and the election of U. S. Senators by the voters.

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In 1912 came the division in Republican ranks and the forming of the Progressive party, headed by former President Theodore Roosevelt, which made woman suffrage one of the principal planks in its platform, and for the first time it took a place among the other political issues. The Republican party so long in power was defeated. Woman suffrage never had received any special assistance from this party during its long régime but the entire situation had now changed. The National Association appointed a Congressional Committee of young, energetic women headed by Miss Alice Paul, a university graduate with experience in civic work in this country and England. They arranged an immense suffrage parade in which women from many States participated.

It took place in Washington March 3, 1913, the day before the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson, and the new administration entered into office with a broader idea of the strength of the movement than its predecessor had possessed. An extra session was soon called and Senate and House Resolution Number One, introduced April 7, was for a Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. The chairmanship of the new Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, instead of being filled as usual by an opponent, was given to Senator Charles S. Thomas (Dem.) of Colorado, always an ardent suffragist, and a friendly committee was appointed—Robert L. Owen (Okla.); Henry F. Ashurst (Ariz.); Joseph E. Ransdell (La.); Henry P. Hollis, (N. H.); George Sutherland (Utah); Wesley L. Jones (Wash.); Moses E. Clapp (Minn.); Thomas B. Catron (N. M.). There were now eighteen members of the Senate with women constituents and several million women were eligible to vote, so that it was possible to bring a pressure which had never before existed. Many of the large newspapers were declaring that the time had come for the submission of this amendment to the State Legislatures.

On May 3 a great suffrage procession took place in New York with a mass meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House addressed by Colonel Roosevelt, who made a ringing speech in favor of votes for women. On June 13 the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage gave a unanimous favorable report, Senator Catron, the only opponent, not voting. On July 31 the resolution was discussed on the floor of the Senate, twenty-two speaking in favor and three in opposition. It had been referred to the Judiciary Committee in the Lower House, where resolutions also were introduced for the creation of a Committee on Woman Suffrage and referred to the Committee on Rules. During July pilgrimages of women came from different parts of the country and on the 31st a petition with 200,000 signatures was presented to the Senate by 531 "pilgrims." Three deputations called on President Wilson asking his support of the amendment, one from the National American Association, one from the National College Equal Suffrage League and one from the National Council of Women Voters, and in November a fourth from his own State of New Jersey. Congress remained in session all summer and

mass suffrage meetings in theaters were held in Washington. The large corps of newspaper correspondents were constantly supplied with news. Countless suffrage meetings were held in Maryland, Virginia and all the way up to New York and the members were kept constantly informed of the activities in their own districts. On September 18 Senator Ashurst announced on the floor of the Senate that he would press the resolution to a vote at the earliest possible moment and Senator Andrieus A. Jones of New Mexico spoke in favor and asked for immediate action.

During the regular session in 1914 the resolution was discussed at different times and many strong speeches in favor were made. The Senate vote, which was taken on March 19, stood, ayes, 35; noes, 34; lacking eleven of a necessary two-thirds majority. Twenty Republicans, one Progressive and fourteen Democrats voted aye; twelve Republicans and twenty-two Democrats voted no; ten Republicans and sixteen Democrats were absent. For the first time southern Senators declared in favor of giving suffrage to women by amending the National Constitution—Senators Owen, Ransdell, Luke Lea of Tennessee and Morris Shepard of Texas voting in the affirmative.

For a trial vote this was considered satisfactory. The effort in the Lower House was not so successful. Its Judiciary Committee had been continuously opposed to allowing the amendment to reach the Representatives, but two favorable majority reports having been made in the thirty-six years during which the question had been before it (1883, 1890). A larger Congressional Committee had been formed by the National Suffrage Association, of which the chairman was Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick, a daughter of former U. S. Senator Mark Hanna, who had inherited her father's genius for constructive politics. Headquarters were opened in the Munsey Building in Washington and the work was divided into three departments—Lobby, Publicity and Organization. Careful and systematic effort was made and it was followed by the Senate vote recorded above. A record was compiled of the votes of every member of Congress on prohibition, child labor and various humanitarian and welfare measures and sent to the women in his district for use in urging him to vote for the suffrage amendment. Organizers were placed where

needed to hold meetings and arrange for chairmen of counties who would cooperate with the national committee in bringing pressure on members from their own constituencies.

The Federal Amendment as usual was held up in the House Judiciary Committee in 1914. The suffrage leaders had tried for years to get a House Committee on Woman Suffrage, such as the Senate had. A resolution for this purpose had been introduced by Representative Edward T. Taylor of Colorado in April, 1913, referred to the Committee on Rules, an extended hearing granted, but no action taken. Mrs. McCormick's committee brought great pressure to bear and on Jan. 24, 1914, the question came before the Committee on Rules through a motion by Representative Irvine L. Lenroot (Wis.) to make a favorable report. Eight of the eleven members were present and Martin D. Foster (Ills.), Philip P. Campbell (Kans.), and M. Clyde Kelly (Penn.) voted with Mr. Lenroot; James C. Cantrill (Ky.), Finis J. Garrett (Tenn.), Edward W. Pou (N. C.) and Thos. W. Hardwick (Ga.) voted in the negative, making a tie. Two of the absent members were known to be favorable and a Democratic caucus was called for February 3 to discuss the matter. Just before it met the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, who constitute the ruling body of that party's membership, met in the office of Representative Oscar W. Underwood (Ala.). Representative John E. Raker (Cal.) offered a resolution for the creation of a Committee on Woman Suffrage. Representative J. Thomas Heflin (Ala.) moved a substitute: "Resolved, that it is the sense of this caucus that woman suffrage is a State and not a Federal question." It was carried by 123 ayes, 55 noes and further action blocked.

The House Judiciary Committee, after granting a hearing to the suffragists on March 3, 1914, voted to report the resolution for a Federal Amendment "without recommendation." At a meeting of the Rules Committee August 27 Representative Campbell moved that an opportunity be given to the House to vote on submitting this amendment. Representatives Pou, Garrett and Cantrill voted to adjourn; Campbell, Kelly and Goldfogle



(N. Y.) against it. Chairman Robert L. Henry (Texas) gave the deciding vote to adjourn.<sup>1</sup>

During this year of 1914, while such heroic efforts were being made to secure favorable action by Congress on a Federal Amendment and the workers were being told that they should look to the States for the suffrage, hard campaigns were carried on for this purpose in seven States. In only two, and those the most sparsely settled—Montana and Nevada—were they successful. Even these had their influence, however, as they added four to the U. S. Senators who were elected partly by the votes of women. The National Suffrage Association continued Mrs. McCormick as chairman of its Congressional Committee and she increased her forces. Although the Judiciary Committee had reported the resolution for the Federal Amendment "without recommendation" Representative Frank W. Mondell, who introduced it, and its other friends were determined to have a vote on it and a reluctant consent was obtained from the Committee on Rules. The Congressional Committee directed its fullest energies toward obtaining as large an affirmative vote as was possible. Through the courtesy of Speaker Champ Clark they learned who would be the probable speakers and carefully assorted literature was sent them. Thousands of letters and telegrams poured in upon the members from their constituencies. Every available pressure was used to obtain favorable votes and to have all the friends present. Mr. Mondell, the Republican leader, and Mr. Taylor, the Democratic, gave fullest support. The first debate on this amendment in the House of Representatives took place on Jan. 12, 1915, and lasted ten hours without intermission. At its conclusion the vote resulted in 174 ayes, 88 Republicans and Progressives, 86 Democrats; 204 noes, 33 Republicans and 171 Democrats. The affirmative vote was larger than expected. The suffragists had been thirty-seven years trying to secure a vote in the Lower House and they felt that this was the beginning which could have but one end.

Both the suffragists and the anti-suffragists now redoubled their efforts. The four big campaigns of 1915 in Massachusetts

<sup>1</sup> In 1913 and the years following strenuous work with members of Congress was done by the Congressional Union, afterwards called the National Woman's Party.

New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania for suffrage amendments to their State constitutions attracted the attention of the whole country. All failed of success at the November election but the effects were not wholly disastrous. The announcement by President Wilson and the majority of his Cabinet that they were in favor of woman suffrage brought many doubters into the fold. The two-thirds vote of Massachusetts in opposition set that State aside as one in which women could only hope to gain the suffrage through a Federal Amendment. In New Jersey in one county alone thousands of votes were afterwards found to have been cast illegally and there was colossal fraud throughout the State, yet the law did not permit the question to be submitted again for five years. In Pennsylvania the amendment polled over 46 per cent of the whole vote cast on it and was defeated by the notoriously dishonest election practices of Philadelphia, but by the law of that State it could not be submitted again for four years. The facts thus disclosed converted many people to a belief in the necessity for an amendment to the National Constitution.

In New York the measure had received 42½ per cent. of the vote cast on it; in New Jersey 42 per cent. (by the returns), and the total vote in the four States of a million and a quarter for the amendments was indisputable evidence of the large sentiment for woman suffrage. The immense cost of these campaigns in time, labor and money made it seem more than ever necessary to bring about the short cut to the universal enfranchisement of women through a Federal Amendment. The Congressional Committee was strengthened and as Mrs. McCormick could no longer act as chairman it was headed by Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, the efficient president of the State association in the recent Pennsylvania campaign. Resolutions for the amendment were presented to the Senate on December 7 by Senators Thomas, Sutherland and Thompson (Kans.). On Jan. 8, 1916, the favorable report was made by Senator Thomas, a valuable document, widely circulated by the National Association. This was the year of the Presidential campaign and there was no time when the prospect for a majority vote seemed good enough to take the risk. It was carefully considered after Judge Charles E. Hughes, the Republican candidate for President, made his declaration for the Federal

Amendment but many members were absent and a vote was not deemed advisable. The planks in the Republican and Democratic national platforms demanding woman suffrage by State action deprived it of political support.

The Judiciary Committee of the House, Edwin Y. Webb (N. C.), chairman, added to its unpleasant reputation. Resolutions for the amendment were introduced in December, 1915, by five members—Representatives Mondell, Raker, Taylor, Keating of Colorado and Hayden of Arizona. They were referred to a sub-committee which on Feb. 9, 1916, reported one of them to the main committee "without recommendation." On the 15th it sent the resolution back to the sub-committee to hold until the next December by a vote of 9, all Democrats, to 7, three Democrats and four Republicans. As this was done when many were absent the Congressional Committee undertook to have the Judiciary take up the resolution again when the full committee could be present. It finally agreed to do so on March 14. Twenty of the twenty-one members were present, nine opponents and eleven friends, Hunter H. Moss of West Virginia among the latter coming from a sick bed. A motion was made to reconsider the action of February 15, which Chairman Webb ruled out of order. A debate of an hour and a half followed and to relieve the parliamentary tangle unanimous consent was given to act on the amendment resolution March 28 at 10:30 a.m. Four members of the National Association's Congressional Committee were on hand at that time but the Judiciary went at once into executive session, which barred them out. Instead of presenting the amendment resolution for consideration, which was the chairman's duty when there was a special order of business, he permitted a motion to postpone all constitutional amendments indefinitely! Ten of the members present were pledged to vote for a favorable report but Representative Leonidas C. Dyer of Missouri defaulted and voted with the nine opponents and no further action in 1916 was possible.

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With the whole country now aroused to the importance of the votes of women in the election of a President the suffrage leaders saw the opportune time for pushing a measure which they had

long advocated, namely, the granting to women by State Legislatures of the right to vote for Presidential electors. That of Illinois had been persuaded to do this in 1913; they had exercised it in 1916 and its constitutionality had been established by the acceptance of the State's vote in the Electoral College. As soon as the Legislatures of the various States met in 1917 they received from the headquarters of the National American Association in New York the opinion of Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina that the Federal Constitution empowered Legislatures to determine who should vote for Presidential electors, with the authorities and arguments to support it. The presidents of the State suffrage associations affiliated with the National were prepared to take up the matter at once with their Legislatures and as a result those of North Dakota, Nebraska, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and Rhode Island conferred this vote on women during the winter. That of Arkansas gave to women full suffrage in all Primaries, equivalent to a vote in regular elections, and that of Vermont gave the Municipal franchise. The following November came the great victory in New York.

This was the situation when Congress met in December, 1917. Mrs. Roessing could not serve longer as chairman of the Congressional Committee and the National Association had appointed Mrs. Maud Wood Park (Mass.), a founder and organizer of the National College Women's Suffrage League, who had taken up the work in March. The association, whose headquarters were in New York City, had enlarged its staff in Washington and taken a large house for this committee and its work. There on April 2 the first woman ever elected to Congress, Miss Jeannette Rankin of Montana, was entertained at breakfast, made a speech from an upper balcony and was escorted to the Capitol by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, national president, at the head of a cavalcade of decorated automobiles, filled with suffragists. That day the President asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany. The resolution for the Federal Suffrage Amendment was to have been the first introduced in the Senate but the War Resolution took its place and it became Number Two on the calendar. Senator Thomas had given up the chairmanship of the Committee on Woman Suffrage and Senator Andrieus A. Jones



BALCONY OF THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS IN WASHINGTON.  
Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Maud Wood Park

(N. M.) had been appointed. Senators Nelson (Minn.), Johnson (S. D.) Cummins (Iowa) and Johnson (Cal.) had been added to the committee and Senators Ashurst, Sutherland, Clapp and Catron had retired.

In the House the resolution was introduced by Representatives Rankin, Raker, Mondell, Taylor, Keating and Hayden. Both Houses agreed that only legislation pertaining to the war program should be considered during the extra session, which excluded the amendment, but there were some forms of work not prohibited. On April 20 the Senate Committee gave a hearing on it with Mrs. Catt in charge and very strong addresses were made by her and by Senators Shafroth (Colo.), Kendrick (Wyo.), Walsh (Mont.), Smoot (Utah), Thomas, Thompson and Representative Rankin. Thousands of copies were franked and given to the National Association for distribution. On September 15 Chairman Jones made a unanimous favorable report to the Senate. In the House efforts were concentrated on securing a Committee on Woman Suffrage, resolutions for which had been introduced by Representatives Raker, Hayden and Keating and referred to the Committee on Rules. Mrs. Park's report said:

Our first step was to get the approval of Speaker Clark, who gave us cordial support. Later, to offset the fear on the part of certain members of conflicting with President Wilson's legislative program, a letter was sent to Chairman Edward W. Pou (N. C.) of the Rules Committee by the President, who stated that he thought the creation of the committee "would be a very wise act of public policy and also an act of fairness to the best women who are engaged in the cause of woman suffrage."

A petition asking for the creation of a Committee on Woman Suffrage was signed by all members from equal suffrage States and by many of those from Presidential suffrage States, and from Arkansas. This was presented to the Rules Committee, which, on May 18, granted a hearing. On June 6, by a vote of 6 to 5, on motion of Mr. Cantrill a resolution calling for the creation of a Committee on Woman Suffrage to consist of thirteen members, to which all proposed action touching the subject of woman suffrage should be referred, was adopted by the Rules Committee, with an amendment, made by Mr. Lenroot to the effect that the resolution should not be reported in the House until the pending war legislation was out of the way.

The report of the Rules Committee, therefore, was not brought into the House until September 24, when the extremely active opposition of Chairman Webb and most of the other members of the

Judiciary Committee made a hard fight inevitable. Thanks to the hearty support of Speaker Clark, the good management of Chairman Pou and the help of loyal friends of both parties in the House, as well as to the admirable work done by our own State congressional chairmen, the report was adopted by a vote of 180 yeas to 107 nays, with 3 answering present and 142 not voting. Of the favorable votes, 82 were from Democrats and 96 from Republicans. Of the unfavorable votes, 74 were from Democrats and 32 from Republicans. Of those not voting, 59 were Democrats and 81 were Republicans. These facts show that the measure was regarded, as we had hoped that it would be, as strictly non-partisan. The victory came so late in the session that the appointment of the new committee was postponed until the present session.

At the November election in 1917 occurred the greatest victory for woman suffrage ever achieved, when the voters of New York by a majority of 102,353 declared in favor of an amendment to the State constitution granting the complete franchise to women. This added 45 to the members of Congress elected partly by votes of women and presumably obligated to support a Federal Amendment. Colonel Roosevelt and other leading Republicans and Progressives were advocating it and William Jennings Bryan headed the Democratic leaders in its favor. President Wilson had not yet reached this point but he had congratulated Mrs. Catt, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and the other leading suffragists on every victory gained. Both Republican and Democratic opponents now realized that it was inevitable and they could only hope to postpone it. After strong efforts to prevent it the Committee on Woman Suffrage was appointed in the House on December 13 with Judge Raker (Cal.) chairman. Besides himself nine of the thirteen members were openly in favor of submitting the amendment: Benjamin C. Hilliard (Colo.); James H. Mays (Utah); Christopher D. Sullivan (N. Y.); Thomas L. Blanton (Texas); Jeannette Rankin (Mont.); Frank W. Mondell (Wyo.); William H. Carter (Mass.); Edward C. Little (Kans.); Richard N. Elliott (Ind.). Three were opposed: Edward W. Saunders (Va.); Frank Clark (Fla.); Jacob E. Meeker (Mo.).

The Judiciary refused to turn over the amendment resolution to the new Committee but amended it by limiting to seven years the time in which the Legislatures could ratify it, and reported it "without recommendation" on December 11. Democratic floor

leader Claude Kitchin (N. C.) announced that it would come to a vote on the 17th. He was strongly pressed to set a later date, as the required number of votes were not yet assured, but the alternative was probably a long postponement. Finally he consented to wait until January 10. At the beginning of the session, through the initiative of Mrs. Park, a "steering committee" of fifty-three friendly Republicans had been brought together with an executive composed of Mr. Hayden chairman, Mr. French (Ida.) secretary, Mr. Keating, Mr. McArthur (Ore.) and Mr. Cantrill, who had now become an ally. During all of December the National Suffrage Association had a large lobby of influential women working daily at the Capitol with the members from their States. The national suffrage convention met in Washington December 10-16, and, following a plan of Mrs. Catt, the president, Senators from about thirty States invited the Representatives to their offices to meet the women from their States who were attending the convention and many pledges of votes were obtained. In the meantime, at the suggestion of Speaker Clark and Chairman Pou, Judge Raker introduced a new amendment resolution, which went automatically to his own committee, where it was in the hands of a strong friend instead of a bitter opponent as was Mr. Webb.

The Committee on Woman Suffrage held hearings Jan. 3-7, 1918, for the National Suffrage Association, the National Woman's Party and the Anti-Suffrage Association.<sup>1</sup> On the 8th it reported favorably and on the 9th the Committee on Rules voted to give to it instead of the Judiciary Committee charge of the hearing.

Great efforts were made to secure the cooperation of Democratic and Republican leaders. Letters of endorsement were given out by Secretaries McAdoo, Daniels and Baker of the Cabinet among others of influence. It was now understood that President Wilson had come to favor the Federal Amendment but he had not yet spoken. Finally through the mediation of Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, vice-president of the National Suffrage Association, an appointment was made for Chairman Raker and eleven Democratic Representatives to call on the President January 9. After

<sup>1</sup> For full report of this hearing see Chapter XVIII.



a conference he wrote with his own hand the following statement to be made public: "The Woman Suffrage Committee found that the President had not felt at liberty to volunteer his advice to members of Congress in this important matter but when we sought his advice he very frankly and earnestly advised us to vote for the amendment as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and of the world." This declaration had a marked effect on the Democratic members and on the party outside.

On the Republican side, Colonel Roosevelt wrote a letter to Chairman Willcox of the Republican National Committee, urging that the party do everything possible for the amendment, and Mr. Willcox went more than once to Washington to labor with Republican leaders in the House to secure fuller party support for it. On the evening of January 9, a meeting was called in the hope of securing caucus action. It could not be had but the following very moderate resolution was adopted: "The Republican conference of the House of Representatives recommends and advises that the Republican members support the Federal Suffrage Amendment in so far as they can do so consistently with their convictions and the attitude of their constituents"!

Shortly after 12 o'clock on Jan. 10, 1918, with the galleries of the House crowded, Representative Foster (Ills.) presented the rule, which, when adopted, provided for the closing of debate at five o'clock that afternoon and even division of time between supporters and opponents. With Chairman Raker's consent the general debate was opened by Miss Rankin and it continued until five o'clock, when amendments were in order. One, offered by Representative Moores of Indiana, providing for ratification by convention in the several States instead of by the Legislatures, was defeated by a vote of 131 to 274. A second, by Representative Gard of Ohio, limiting the time allowed for ratification by the States to seven years, was defeated by a vote of 158 to 274.

Analyzed by parties and not including pairs, the vote on the joint resolution for submitting the Federal Suffrage Amendment to the Legislatures was as follows:

Republicans .....	165	ayes,	33	noes
Democrats .....	104	"	102	"
Miscellaneous .....	5	"	1	"
	<u>274</u>		<u>136</u>	

This vote was a fraction less than one over the necessary two-thirds. Twenty-three State delegations voted solidly for the amendment: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. The delegations of only six States voted solidly against it—Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

A number of men who voted favorably came to the Capitol at considerable inconvenience to cast their votes. Republican Leader Mann of Illinois at much personal risk came from a hospital in Baltimore. He had not been present in Congress for months and his arrival shortly before five o'clock caused great excitement in the chamber. Representative Sims of Tennessee, who had broken his shoulder two days before, refused to have it set until after the suffrage vote and against the advice of his physician was on the floor for the discussion and the vote. Representative Barnhart of Indiana was taken from his bed in a hospital in Washington and stayed at the Capitol just long enough to cast his vote. One of the New York Representatives came immediately after the death of his wife, who had been an ardent suffragist, and returned on the next train.

When it became apparent that the resolution had carried, the opponents became very active on the floor attempting to persuade some member to change his vote. They demanded a recapitulation but it stood the same as the original vote. Speaker Clark had given his assurance that in case of a tie he would vote in favor. Only one member broke his pledge to the women. The most remarkable feature was that 56 of the affirmative votes were from southern States.

The women were jubilant, as they believed the end of their long struggle was near. It was not anticipated that there would be serious difficulty in the Senate. Its committee had reported favorably and in a short time promises were obtained for the needed two-thirds lacking only three or four. There had been, however, an unprecedented series of deaths in the Senate during the past few months which in the early part of 1918 were in-

creased to ten, seven of whom were pledged to vote for the amendment. Some of the vacancies were filled by friends and some by foes but there was a net loss to it of one. Nevertheless no means were left untried to obtain help from individuals, committees and organizations with influence.

Through the national headquarters in New York a petition signed by a thousand men of nation wide reputation was obtained and presented to the Senate. Among the most important favorable resolutions adopted were those by the Democratic National Committee Feb. 11, 1918; by the Republican National Committee February 12; by the Democratic Congressional Committee June 4; by the model State platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties in Indiana in May and June; by the Republican Congressional Committee; by the General Federation of Women's Clubs May 3; by the American Federation of Labor June 14. Will H. Hays, newly elected chairman of the Republican National Committee, gave interviews in favor and worked diligently in many other ways for its success, as did Vance McCormick, former chairman, and Homer Cummings, present chairman of the National Democratic Committee, and many other men conspicuous in public life.

It was finally decided to take a vote on May 10 but on the 9th so serious a fight in opposition had developed that it was considered best to postpone it. By June 27 the outlook was so favorable that the amendment was brought before the Senate. Senators Poindexter (Wash.) and Thompson (Kans.) spoke in favor, Brandegee (Conn.) in opposition. A wrangle over "pairs" followed and Reed (Mo.) launched a "filibuster." After he had spoken two hours Chairman Jones saw that the situation was hopeless and withdrew his motion.

During the summer representatives of the National Association obtained in Delaware a petition of over 11,000 to Senators Wolcott and Saulsbury to support the amendment. Petitions poured in on other opposing Senators and influence of many kinds was exerted. Only two more votes were needed and it seemed important to put the amendment through before the fall election. On August 24 a conference of Republican Senators was held in Washington to elect a floor leader in place of Senator Gallinger

(N. H.), who had died, and it passed the following resolution: "We shall insist upon the consideration of the Federal Suffrage Amendment immediately after the disposition of the pending unfinished business and upon a final vote at the earliest possible moment, provided that this resolution shall not be construed as in any way binding the action or vote of any member of the Senate upon the merits of said suffrage amendment"!

The friends of the measure could have had "immediate consideration" at almost any time during the past year. They could have had a vote on May 10 had they considered that time favorable. Even on June 27 some way might have been found to obtain it had there been a very great desire to have it taken then. This conference resolution called upon the Senate to vote on it and get it out of the way, no matter whether it should be carried or defeated, and did not even give it the prestige of a favorable endorsement. Here, as in the State's rights plank put into the Republican national platform in 1916, one could easily see the fine hand of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts.

The way was now wide open for President Wilson to secure for the Democratic party the credit for submitting the amendment, which the suffrage leaders were quick to take advantage of. On September 18 a delegation of Democratic women, members of the National American Suffrage Association, had a conference with him to ask his help, which he willingly promised. A few of the newly elected or appointed Senators held out some hope and Chairman Jones gave notice that he would call up the amendment on September 26, as it was most important to get it through at this session, so as not to have it go back to the House.

On August 26 a five days' debate in the Senate began and the report of it in the *Congressional Record* is a historic document which will take its place with the debates on slavery before the Civil War. It was soon apparent that three of the new Senators, who there was reason to hope would vote in favor—Drew of New Hampshire, Baird of New Jersey and Benet of South Carolina—were among the opponents and there would be two less than a two-thirds majority. Every minute was filled with the efforts to obtain these votes and finally an appeal was again made to President Wilson. There was the greatest anxiety until it was learned

that he would take the unprecedented step of addressing the Senate in person on the subject September 30. This was done to the joy of its friends and the wrath of its enemies. Mrs. Park, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National Suffrage Association, said in her report: "For a while our fears were at rest and Monday afternoon when the words of that noble speech fell upon our ears it seemed impossible that a third of the Senate could refuse the never-to-be-forgotten plea.<sup>1</sup>

Scarcely had the door closed upon the President when Senator Underwood took the floor for a prolonged State's rights argument against the amendment. He was followed by others opposed and in favor, during whose speeches the leaders of the opposition of both parties went about among the members trying to counteract the influence of the President's address.

The next day various amendments proposed were defeated; one by Senator Williams (Miss.) to amend by making the resolution read: "The right of *white* citizens to vote shall not be denied, etc.," was laid on the table by a vote of 61 to 22. One by Senator Frelinghuysen (N. J.), denying the vote to "female persons who are not citizens otherwise than by marriage" was also laid on the table by a vote of 53 to 33. One by Senator Fletcher (Fla.) to strike out the words "or by any State" so that the section would read: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States on account of sex," was laid on the table by a vote of 65 to 17.

The Senate vote Oct. 1, 1918, on the amendment itself, stood 54 in favor to 30 against, or, including pairs, 62 in favor to 34 against, two votes short of the needed two-thirds majority. Chairman Jones changed his vote and moved reconsideration, which put the amendment back in its old place on the calendar. Analyzed by parties and including pairs the vote stood:

	Yes	No
Democrats .....	30	22
Republicans .....	32	12
Total .....	62	34

<sup>1</sup> For speech in full see Appendix for this chapter.

President Wilson on the eve of sailing for Europe to the Peace Conference included in his address to a joint session of Congress December 2 another eloquent appeal for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

It had become evident by the action of the 65th Congress that something more efficacious than public opinion or pressure from high sources was required to secure the needed two votes in the Senate. The official board of the National Suffrage Association, therefore, for the first time in its history decided to enter the political campaigns. Those of New Hampshire, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Delaware were selected in the hope of defeating the Senatorial candidates for re-election who had opposed the amendment and electing those who would support it. It was necessary to use influence against Republican candidates in three States and a Democratic candidate in Delaware. Two of these efforts were successful and a Republican, J. Heisler Ball, defeated the Democratic Senator Saulsbury of Delaware, and a Democrat, David I. Walsh, defeated the Republican Senator Weeks of Massachusetts. Both of the new members voted for the amendment in the 66th Congress.

The election returns on November 6 indicated that the necessary two-thirds majority in the 66th Congress had been secured. This belief was shared by prominent Democrats, who from that time spared no effort to make unfriendly Democratic Senators realize the folly of their position in leaving the victory for the Republican Congress which had been elected. At this election the voters of Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma by large majorities fully enfranchised their women, adding six Senators and twenty-four Representatives to the number partly elected by the votes of women. Texas this year had given women a vote at Primary elections, almost equal to the complete suffrage. Resolutions were passed by twenty-five State Legislatures in January and early February, 1919, calling upon the Senate to submit the Federal Amendment. William P. Pollock of South Carolina, who had been elected to succeed Senator Benet, was not only in favor of it but was working to secure the one vote among the southern Senators which, added to his own, would complete the two-thirds. A conference of friendly Democratic Senators on

February 2 decided that a vote must be taken the following week if this party was to have the credit. The next day the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee met and unanimously voted to bring up the amendment on February 10. The reasons for the decision were, first, that there was a chance to win and nothing to be lost by recording the friends and enemies; second, that one man had been gained since the last vote and there was a possibility that another could be won. President Wilson cabled from Paris urging doubtful Senators to vote in favor. William Jennings Bryan came to Washington to intercede for it.

On petition of twenty-two Democratic Senators, a party caucus on suffrage was held on February 5, but the enemies died hard. They immediately made a motion to adjourn but the suffragists without proxies defeated the "antis," who voted proxies, by 22 to 16. On a resolution that the Democratic Senators support the Federal Suffrage Amendment, twenty-two voted in the affirmative but when ten had voted in the negative those ten were allowed by Senator Thomas S. Martin (Va.), Democratic floor leader, to withdraw their votes in order that he might declare that, as the vote stood 22 to 0, a quorum had not voted!

After the close of the morning business on Feb. 10, 1919, Chairman Jones moved to take up the amendment. An extremely strong speech in its favor was made by Senator Pollock. The only other speeches were by Senator Frelinghuysen on points of naturalization and by Edward J. Gay, the new Senator from Louisiana, in opposition. The vote taken early in the afternoon showed 55 in favor and 29 opposed. As on October 1, all the members who were not present to vote were accounted for by pairs, so that it stood practically 63 to 33. In other words the amendment was lost in the 65th Congress by only one vote and the individual responsibility for the defeat lay at the door of every Senator who voted against it.

From the States west of the Mississippi River only three Senators voted "no"—Borah of Idaho, Reed of Missouri and Hitchcock of Nebraska.

Only three States—Alabama, Delaware and Georgia—cast all their votes in both Senate and House against the amendment.

Twenty States cast all their votes in Senate and House in favor

—Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. In all of these women already had full or partial suffrage.

On February 17 Senator Wesley L. Jones of Washington re-introduced the amendment in its old form, stating that he expected no action during the present Congress. On the following day Senator Gay introduced an amendment in which the right of enforcement was given to the various States and Congress was excluded. On the 20th Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee introduced one requiring personal naturalization of alien women. Senator Gay agreed to support an amendment introduced February 28 by Chairman Jones, giving the States the right to enforce the amendment, but, in case of their failure to do so, permitting Congress to enact appropriate legislation. Just before the close of the session on March 3, a southern Democrat, in response to a cablegram from President Wilson, consented to give the measure the lacking vote if it could be brought up again but this the Republicans declined to permit.

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During this winter of 1919 the National American Association continued the work of obtaining from the Legislatures Presidential suffrage for women and to the list were added Maine, Vermont, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri and Tennessee, fourteen altogether. By May 1, adding the States with this Presidential suffrage to the fifteen where women had the complete franchise, it was estimated that about 15,500,000 would be able to "vote for the President" in the general election of 1920. They could vote for 306 of the 531 members of the Electoral College, 40 more than half. About half of the above number would exercise the full suffrage. Thirty-four Senators and 130 Representatives were now elected partly by women, including those from Arkansas and Texas.

One-third of the Senate and all of the House of Representatives were elected in November, 1918. Many of the old members were re-elected, some friends and some enemies of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Republicans had a large majority and



both parties wanted an early vote on it. President Wilson made this possible by calling a special session to meet May 19, 1919. Representative Frank W. Mondell (Wyo.) was elected majority leader of the House and Representative James R. Mann (Ills.) appointed chairman of the Committee on Woman Suffrage, both Republicans. The resolution for the Federal Amendment was introduced by six members on the opening day and on the 20th was favorably reported by the committee and placed on the calendar for the next day, even before the President's message was read, in which it was recommended. On May 21, after two hours' discussion, it was passed by 42 more than the needed two-thirds. The vote stood as follows:

	In Favor	Opposed
Republicans .....	200	19
Democrats .....	102	70
Miscellaneous .....	2	0
	304	89

Members from southern States cast 71 of the affirmative votes and four from the North were born in the South. The Democrats polled 54 per cent. of their voting strength for the amendment and the Republicans polled 84 per cent. of theirs.

In all the great area west of the Mississippi River, excluding Texas and Louisiana, only one vote in the lower house was cast against the amendment—that of Representative H. E. Hull (Rep.), Iowa. In the group of Middle States only five opposing votes were cast—two from Wisconsin, one from Michigan, two from Ohio. The opposition centered in the coast States from Louisiana to Maryland; aside from these the largest opposing majorities were from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Twenty-six States—over half of the whole number—gave unanimous support; thirteen had large favorable majorities; one was tied—Maryland; five gave opposing majorities—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia; only two cast a solid vote in opposition—Mississippi and South Carolina.

These statistics did not indicate that "a few States were trying to force this amendment on a vast unwilling majority of States," as the opponents asserted. The increase from the majority of

one in 1918 to 42 in 1919 is accounted for by the fact that at the congressional election during the interim 117 new members were elected, of whom 103 voted for the amendment. As it had been an issue in the campaign they represented the sentiment of their constituencies. Fifteen of the former members who were re-elected changed from negative to affirmative. From January, 1918, to June, 1919, not one member of either House broke his promise to vote for the amendment except Representative Daniel J. Riordan (Dem.) of New York, although many of them were subjected to extreme pressure by the interests opposed to it.

The resolution for the Amendment was introduced in the Senate May 23, 1919, by four members and half a dozen others expressed a wish to present it. The new Committee on Woman Suffrage had not been appointed and it was referred to the old one, whose chairman, Senator Jones, asked unanimous consent to have it placed on the calendar at once. Senators Underwood of Alabama; Hoke Smith of Georgia; Swanson of Virginia; Reed of Missouri, Democrats; Borah of Idaho; Wadsworth of New York, Republicans, and other opponents objected and it was delayed several days. Meanwhile a new committee was appointed with Senator James E. Watson (Rep.) of Indiana, as chairman. Finally on May 28 he was able to report the resolution favorably, by unanimous vote of the committee, and have it placed on the calendar for June 3.

The discussion was continued for two days, principally by the opposition, the friends of the amendment having agreed to consume no time except when necessary to correct misstatements. For this purpose Senators Lenroot of Wisconsin and Walsh of Montana, Republicans, and Thomas of Colorado, King of Utah, Kirby of Arkansas and Ashurst of Arizona, Democrats, made brief speeches. Senators Wadsworth, Brandegee (Rep.) of Connecticut and Borah; Underwood, Smith (Dem.) of South Carolina and Reed, consumed the rest of the time, Reed speaking several hours. Senator Underwood offered an amendment to have the ratifications by conventions instead of Legislatures, and Senator Phelan (Dem.) of California wanted to amend this by requiring them to be called the first week in December. Senator Harrison (Dem.) of Mississippi tried to have the word "white" in-

serted in the original amendment. Senator Gay (Dem.) of Louisiana wished to amend by providing that the States instead of the Congress should have power to enforce it. All these amendments were defeated by large majorities.

The Senators knew that all this debate was a waste of time, as enough votes were pledged to pass the amendment. Senator Watson opened and closed it in a dozen sentences. The roll was called at 5 p. m. June 4, and the vote was announced, 56 ayes, 25 noes. With the "pairs" that had been arranged the entire 96 members of the Senate were recorded and they stood as follows:

	Ayes	Noes
Republicans .....	40	9
Democrats .....	26	21
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total .....	66	30

The certificate to be sent to the Legislatures for ratification was signed by President of the Senate Thomas R. Marshall (Ind.) and Speaker of the House Frederick H. Gillett (Mass.) both unyielding opponents of the amendment.

Thus ended the struggle for the submission to the Legislatures of an amendment to the National Constitution to give complete universal suffrage to women, which had been carried on without cessation for almost exactly fifty years—a struggle which has no parallel in history.

It is not possible to give in this limited space due recognition to all the Senators and Representatives who during this long period stood faithfully by this Federal Amendment, many of them at serious political risk. This was especially true of those from the South. The speech of Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas, Aug. 5, 1918, was as strong an argument as ever was made for the Federal Amendment. The great corporate interests of the country, including the liquor interests, which were the dominating force in politics, were implacably opposed to woman suffrage and the women had no material influence to counteract them. All the more honor is due, therefore, to those members who loyally supported it in this long contest founded upon abstract right, justice and democracy.

VOTE ON FEDERAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT IN THE U. S. SENATE, JUNE 4, 1919.

<i>Republicans, Aye</i>		<i>Democrats, Aye</i>	
Cal. ....	Johnson	Ariz. ....	{ Ashurst
Col. ....	Phipps		{ Smith
Del. ....	Ball	Ark. ....	{ Kirby
	McCormick		{ Robinson
Ills. ....	Sherman	Cal. ....	Phelan
	New	Col. ....	Thomas
Ind. ....	Watson	Ga. ....	Harris
	Cummins	Ida. ....	Nugent
Iowa ....	Kenyon	Ky. ....	Stanley
	Capper	La. ....	Ransdell
Kans. ....	Curtis	Mass. ....	Walsh
	Fernald	Mont. ....	{ Myers
Me. ....	Hale		{ Walsh
	France	Nev. ....	{ Henderson
Md. ....	Newberry		{ Pittman
Mich. ....	Townsend	N. M. ....	Jones
	Kellogg	Okla. ....	{ Gore
Minn. ....	Nelson		{ Owen
	Spencer	Ore. ....	Chamberlain
Mo. ....	Norris	R. I. ....	Gerry
Neb. ....	Keyes	S. D. ....	Johnson
N. H. ....	Edge	Tenn. ....	McKellar
N. J. ....	Frelinghuysen	Tex. ....	{ Culbertson
	Fall		{ Sheppard
N. M. ....	Calder	Utah ....	King
N. Y. ....	Gronna	Wyo. ....	Kendrick
	McCumber		
Ohio ....	Harding		
Ore. ....	McNary		
R. I. ....	Colt		
S. D. ....	Sterling		
Utah ....	Smoot		
Vt. ....	Page		
Wash. ....	{ Jones		
	{ Poindexter		
W. Va. ....	{ Elkins		
	{ Sutherland		
Wis. ....	{ LaFollette		
	{ Lenroot		
Wyo. ....	Warren		
Total .....	40	Total .....	26

<i>Republicans, No</i>		<i>Democrats, No</i>	
Conn. ....	{ Brandegee	Ala. ....	{ Bankhead
	{ McLean		{ Underwood
Ida. ....	Borah	Del. ....	Wolcott
Mass. ....	Lodge	Fla. ....	{ Fletcher
N. H. ....	Moses		{ Trammell
N. Y. ....	Wadsworth	Ga. ....	Smith
	Knox	Ky. ....	Beckham
Penn. ....	Penrose	La. ....	Gay
Vt. ....	Dillingham	Md. ....	{ Smith
			{ Harrison
		Miss. ....	{ Williams
		Mo. ....	Reed
		Neb. ....	Hitchcock
		N. C. ....	{ Overman
			{ Simmons
		Ohio ....	Pomerene
		S. C. ....	{ Dial
			{ Smith
		Tenn. ....	Shields
		Va. ....	Martin
			Swanson
Total .....	9	Total .....	21

Benet was appointed for a few months to succeed Senator Tillman and voted against the amendment October 1. Pollock was elected to serve until March and voted for it February 10. Dial

was elected for the full term beginning March 4. Senator Hale of Maine was the only hold-over Senator who changed his position, voting "no" in October and "aye" in June. The suffragists deeply regretted that Senator John F. Shafroth of Colorado, an able and valued friend for the past twenty-five years, was no longer a member of the Senate.

After the woman suffrage amendment had become a part of the Constitution of the United States Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the national president, prepared a complete summary of the several votes on it in the two Houses of Congress according to the political parties and sent it to Chairman Will H. Hays of the Republican National Committee and Chairman George White of the Democratic. To the former she said in part: "I take the occasion to express to you personally on behalf of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, our grateful appreciation of your own faithful, consistent and always sincere efforts to carry out the platforms of your party wherein they referred to the enfranchisement of women. Ratification at this date would not have been achieved without your conscientious and understanding help. I wish also to express our gratitude to the Republican party for its share in the final enfranchisement of the women of the United States. . . ."

To Mr. White Mrs. Catt said: "There is one important Democratic factor which should be included in the record and that is the fearless and able sponsorship of the amendment by the leader of your party, the President of the United States. . . . He has never hesitated to let members of his party know in every State that he favored ratification. . . . His championship furnishes cause for pride to all forward-looking Democrats, since his vision foresaw this now achieved fact of the enfranchisement of the women of this country. On behalf of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, I wish to thank you and your party for its share in the completion of the task to which our association set itself more than fifty years ago."

Mrs. Catt said in the course of her summing up: "Women owe much to both political parties but to neither do they owe so much that they need feel themselves obligated to support that party if conscience and judgment dictate otherwise. Their politi-

cal freedom at this time is due to the tremendous sentiment and pressure produced by their own unceasing activities over a period of three generations. Had either party lived up to the high ideals of our nation and courageously taken the stand for right and justice as against time-serving, vote-winning policies of delay, women would have been enfranchised long ago. . . . If, however, neither of the dominant parties has made as clean and progressive a record as its admirers could have wished, there is no question but that individual men of both parties have given heroic service to the cause of woman suffrage and this has been true in every State, those which ratified and those which rejected. Women should not forget these men who have stepped in advance of the more slow moving of their own constituents to help this great cause of political freedom."

#### RATIFICATION.

Before this Federal Amendment could become effective it had to be ratified by the Legislatures of thirty-six States, three-fourths of the whole number. The plan by which Mrs. Catt, president of the National American Suffrage Association, had expected ratification to follow the submission immediately was that all of the western equal suffrage States would ratify at once. To make certain that this would be done a representative of the association was sent on a circuit of these States while the amendment was still pending. She called on the Governors and instructed the women as to the procedure when it was submitted. If there had been the expected early vote this plan would have succeeded but it was thwarted by the late submission. Had the vote taken place even as late as February, 1919, the Legislatures could have considered it, which was the principal reason why the opponents prevented it. By June 4 most of them had adjourned not to meet again for two years. A few, however, were still in session and of these Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan ratified it within six days of its submission and Pennsylvania and Massachusetts a little later. That of Ohio had taken a recess until June 16 and ratified it on this date.

To obtain enough extra sessions, with all the expense, time and trouble entailed, seemed a hopeless undertaking. Nevertheless,

scarcely had the Senate vote been announced when Mrs. Catt began telegraphing to the Governors of many States a request that they would call special sessions for the purpose of ratification. This was favored by leaders in both political parties in order that it might be completed in time for the women of the entire country to vote in the general election of 1920.

Governors Alfred E. Smith (Dem.) of New York and Henry J. Allen (Rep.) of Kansas were the first to call special sessions. They were followed by a few others, some willingly, others under great pressure from the women of their States. Even the Governors of some of the equal suffrage States were hesitating for various reasons and vigorous action seemed to be necessary. Under the auspices of the National Association four women, Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham of Texas, Mrs. John G. South of Kentucky, Mrs. Ben Hooper of Wisconsin and Miss Marjorie Shuler of New York, were sent to these States in July. The two Republican women visited Republican States and the two Democratic women visited Democratic States, the four reaching Salt Lake City to attend the National Conference of Governors. Despite their pledges of extra sessions some of them still demurred, as special sessions were not approved by the taxpayers. Two of these Governors, one Republican and one Democratic, were threatened with impeachment proceedings whenever the Legislature should meet. Others feared that matters besides the ratification might come up.

The summer waned and the required number of special sessions were not called, although letters and telegrams and every kind of influence were being used. Finally Mrs. Catt herself headed a deputation consisting of Miss Julia Lathrop, chief of the U. S. Children's Bureau; Mrs. Jean Nelson Penfield of New York; Dr. Valeria H. Parker of Connecticut; Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch of Illinois, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan of Colorado and Miss Shuler, who had continued working in those western States. The Governors were again interviewed; the situation was presented to the States through public meetings and at last the desired pledges were secured. In Oregon the women agreed to raise the money to pay for a special session. In Nevada, Wyoming and South Dakota campaigns to persuade the

members to attend at their own expense were started and carried through. Altogether sixteen conferences were held in twelve western States. While this campaign in the West was under way the women of other States were hard at work to obtain legislative action. Those of Indiana had the Herculean task of collecting a petition of 86,000 names asking for a special session and securing pledges from two-thirds of the Legislature to consider no other business, before the Governor would call the session.

While this strenuous work was in progress, which continued into 1920, the National Republican and Democratic Committees, Will H. Hays and Homer S. Cummings, chairmen, used all of their great influence for special sessions and for favorable action. Prominent politicians of both parties lent their assistance. The successful efforts to secure ratification planks in the national platforms of all the political parties are described in Chapter XXIII. Every candidate for President and Vice-president gave his full endorsement.

It was only necessary for thirteen Legislatures to hold out against ratification to prevent the adoption of the amendment and those of the nine southeastern States from Maryland to Louisiana were certain to do this. All of them defeated it except that of Florida, which did not vote on it. By March 22, 1920, thirty-five Legislatures had ratified, leaving but four States from which to obtain the thirty-sixth and final ratification. Delaware defeated it in June, leaving only Tennessee, Connecticut and Vermont. A provision in the State constitution of Tennessee prevented action by its Legislature. The Republican Governors of Connecticut and Vermont refused absolutely to call a special session. The former declared that there was no emergency requiring it and was adamant to every argument. Mrs. Catt and her Board then undertook another Herculean task of bringing to Connecticut an influential woman from every State, and, cooperating with those of Connecticut, a mass meeting was held in Hartford. After this they divided into groups and held meetings in every city and large town, ending the campaign with a visit to the Governor, at which earnest pleas were made that he would call the Legislature to give the final vote for ratification, as the women of the nation were waiting for it. In Vermont, under



the auspices of the National Board, 400 women of the State under most trying weather conditions met in Montpelier and called on the Governor with pleadings and arguments for a special session, through whose action the women of the whole country would be enfranchised. Both Governors remained obdurate.

In the meantime the opponents had succeeded in Maine under its Initiative and Referendum law in having the ratification submitted to the voters and they threatened to take this action in all States having this law. The Ohio Supreme Court sustained the legality of a petition for a referendum and it was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States—*Hawk vs. the Secretary of the State of Ohio*. Here it was argued April 23, 1920. On June 1 the Court announced its decision that the ratification of a Federal Amendment was not subject to action by the voters.

This decision removed the obstacle that existed in Tennessee and its Governor called a special session for August 9. Mrs. Catt took charge of the campaign in person and the ratification was obtained in the Senate on the 13th and the House on the 18th, in the latter with the greatest difficulty. It called for assistance from President Wilson, from both of the Presidential candidates, the National Committees of both parties and many prominent men and women within and without the State. A full account will be found in the Tennessee chapter. A vote for reconsideration followed; enough members left the State to prevent a quorum and it was not until the 24th that Governor Roberts could forward the certificate of ratification to Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby in Washington.<sup>1</sup> Here on August 26 he proclaimed the

<sup>1</sup> As soon as the certificate was despatched Mrs. Catt left Nashville, where she had been for six weeks, accompanied by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the National Republican Executive Committee; Miss Charl Williams, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Miss Marjorie Shuler, the National Association's chairman of publicity, who had been working with her during this time. They went to Washington, called on the President and Secretary of State and in the evening addressed an enthusiastic mass meeting that filled the largest theater to overflowing. Secretary Colby represented President Wilson, from whom he brought this message:

"Will you take the opportunity to say to my fellow citizens that I deem it one of the greatest honors of my life that this great event, the ratification of this amendment, should have occurred during the period of my administration. Nothing has given me more pleasure than the privilege that has been mine to do what I could to advance the cause of ratification and to hasten the day when the womanhood of America would be recognized by the nation on the equal footing of citizenship that it deserves."

From Washington the women, joined by others, went to New York, where Governor Alfred E. Smith was waiting at the station and said in greeting Mrs. Catt: "I am here on behalf of the people of the State of New York to convey congratulations to you on your great victory for the motherhood of America." [See frontispiece Volume VI.]

19th Amendment a part of the Federal Constitution. A body of the Tennessee legislators, headed by Speaker of the House Seth Walker, went immediately to Washington and undertook to obtain an injunction on this action but it was refused by the court.

Although the ratification by the Tennessee Legislature was due to the votes of both Democrats and Republicans the former claimed the credit. The general election was close at hand in which all women could take part and Republican leaders felt that some action was necessary. Governor Marcus H. Holcomb of Connecticut called a special session of the Legislature for September 14 and its first act was to ratify the Federal Amendment by unanimous vote of the Senate and 216 to 11 in the House. Owing to a technical question the ratification was repeated September 21.<sup>1</sup>

The stories of these 37 ratifications are interesting—in some States occasions of much pleasure accompanied by music and feasting; in others strenuous contests which left some unpleasant memories. They are described in each State chapter and the failures as well. Especial reference should be made to those of States mentioned here and of Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana.

When the opponents could not prevent ratification they had recourse to the law. The attempt to have a referendum to the voters has been referred to. Efforts were made in many States to have the Attorney Generals declare that the ratification was unconstitutional or that further legislation by the States would be necessary, but they were unavailing. In May, 1920, the official board of the National Woman Suffrage Association retained former U. S. Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes as counsel and his advice and his opinions widely published proved to be of the greatest benefit. Although one of the most eminent of lawyers his interest in woman suffrage was so great that he never refused any appeal for assistance.

On July 7, 1920, before the 36th State had ratified, Charles S. Fairchild, president of the American Constitutional League, for-

<sup>1</sup> Vermont was thus left the only State, except those in the so-called "black belt," which did not ratify the Federal Amendment and its Legislature was ready to do so any day when Governor Percival W. Clement would permit it to meet. It ratified unanimously in the Senate and with three negative votes in the House when it met in regular session in 1921.

merly the Men's Anti-Suffrage Association of New York, instituted injunction proceedings in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia against Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer. They sought to restrain the Secretary from proclaiming the Federal Suffrage Amendment when it should receive the final ratification and the Attorney General from doing anything to enforce it. On July 13 the case for the Government was argued by Solicitor General William L. Frierson and Assistant U. S. District Attorney James B. Archer. Mr. Fairchild and the league were represented by Everett P. Wheeler, a New York attorney and officer of the league. He contended that under the U. S. Constitution Congress had no power to submit the amendment and that various ratifications were illegal. Justice Thomas J. Bailey dismissed the injunction proceedings on the ground that neither Mr. Fairchild nor the league had sufficient interest to entitle them to ask for an injunction and that the court had no authority to go behind the action of the Legislatures in voting for ratification. The case was taken to the District Court of Appeals. On October 4 this court denied the injunction and dismissed the case as "frivolous and brought for delay." It was then carried to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Litigation was threatened in Tennessee. In Maryland a League for State Defense was formed to defeat ratification. It succeeded in the Maryland Legislature and had delegations of legislators sent to Tennessee and West Virginia for the purpose, who were not successful. On Oct. 30, 1920, this league brought a test case in the Court of Common Pleas in Baltimore through Attorney William L. Marbury against J. Mercer Garnett et al., constituting the Board of Registry, to compel them to strike the names of two women from the registration books. The suit was filed in the name of Oscar Leser, a former Judge, who had long fought woman suffrage, and twenty members of the league, on the following grounds: The alleged 19th Amendment is not authorized by Article V of the U. S. Constitution; it was never legally ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States; (those of West Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri were cited); it was rejected by the Maryland Legislature. Everett P. Wheeler

assisted in the trial just before Christmas. The case was conducted for the State by Attorney General J. Lindsay Spencer. Judge Heuisler gave an adverse decision on Jan. 29, 1921. The case was taken to the Court of Appeals and set for April 7. The decision of the lower court was sustained—that “the power to amend the Constitution of the United States granted by Article V is without limit except as to the words ‘equal suffrage in the Senate.’ . . . From all the exhibits and other evidence submitted the court is of the opinion that there was due, legal and proper ratification of the amendment by the required number of State Legislatures.”

This case also went to the U. S. Supreme Court and there both of them rested. Meanwhile millions of women voted in the general election on Nov. 2, 1920, and in the State and local elections which followed through 1921, and the cases were almost forgotten. Finally in February, 1922, the court heard the arguments, the Government represented by Solicitor General James M. Beck. On the 27th it handed down its decision on the two cases. It upheld the authority of Congress under the Constitution of the United States to submit the amendment; declared that “the validity of the 15th Amendment had been recognized for half a century”; that “the Federal Constitution transcends any limitations sought to be imposed by the State”; that “the Secretary of State having issued the proclamation the amendment had become a part of the National Constitution.”

This was the decision of the highest legal authority, from which there was no appeal.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### VARIOUS WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The National Woman Suffrage Association formed in New York City May 15, 1869, by pioneers in the movement from nineteen States was the first of the kind in the world. [History of Woman Suffrage, Volume II, page 400.] This was followed by the forming on November 24 at Cleveland, O., of the American Woman Suffrage Association. [Same, page 576.] In 1890 these two were combined under the name National American. [Volume IV, pages 164, 174.] For various reasons other organizations came into existence, as the years passed, which had some claim to being considered national, but this great united association was the bulwark of the movement for woman suffrage from its beginning to its end in 1920. It was always the official authority recognized by Congress, State Legislatures, the press and the public, but all of the others assisted, each in its own way and degree, and, except in the case of one, the National Woman's Party, there was no antagonism among them, as all were consecrated to a common cause, and followed similar methods.

#### THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

This association was organized on March 3rd and 10th, 1892, in the lecture room of the Sherman House, Chicago, with the following officers: President, the Hon. M. B. Castle, Sandwich, Ills.; vice-president, the Rev. Olympia Brown, Racine, Wis.; secretary, Mrs. A. J. Loomis, Chicago; treasurer, Mrs. S. M. C. Perkins, Cleveland, O. Judge Charles B. Waite of Chicago; Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker of Hartford, Conn.; Mrs. Lucinda H. Stone of Kalamazoo, Mich., and Mrs. Lucia E. Blount of Washington, D. C., with many other prominent people assisted. The object was to secure the passage of a Law by Congress authorizing women to vote for members of the House of Representatives,

according to Sections 2 and 4, Article I of the Federal Constitution, which gives Congress authority to change the regulations made by the States for the election of these members. The way for this organization had been prepared by articles in the *Forum* and the *Arena* by Judge Francis Minor of St. Louis, presenting the arguments for this law. He quoted James Madison, who said at the time Virginia adopted the National Constitution that "the power was given to Congress to change the regulations made by the States in order to protect the people. Should the people at any time be deprived of the right of suffrage for any cause it was deemed proper that it should be remedied by the general government." At the first meeting a memorial was adopted asking Congress to enact this law, which later was presented by Representative Clarence D. Clark of Wyoming. The officers of the association were instructed to present a memorial to the Republican national convention in Minneapolis that summer asking that a plank approving this Federal suffrage be inserted in the platform. The Rev. Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Perkins attended the convention, where they were treated with marked courtesy and given prominent seats. They secured a hearing and the presentation of the memorial in the Committee on Resolutions. The papers of Minneapolis printed it in full, which was something unusual at that time when woman suffrage was scarcely recognized by the press. At the Columbian Exposition in 1893 a section in the Political Congress was assigned to the Federal Association and a day appointed for its meetings. Two sessions were held, addressed by prominent speakers and attended by large audiences.

Much propaganda work was done and efforts were made to form local organizations. The subject was kept before the Republican and Democratic parties by memorials presented to their national conventions. In 1902 the society was reorganized as the Woman's Federal Equality Association in order to include other interests of women besides suffrage. It was hoped thus to enlist the cooperation of those employed by the Government but this hope not being realized the name was changed to the original. Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood had been chosen president in 1902 and was followed in 1903 by the Rev. Olympia Brown, who held the office until the end in 1920, Mrs. Lockwood continuing as hono-

rary president until her death. Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby was chosen corresponding secretary in 1902 and devoted herself to the interests of the association unceasingly until her death Sept. 7, 1916. No session of Congress was allowed to pass without the presenting of a bill demanding the right of women to vote for federal officers. These bills were referred to the Committee on Election of President, Vice-President and Representatives in Congress. Usually hearings were granted and arranged for with much care by Mrs. Colby, who resided in Washington. They were very effective. Among the most important was that of 1904, which attracted so much attention that the committee appointed a second day to continue it and invited Mrs. Colby to explain more fully the demand of the association. Another important hearing was that of 1913, when the largest committee room was filled, many standing outside. It began in the morning and was continued in the evening, with the speakers nearly all members of Congress, a remarkable circumstance at that time.

At the hearings of 1914, 1915 and 1916 Representative Burton L. French of Idaho was a valuable speaker, as was Representative John E. Raker of California. Mrs. Lockwood and other women took part at different times, Mrs. Colby in all the hearings and the Rev. Mrs. Brown in most of them. Dr. Clara McNaughton, the treasurer, rendered important service in raising money and in other ways. At the great Gettysburg celebration in 1913 she and Mrs. Anna Harmon represented the association, obtaining signatures to petitions, circulating literature and finding a wide sentiment for woman suffrage among the old soldiers.

On July 11-13, 1915, the Federal Suffrage Association held a Congress at the Panama Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, over which the Rev. Olympia Brown presided. Mrs. Colby went out some time before the meeting and made the arrangements. Among the distinguished people who took part were Mrs. May Wright Sewall, founder of the International Council of Women, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, historian of woman suffrage and biographer of Susan B. Anthony; Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, the noted sculptor; the eminent Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson of California; Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe of Tacoma, president of the National Council of Women Voters, and Mrs. Mary G. Bel-

lamy, former member of the Wyoming Legislature. The most notable of the exercises was the fine pageant in the Court of Abundance on the closing night. This court was a most beautiful place for scenic display, the arrangement of the platform, lights and decorations all contributing to make any function there an enchanting scene. Mrs. Colby had prepared a comprehensive lecture on Woman's Part in the Building of America, and, with the assistance of a skilful specialist, Mrs. Andrea Hofer, had arranged a memorable entertainment. She stood on the pedestal of a massive column while she gave her lecture, which was illustrated by tableaus on the platform in the presence of a large audience. The congress was continued at San Diego with largely attended meetings.

The history of Federal Suffrage would not be complete without some mention of the work of Miss Laura Clay and her sister, Mrs. Sarah Clay Bennett, of Kentucky, who advocated the idea of Federal Suffrage even before the forming of the association and long worked for a U. S. Elections Bill. Miss Clay's maintenance of the Federal suffrage principles, her writings and her strong personality were a guarantee to many of the southern women that no infringement of the State's rights idea was intended. By Aug. 26, 1920, the Federal Amendment had been submitted by Congress and ratified. All the women of the United States were fully enfranchised and the association had no longer any reason for being.

[Prepared by the Rev. Olympia Brown.]

#### UNITED STATES ELECTIONS BILL.

From the time the National Woman Suffrage Association was organized to secure the enfranchisement of women by amending the Federal Constitution there were among its members those who did not favor this method because it was contrary to the doctrine of State's rights. They did, however, want Congress to provide that woman should vote for its own Representatives, which could be done simply by a Law requiring only a majority vote of each House. From the early 80's this group was led by Miss Laura Clay and Mrs. Sarah Clay Bennett of Kentucky. There was no doubt that Congress had authority over the election of its



Representatives, as was clearly shown in Article I, Section 2, which prescribes the manner of their election and the qualifications of the electors in the different States. Later it fixed a time for these elections. This authority was conferred when, after the amendment was adopted for the election of U. S. Senators by the voters, Congress enacted that all who were qualified to vote for Representatives should be eligible to vote for Senators. The leaders of the National American Suffrage Association recognized the constitutionality of the bill and for many years kept a standing committee on it but they did not believe Congress ever would accept it. Its advocates claimed that if members of Congress had women for their constituents they would soon see that the States enfranchised them. The national leaders held that if women could elect members of Congress it would not take them long to compel the submission of a Federal Amendment and that the members would not put this power into their hands. They held also that it would be just as much a violation of the State's right to determine its own voters as would the Federal Amendment itself. The Southern Woman Suffrage Conference, or Association, however, had a committee to further this U. S. Elections Bill.

At the annual convention of the National American Association in 1914 its Congressional Committee was instructed to include this bill in the measures which it promoted. It was re-endorsed at the conventions of 1915 and 1916. Miss Clay went to Washington and lobbied for it with all the prestige of her family back of her and with all her commanding ability, supporting it by unanswerable argument. Members often presented it in both Houses but it never was reported by a committee.

#### NATIONAL COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

While Miss Maud Wood of Boston was a senior in Radcliffe College her attention was directed to woman suffrage by the efforts of its women opponents in Cambridge to enlist the college girls on their side. Later, hearing a speech in favor of it by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, she associated herself with the Massachusetts Suffrage Association, spoke at its next annual convention and was drawn into its work. After hearing and

meeting Miss Susan B. Anthony she felt a deeper obligation of service to the cause for which Miss Anthony and her associates had sacrificed so much and she thought that college women especially should pay their debt to those who had made their education possible by helping them fight the battle for woman suffrage. In 1900, with the help of Mrs. Inez Haynes Gillmore, also a Radcliffe student, Miss Wood, now Mrs. Park, founded the Massachusetts College Equal Suffrage League and steps were at once taken to form leagues in other States. In 1906 the National American Woman Suffrage Association held its annual convention in Baltimore and under the auspices of Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr, there occurred that remarkable "college women's evening," when before an audience that filled the theater women professors from the largest Colleges for Women in the United States paid their tributes to Miss Anthony and announced their allegiance to her cause.

It was decided at this meeting that there ought to be a national association of college women, the first steps toward it were taken, and Mrs. Park was appointed to organize leagues in the States. In 1908 a Call was sent out signed by Dr. Thomas, President Mary E. Woolley of Mt. Holyoke College: Miss Mary E. Garrett, a founder of the Johns Hopkins Medical School; Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons, Ph.D. of Barnard College; Miss Caroline E. Lexow (Barnard), president of the New York College Equal Suffrage League, and Miss Florence Garvin of the Rhode Island League, to meet for organization. The time and place selected were during the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Buffalo, N. Y., October 15-21. By this time College Leagues had been formed in fifteen States extending across the country to California. On October 17, in the beautiful club house of the Woman's Twentieth Century Club, with delegates present from most of these States, the National College League was organized with the following officers: President, Dr. Thomas; Professor Sophonisba Breckinridge of Chicago University at the head of a list of five vice-presidents; secretary, Miss Lexow; treasurer, Dr. Margaret Long (Smith) of Denver; Mrs. Park was made chairman of the organization committee. The purpose of the league was announced to be "to promote equal

suffrage sentiment among college women and men both before and after graduation." It became auxiliary to the National Association and its annual conventions were to be held at the same time and place as those of the association. In its early existence office space was given in the national suffrage headquarters in New York City.

For the next nine years this National College League was a vital force in the movement for woman suffrage. It soon had the largest voting delegation at the national suffrage conventions except that of New York. Dr. Thomas remained its president and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw its honorary vice-president. Miss Martha Gruening and Miss Florence Allen (now Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Cleveland, O.), were secretaries, and from 1914 Mrs. Ethel Puffer Howes (Smith) of New York City. Organizers were sent throughout the States to form new leagues and lecturers of note were engaged to address league meetings. Among the latter were Professor Frances Squire Potter of the University of Minnesota; Dr. B. O. Aylesworth and Mrs. Helen Loring Grenfell, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Colorado; Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman of New York and Mrs. Philip Snowden of England. Dr. Shaw spoke a number of times. In 1915 a lecture tour among the colleges was arranged for Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. Literature and letters were sent to colleges and to graduates. In 1914, for instance, twenty colleges in New York State were supplied and letters were sent to a thousand graduates in New Jersey, campaigns being in progress in those States. During the Iowa campaign in 1916 the colleges of that State received 12,000 leaflets. Travelling libraries of twenty-five volumes relating to suffrage were circulated among the colleges. The most important achievement of an individual league was that in California in 1911. Under the presidency of Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney the work of the league of over a thousand members was a large factor in the success of the campaign for a woman suffrage amendment. In 1917, during the second New York campaign, Miss M. Louise Grant (Columbia), under the auspices of the National and State leagues, made forty-five speeches to arouse the college women,

which contributed to the victory for the suffrage amendment in November.

The gaining of the franchise in this influential State made a Federal Amendment a certainty of the not distant future and in December the following official notice was sent to the branches of the National League :

At the meeting of the annual council of the National College Equal Suffrage League, held at the New Ebbitt Hotel in Washington, D. C., on Dec. 15, 1917, it was unanimously voted on recommendation of the president and executive secretary to close its work and go out of existence. The delegates present, the officers, and many other suffragists who had been consulted were of the opinion that the objects for which the league was originally organized had been fully attained and that there was no reason for it to continue its work as a separate suffrage organization. . . .

At the time when the league began its work the subject of suffrage could scarcely be mentioned in gatherings of college students and college faculties and was forbidden even as a topic for discussion in the annual conventions of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, but in the nine years that have elapsed since then an overwhelming change of opinion has taken place. Many colleges in which it was planned to organize chapters have stated that there is no need for them, as practically all the members of their faculties and most of their students are already suffragists. At the last biennial convention of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae held in Washington, D. C., in April, 1917, by a unanimous vote it not only reaffirmed its belief in woman suffrage but urged its members to win it for all American women by working for the Federal Amendment. In bringing about this revolution in educated opinion we are happy to believe that the National College Equal Suffrage League has played an important part. . . .

There are belonging to the National League 5,000 members enrolled in over fifty State leagues and chapters and it suggests that they become "Federal Amendment Suffrage Clubs" and arrange for speakers and student debates on the amendment. . . . Its officers wish to make an urgent appeal to all its leagues and chapters and to every one of its individual members to put their whole force behind the drive for this amendment. . . . We can perform no more patriotic service for our country or for the world than to win woman suffrage while we are working with all our might to win the war.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following were the officers of the National College Equal Suffrage League at the time it disbanded: President, M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College; First vice-president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; vice-presidents: Mary E. Woolley, president of Mount Holyoke College; Ellen F. Pendleton, president of Wellesley College; Lucy M. Salmon, professor of history in Vassar College; Lillian Welch, professor of physiology and hygiene in Goucher College (Baltimore); Virginia C. Gildersleeve, dean of Barnard

This notice contained a statement that the small dues and special gifts had never been sufficient to meet the expenses of the league and said: "With the exception of \$450 lent by one of its former officers all the loans and debts of the National College League, amounting to \$6,686 were paid off by its president, who stated that in thus financing its work during the past few years she believed she was making the most valuable financial contribution that she could make to the cause of woman suffrage."

FRIENDS' EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.<sup>1</sup>

The Society of Friends always has held advanced views on the woman question and was for a long time the only religious body which gave women equal rights with men in the church. Women of this sect were naturally leaders in the great movement for the emancipation of women educationally, professionally and politically. Lucretia Mott stepped forth almost alone at first but soon Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone (both of Quaker ancestry) stood by her side, powerful in vision to see and will to do and dedicated to their great task.

With such heritage comes unusual responsibility, and, feeling the surge of this tremendous wave everywhere for human rights, the Society of Friends at its Biennial or General Conference (liberal branch) representing the seven Yearly Meetings of the United States and Canada—Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Genesee (western New York and Canada)—held at Chautauqua, N. Y., 8th month, 24th day, 1900, through the Union for Philanthropic Labor, created a new department to be known as Women in Government and recommended to the committees of the various Yearly Meetings that they "should work in this direction." Before the adjournment of the con-

College (Columbia University); Lois K. Mathews, dean of women in the University of Wisconsin; Eva Johnston, dean of women in the University of Missouri; Florence M. Fitch, dean of college women and professor of Biblical literature, Oberlin College; Maud Wood Park, Boston; executive secretary, Mrs. Ethel Puffer Howes, New York City; treasurer, Mrs. Raymond B. Morgan, president Washington, D. C., Collegiate Alumnae.

ETHEL PUFFER HOWES,  
Executive Secretary.

M. CAREY THOMAS,  
President.

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this sketch to Anne Webb (Mrs. O. Edward) Janney, president of the Friends' Equal Rights Association and superintendent of the department of equal rights of the Committee of Philanthropic Labor of the Friends' General Conference.

ference Mariana W. Chapman of Brooklyn was made superintendent of the department and the name was changed to Equal Rights for Women. This official action committed all the Yearly Meetings of this branch of Friends to the endorsement of political rights for women.

Realizing the need for increased enthusiasm and active participation in the imminent struggle for the enfranchisement of women, members of the New York Yearly Meeting organized the State Friends' Equal Rights Association, with annual membership dues to meet necessary expenses. A definite list of members was thus made, who could be called upon when opportunity for service occurred. At Westbury (Long Island) Quarterly Meeting in 1901 a proposal was approved that this association should ask to co-operate as an auxiliary with the National American Woman Suffrage Association and at the following annual convention of that body in Washington, D. C., it was represented by five delegates. In December, 1902, Mrs. Chapman, president of the New York association, addressed a meeting in Philadelphia and a branch was formed there, which in less than three months numbered about 200 members, with Susan W. Janney as president. The Baltimore Yearly Meeting quickly followed with a paid-up membership of 85, which increased the following year to 114, with Elizabeth B. Passmore president.

In 1904 the entire dues-paying membership was over 500. The New York association sent letters to members of the State Senate and Assembly bearing on woman suffrage bills and was active in all State suffrage campaigns. Much energy was devoted to public meetings and literature. The Philadelphia and Baltimore associations worked mainly along educational lines. This year the Baltimore branch sent out 4,000 leaflets—For Equal Rights. The Philadelphia association reorganized in 1905, with an enrolled instead of a paid membership. Their Yearly Meeting is a large body with a membership scattered over Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and the eastern shore of Maryland. . . .

The associations continued their work, holding meetings and "round tables," especially at times of annual and biennial conferences, one of the most effective of these meetings being held at Saratoga in 1914, addressed by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt,

president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. The subject was kept constantly under consideration by the Society of Friends at large and in local gatherings, such as monthly and quarterly meetings, where it was brought up in regular order as one of the departments of philanthropic labor or social service to be reported upon. Each branch held a meeting at the time of its Yearly Meeting. A business meeting of the whole association (branches and general membership) was always held at the Biennial Conference of the seven Yearly Meetings. Usually a fine speaker was engaged to address the conference at a public meeting numbering from 800 to 1,500. The Superintendent of the Department for Equal Rights in the General Conference was always the president of the Friends' Equal Rights Association as a whole and made the contact between the Society of Friends and the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

In 1911 Mrs. Effie L. D. McAfee, a member of the New York branch, was sent by the Friends' Equal Rights Association to the congress of the International Alliance held at Stockholm, Sweden, where, in honor of a sect so long identified with the cause of woman suffrage, she was given a place on the program and filled it most acceptably. In 1916 the Philadelphia branch returned to the regular dues-paying basis, with Rebecca Webb Holmes of Swarthmore as president. The New York branch, notwithstanding the enfranchisement of the women of that State in 1917, continued its organization in order to help the less fortunate sisters, with P. Francena Maine as president. The Illinois Yearly Meeting in 1919 added to the membership of the Friends' Equal Rights Association.

The association usually has been represented at the annual conventions of the N. A. W. S. A. Its presidents have been: Mrs. Chapman, New York; Lucy Sutton, Baltimore; Mary Bentley Thomas, Ednor, Md.; Ellen H. E. Price, Philadelphia; Anne Webb Janney, Baltimore. The specific task of the association has been to get a clear utterance on woman suffrage from the different Yearly Meetings, representing in total membership about 20,000. Invariably they have endorsed the principle and any pending legislation in favor. Affiliation with the National Association has been deeply appreciated by its members, as to be an

integral part of one of the glorious world forces is a privilege not to be lightly held.

#### THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY CONFERENCES.<sup>1</sup>

For half a dozen years toward the end of the long contest for the enfranchisement of women—1912-1917 inclusive—an organization that played a considerable part in it was the Mississippi Valley Conference. From the time that the National Suffrage Association was formed in 1869 to 1895 its annual conventions were held in Washington, and from that date to 1912 nine of the seventeen were held in eastern States. Because of the expense of travel the representation of western women was very small compared to that of the eastern section of the country. All the national presidents were from the East and in order that the officers might attend board meetings and conferences most of them were eastern women. Those of the West keenly realized the need of greater opportunity of getting together, becoming acquainted, developing leadership and planning their work, as all of the suffrage campaigns at this time took place in the western States. This was felt more especially by the women of the Middle West, as many of the States in the far West had given the vote to their women.

Finally in 1912 the initiative was taken by a group of women in Chicago, headed by Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, six years president of the Illinois Suffrage Association; Miss Jane Addams, national vice president, and Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, a former State and national officer, to form an organization in the central part of the country that could hold occasional conferences. They asked the presidents of the State associations in that section if they would join in a call for a meeting in Chicago for this purpose and sixteen responded in the affirmative. Mrs. Stewart, as chairman of the committee, took charge of the arrangements, assisted by Mrs. Mary R. Plummer, and prepared the program. The meeting took place in La Salle Hotel, May 21-23, with the following States represented by women prominent in the movement for woman suffrage: Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Ten-

<sup>1</sup> Detailed accounts of these conferences may be found in the *Woman's Journal* (Boston) of the dates following those on which they were held.



nessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, Mrs. Elvira Downey, president of the Illinois Suffrage Association, presiding. There were three sessions daily with large audiences and the *Woman's Journal* said: "Every session was like a great study class with teachers and students, questions, answers and discussion. It was not an occasion for a display of oratory but a practical and business-like conference." All phases of the work for suffrage were considered and especially the management of campaigns, which were now frequent. The third day a meeting was held in Milwaukee, arranged by Miss Gwendolen Brown Willis. The great need and value of such an organization was clearly apparent and the Mississippi Valley Conference was organized with Mrs. Stewart president. There was no constitution or fixed rules, it was simply decided to hold a meeting the next year and a committee to arrange for it appointed: Mrs. Stewart, chairman; Miss Kate Gordon of Louisiana and Mrs. Maud C. Stockwell of Minnesota.

The second conference met in St. Louis April 2-4, 1913, in the Buckingham Hotel, at the Call of nineteen State presidents. Mrs. George Gellhorn, president of the Missouri association, had charge of the arrangements, with a corps of committee chairmen. Mrs. Stewart presided and the conference was welcomed by Mrs. David M. O'Neil. The three daily sessions were crowded with eager, interested women. At one evening mass meeting in the Sheldon Memorial Governor Joseph K. Folk made an address. Miss Harriet E. Grim of Illinois was elected president and Mrs. Gellhorn and Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, president of the Alabama Suffrage Association, were appointed to assist her in arranging for the next conference.

The third conference took place in Des Moines, Iowa, March 29-31, 1914, in the Savery Hotel, with the presidents of twenty State Suffrage Associations among the delegates. It opened with a mass meeting on Sunday afternoon in Berchel Theater and an overflow meeting had to be held for the hundreds who could not gain admittance. Governor George W. Clark, Miss Jane Addams, Rabbi Mannheimer, Miss Dunlap and Mrs. Stewart were the speakers. In the morning and evening most of the pulpits in the city were filled by delegates. The conference

was welcomed Monday by Miss Flora Dunlap, president of the Iowa Suffrage Association and Mrs. Marie M. Carroll, president of the Des Moines Woman's Club, and at the mass meeting in the evening by Mayor James R. Hanna. Several hundred delegates were in attendance and a valuable program of work occupied the sessions. Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, president of the Ohio association, was elected president and with Miss Laura Clay and Mrs. John Pyle, presidents of the Kentucky and South Dakota Suffrage Associations, was appointed to arrange for the next conference.

The fourth conference was held at Indianapolis, March 7-9, 1915, in the Hotel Claypool, with Dr. Amelia R. Keller, president of the Equal Franchise League, chairman of the committee of arrangements. It opened with a mass meeting Sunday afternoon in Murat Theater, Dr. Keller presiding. An address of welcome was made by James A. Ogden in behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, to which Mrs. Upton responded. The principal speaker was Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary, formerly an officer of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Presidents and delegates from twenty-two State Suffrage Associations carried out the usual comprehensive program. Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson of Chicago was elected president, with Mrs. W. E. Barkley and Miss Annette Finnegan, presidents of the Nebraska and Texas Suffrage Associations, to assist in the plans for the next meeting.

The conference of 1916 met in Minneapolis, May 7-10, four days now being none too long to carry out the important program of work. Mrs. Andreas Ueland, president of the Minnesota Suffrage Association, was chairman of the large committee of arrangements. The conference opened with a mass meeting in the Auditorium Sunday afternoon, Mrs. Ueland presiding. The invocation was pronounced by Dr. Cyrus Northrop, president emeritus of the State University. The conference was welcomed by Mayor Wallace G. Nye and Mrs. Peterson responded. Professor Maria L. Sanford of the State University; president Frank Nelson of Minnesota College; Mrs. Nellie McClung of Alberta, Can.; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Suffrage Alliance and the National American Association, and others made addresses. An evening mass meeting was held in

St. Paul. At a banquet attended by 500 guests Dr. George E. Vincent, president of the State University, made his first declaration in favor of woman suffrage. Twenty-six States were now members of the organization and nearly all of those who took part at this time were prominent in the activities of their various States. The *Woman's Journal* said: "It was a magnificent and glorified Work Conference." Mrs. Peterson was continued as president and Mrs. Ueland and Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser of the Ohio Suffrage Association were placed on her committee, the latter to act as chairman for arranging the next conference.

The sixth annual meeting of what had now become an important factor in the movement for woman suffrage took place at Columbus, O., May 12-14, 1917, in Hotel Deshler. At the Sunday afternoon mass meeting in Memorial Hall, the Hon. William Littleford of Cincinnati, president of the Ohio Men's League for Woman Suffrage, was in the chair and a number of eminent men and women were on the platform. The speakers were Governor James M. Cox and Mrs. Catt. The Governor strongly endorsed the movement and pledged his support. Mrs. Catt gave a masterly review of its progress throughout the world. Twenty-one States were represented on the program. An important feature of this, as of several preceding conferences, was the reports of what women had been able to accomplish in the many States where they were now enfranchised. Organization and political action in order to carry State amendments formed the principal theme of discussion. Mrs. John R. Leighty of Kansas was elected president with Mrs. Ueland and Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke of Indianapolis on her committee to arrange for the next conference. The shadow of war rested over the meeting, yet in all the speeches was a note of victory for woman suffrage, which evidently was not far distant.

It was planned to hold the next Conference in Sioux Falls, May 26-28, 1918, as South Dakota was in the midst of an amendment campaign, but Mrs. Catt called the Executive Council of the National Association to meet at Indianapolis during the Indiana State convention April 16-18, to plan action on the Federal Amendment, which seemed near passing. This required the attendance of its members from every State and as many of

them did not wish to spare the time and money for another meeting so soon the conference was given up. In 1919 the convention of the National Association was held in St. Louis and in 1920 in Chicago, which made the conference unnecessary, and then the Federal Amendment was ratified and the long contest was ended.

#### THE SOUTHERN WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE.

The Southern Woman Suffrage Conference was formed as the result of a Call sent out in 1913 by women of the southern States to the Governors of those States to meet them in conference and prepare for the extension of woman suffrage by State enactment rather than by Federal Amendment. Women from every southern State signed the Call, although in North and South Carolina and Florida not a vestige of suffrage organization existed. Miss Kate Gordon, who inaugurated the conference, felt impelled to begin some distinctly southern suffrage movement when listening to the effort of the Speaker of the House of Representatives in Louisiana, to secure the ratification of the Income Tax Amendment upon the sole and only ground that it was a Democratic party measure. To make woman suffrage a Democratic party measure seemed then the logical field for immediate, intensive propaganda. The Congressional Committee of the National American Association was vitalizing into activity the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. What more logical from a political standpoint than for the southern suffrage forces to advance with a flank movement in harmony with the traditions and policies of the Democratic party?

In November, 1913, there assembled in New Orleans the organization force of the Southern Conference, with representatives from almost all of the southern States. The platform adopted was primarily for State's Right Suffrage. Miss Gordon was elected president and Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky vice-president; Mrs. John B. Parker of Louisiana corresponding secretary; Mrs. Nellie Nugent Somerville of Mississippi treasurer. The plan of campaign consisted of the establishment of headquarters in New Orleans; the creating of an active press bureau and the holding of conferences in the southern States, particularly those

where no suffrage organization existed. It was originally hoped that the National Association would encourage with active support the development of this specialized suffrage work but it refused any financial assistance.

The founders undaunted pursued their own plan of financing, when suddenly through the generosity of Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont of New York the wheels were set in motion. Under caution that secrecy be maintained, Mrs. Belmont, a southern born woman, attracted by the practicability of the plan, endorsed it by sending a check for \$10,000. Later at a meeting of the conference in Chattanooga, Tenn., she said: "I plead guilty to so strong a desire for the political emancipation of women that I am not at all particular as to how it shall be granted. I have sworn allegiance to the National Amendment for woman suffrage, while the Southern States Conference, of which I am proud to be a member, holds rigidly to the principle of State's rights. As a southerner I thoroughly understand the problems which create this attitude and if that method proves effective I shall gratefully accept the results."

In May, 1914, the headquarters were opened in New Orleans with Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer of Pennsylvania as their secretary. Within three months 1,000 southern newspapers were using the specially prepared weekly editorials and fillers sent out. In October was launched the *New Southern Citizen*, a monthly suffrage magazine, which made its initial trip with a distinctively southern suffrage appeal. This little arsenal of facts reached every legislator in the South prior to the sessions of the Legislatures. Special bills endorsed by suffragists or women were made the theme of weekly news articles, which called out editorials by wholesale. To illustrate: When Mississippi women were making an effort to secure an amendment to enable women to serve on public boards, an enthusiastic Mississippian wrote to the conference of the support given by local papers in their editorials and general comments. Every word printed had been furnished by the news bulletins from the conference headquarters.

The work of the Southern Conference would be incomplete without special mention of the valuable services of Mrs. Wesley Martin Stoner of Washington, D. C. Mrs. Stoner had been

sent as the special representative of the National Association's Congressional Committee to make a survey of southern conditions, in the winter of 1913-14, and reported that her observations led her to believe that the best results would be obtained by a furtherance of the policies of the Southern Conference and from that time she became a valued worker in its ranks.

The conference felt that in a great measure its chief purpose had been achieved when the Democratic party, in its national platform of 1916, went on record for woman suffrage by State enactment. It kept up an active organization throughout the South, however, until May, 1917, when the war situation demanded caution in continuing a movement which was costing over \$600 a month. An additional reason for discontinuance was that Miss Gordon, who had been donating all of her time to the work, was obliged to give attention to her own business affairs.

[Prepared by Miss Kate Gordon.]

#### INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL MEN'S LEAGUES FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The National Men's League for Woman Suffrage in the United States was the outgrowth of the State League in New York, formed in 1910, an account of which is in the New York chapter. National Leagues were afterwards formed in other countries. In Great Britain the Earl of Lytton was president and among the vice-presidents were Earl Russell, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Sir John Cockburn, K.C., M.G., Forbes Robertson, Israel Zangwill and others of prominence in various fields. At the time of the congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Stockholm in the summer of 1911 delegates from these national leagues held a convention there and formed an International Men's League. The United States League was represented by Frederick Nathan of New York. A second international convention of National Men's Leagues took place in London in 1912, the sessions continuing one week. The third convention occurred in Budapest in June, 1913, when the International Woman Suffrage Alliance held its congress and the delegates were warmly welcomed by the Men's League of Hungary. In 1914 came the World War. At the next congress of the Alliance, in Geneva in

1920, the International Men's League was represented by a fraternal delegate, Colonel William Mansfeldt, president of the National League of The Netherlands.

The New York Men's League soon received requests for information from far and wide and it was evident that such a league was needed in every State. Correspondence followed and in 1911 Omar E. Garwood, Assistant District Attorney of Colorado, came to New York. An association of influential men had been formed in that State two years before to refute the misrepresentations of the effects of woman suffrage and he was interested in the New York Men's League. While here he assisted in organizing a National League and consented to act as secretary. James Lees Laidlaw, a banker and public-spirited man of New York City, who was at the head of the State Men's League, was the unanimous choice for president and continued in this office until the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment was ratified in 1920. In a comparatively short time Men's Leagues were formed in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

As the years went by leagues were formed in other States and were more or less active in furthering the cause of woman suffrage according to their leaders. Their officers assisted the campaigns in various States, spoke at hearings by committees of Congress and sent delegations to the conventions of the National American Suffrage Association. Here an evening was always set apart for their meetings, at which Mr. Laidlaw presided, and addresses were made by men well known nationally and locally. A delegation from the National League marched in the big suffrage parade in Washington March 3, 1913. In every State the members were of so much prominence as to give much prestige to the movement. For instance in Pennsylvania Judge Dimmer Beeber was president and the Right Reverend James H. Darlington a leading member. In Massachusetts Edwin D. Mead was president; former Secretary of the Navy John D. Long vice-president; John Graham Brooks treasurer; Francis H. Garrison

chairman of the executive committee. A similar roster could be given in other States. In New York the most eminent men in many lines were connected with the league. The leagues remained in existence until their services were no longer needed.

#### THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY.

The National Woman's Party was organized in the spring of 1913 under the name of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. Its original purpose was to support the work of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its officers were the members of that committee: Miss Alice Paul (N. J.); Miss Crystal Eastman (Wis.); Miss Lucy Burns (N. Y.); Mrs. Lawrence Lewis (Penn.); Mrs. Mary Beard (N. Y.). In successive years names added to its executive committee were those of Mesdames Oliver H. P. Belmont, William Kent, Gilson Gardner, Donald R. Hooker, John Winters Brannan, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Florence Bayard Hilles, J. A. H. Hopkins, Thomas N. Hepburn, Richard Wainwright; Miss Elsie Hill, Miss Anne Martin and others. A large advisory committee was formed.

The object of the Union was the same as that of the National Association—to secure an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would give universal woman suffrage. At the annual convention of the association in December, 1913, a new Congressional Committee was appointed and the Congressional Union became an independent organization. Its headquarters were in Washington, D. C. It never was regularly organized by States, districts, etc., although there were branches in various States. The work was centralized in the Washington headquarters and the forces were easily mobilized. The exact membership probably was never known by anybody. It was a small but very active organization and Miss Paul was the supreme head with no restrictions. A great deal of initiative was allowed to the workers in other parts of the country who were often governed by the exigencies of the situation. After the first few years annual conventions were held in Washington.

While the principal object of the National Association always was a Federal Amendment, for which it worked unceasingly, it



realized that Congress would not submit one until a number of States had made the experiment and their enfranchised women could bring political pressure to bear on the members. Therefore the association campaigned in the States for amendments to their constitutions. The Union did no work of this kind but when it was organized nine States had granted full suffrage to women, the time was ripe for a big "drive" for a Federal Amendment and it could utilize this tremendous backing. Within the next five years six more States were added to the list, including the powerful one of New York. In addition the National Association, cooperating with the women in the States, had secured in fourteen others the right for their women to vote for Presidential electors. The Federal Amendment was a certainty of a not distant future but there was yet a great deal of work to do.

In carrying on this work, while the two organizations followed similar lines in many respects there were some marked differences. The National Association was strictly non-partisan, made no distinction of parties, and followed only constitutional methods. The Congressional Union held the majority party in Congress wholly responsible for the success or failure of the Federal Amendment and undertook to prevent the re-election of its members. In the Congressional elections of 1914 its representatives toured the States where women could vote and urged them to defeat all Democratic candidates regardless of their attitude toward woman suffrage. This policy was followed in subsequent campaigns.

In 1915 the Union held a convention in San Francisco during the Panama-Pacific Exposition and sent envoys across the country with a petition to President Wilson and Congress collected at its headquarters during the exposition. In 1916 it held a three days' convention in Chicago during the National Republican convention and at this time organized the National Woman's Party with the Federal Suffrage Amendment as the only plank in its platform and a Campaign Committee was formed with Miss Anne Martin of Nevada as chairman. At a meeting in Washington in March, 1917, the name Congressional Union was officially changed to National Woman's Party and Miss Paul was elected chairman.

On Jan. 10, 1917, the Union began the "picketing" of the White House, delegations of women with banners standing at the gates all day "as a perpetual reminder to President Wilson that they held him responsible for their disfranchisement." They stood there unmolested for three months and then the United States entered the war. Conditions were no longer normal, feeling was intense and there were protests from all parts of the country against this demonstration in front of the home of the President. In June the police began arresting them for "obstructing the traffic" and during the next six months over 200 were arrested representing many States. They refused to pay their fines in the police court and were sent to the jail and workhouse for from three days to seven months. These were unsanitary, they were roughly treated, "hunger strikes" and forcible feeding followed, there was public indignation and on November 28 President Wilson pardoned all of them and the "picketing" was resumed. Congress delayed action on the Federal Amendment and members of the Union held meetings in Lafayette Square and burned the President's speeches. Later they burned them and a paper effigy of the President on the sidewalk in front of the White House. Arrests and imprisonments followed.

While these violent tactics were being followed the Union worked also along legitimate lines, organized parades, lobbied in Congress, attended committee hearings, went to political conventions, interviewed candidates and worked unceasingly. When the amendment was submitted for ratification it transferred its activities to the Legislatures and the Presidential candidates.

After the Federal Amendment was proclaimed a convention was called to meet in Washington Feb. 15-19, 1921, and decide whether the organization should disband or continue its work until women stood on the same legal, civil, and economic basis as men. The convention decided on the latter course. The name was retained. Miss Paul insisted upon retiring from office and Miss Elsie Hill, who had long been an officer, was elected chairman. A large executive committee was named, headed by Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont of New York. An impressive ceremony took place in the rotunda of the Capitol on February 15, the 101st birthday of Susan B. Anthony, when the party presented

to Congress a marble group of Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton and Lucretia Mott, the work of Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, with representatives of sixty organizations of women taking part. It was officially accepted by Congress.

The National Woman's Party will undertake to secure a Federal Amendment removing all disabilities on account of sex or marriage and will also have bills for this purpose introduced in State Legislatures. In 1921 Mrs. Belmont, who had been the largest contributor, gave \$146,000 for the purchase of a historic mansion in Washington to be used for permanent headquarters and for a national political clubhouse for women. At a new election Mrs. Belmont was made president; Miss Paul vice-president and Miss Hill chairman of the executive committee.

#### ASSOCIATIONS OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The first society of women opposed to the suffrage seems to have been formed in Washington, D. C., in 1871, with the wife of General Sherman, the wife of Admiral Dahlgren and Mrs. Almira Lincoln Phelps, a sister of Miss Emma Willard, as officers. Their first public effort on record was two letters to the *Washington Post* published in 1876 and a memorial from Mrs. Dahlgren in 1878 to a Senate Committee which was to grant a hearing to the suffragists on a Federal Amendment.

An Anti-Suffrage Committee was formed in Massachusetts in the early '80's with Mrs. Charles D. Homans as chairman. About twenty prominent women signed a remonstrance against a State suffrage amendment, which was first presented to the Legislature in 1884 and each year afterwards when there was a resolution before it for this purpose. An Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women was organized in Massachusetts in May, 1895, with Mrs. J. Elliott Cabot president and Mrs. Charles E. Guild secretary; Laurence Minot, treasurer. Executive Committee, chairman, Mrs. Henry M. Whitney. A paper called the *Remonstrance*, started about 1890, was published quarterly in Boston, edited for some years by Frank Foxcroft. It

ceased publication October, 1920, at which time Mrs. J. M. Codman was editor.

In 1894, when a convention for revising the constitution of New York State was held, Anti-Suffrage Committees were formed in Brooklyn, April 18; in New York City, April 25; in Albany, April 28. These committees combined to form the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage on April 8, 1895, with Mrs. Francis M. Scott, president. The other States in which there was an association or committee in late years were as follows: Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, D. C., Wisconsin.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized in New York City in November, 1911, with the following officers: President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge; vice-presidents, Miss Mary A. Ames, Boston, and Mrs. Horace Brock, Philadelphia; secretary, Mrs. William B. Glover, Fairfield, Conn.; treasurer, Mrs. Robert Garrett, Baltimore. Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., succeeded Mrs. Dodge in July, 1917, and was followed by Miss Mary G. Kilbreth in 1920. The aim of the association was "to increase general interest in the opposition to universal woman suffrage and to educate the public in the belief that women can be more useful to the community without the ballot than if affiliated with and influenced by party politics." It held mass meetings during campaigns; sent delegates to hearings given by committees of Congress on a Federal Suffrage Amendment and other matters connected with national woman suffrage; also to Legislatures to oppose State amendments; sent speakers and workers to States where amendment campaigns were in progress and circulated vast quantities of literature.

The national headquarters were in New York City at 37 West 39th St. until 1918 when they were moved to Washington, D. C. Three papers were published, the *Anti-Suffragist* in Albany; the *Woman's Protest* in New York from May, 1912 to March 1, 1918, when it was succeeded by the *Woman Patriot*, published in Washington.

## THE MAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

It is difficult to get statistics of the men's association to prevent woman suffrage. Everett P. Wheeler, a prominent lawyer of New York City, always the moving spirit of the association and its branches, sent the following information:

"The Man Suffrage Association, opposed to political suffrage for women, was organized in New York in 1913 at the request of the State Woman's Anti-Suffrage Association. Its officers were: Everett P. Wheeler, chairman; executive committee: Walter C. Childs, Arthur B. Church, John R. DosPassos, Chas. S. Fairchild, Eugene D. Hawkins, Henry W. Hayden, George Douglas Miller, Robert K. Prentice, Louis T. Romaine, Herbert L. Satterlee, George W. Seligman, Prof. Munroe Smith, Francis Lynde Stetson, John C. Ten Eyck, Gilbert M. Tucker, Dr. Talcott Williams, George W. Wickersham.

"The association issued many pamphlets, briefs, legal arguments, articles and speeches by prominent men, editorials, etc. The *Case Against Woman Suffrage*, a pamphlet of 80 pages, was prepared as a Manual for writers, lecturers and debaters and contained historical sketches, statistics, opinions of men and women, bibliography, answers to suffrage arguments—a mass of information from the viewpoint of opponents.

"The association continued in existence until after the adoption of the suffrage amendment to the State constitution of New York in November, 1917. It was not national in scope but was in affiliation with similar societies in other States. The name of the New Jersey association was Men's Anti-Suffrage League and its principal officers were: Colonel William Libbey, president; Edward Q. Keasbey, vice-president; Walter C. Ellis, secretary; John C. Eisele, treasurer. There was also an association in Maryland and other States.

"The name of the New York association was not changed but in November, 1917, a new one called the American Constitutional League, was formed. The reason for the change was that the question so far as the constitution of New York was concerned

had been settled by vote and agitation was being pressed with vigor in Congress for the proposal by that body of a National Suffrage Amendment. This league is still in existence (1920). It was active in opposing the adoption of the Federal Amendment, was heard before committees of Congress and afterwards before committees of the Legislatures opposing ratification. It is national in its scope and has members in fifteen States.

“When it was announced that the Legislature of West Virginia had passed a resolution ratifying the Federal Amendment, the league presented to Secretary of State Colby the evidence that it had not been legally adopted. This evidence he declared he had no power to consider but was bound by any certificate he might receive from the Secretary of West Virginia. The league also urged upon him that under the constitution of Tennessee, when the Legislature was called in extra session it had no power to ratify the amendment. This evidence he also declined to consider. Thereupon a suit was brought in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to restrain him from issuing the proclamation of ratification. The ground was taken that the proposed amendment was not within the amending power of Article V of the National Constitution; that its first ten amendments form a Bill of Rights which can only be changed by the unanimous consent of all the States. It was contended that it was essential to a republican form of government that the States should have the right to regulate and determine the qualifications for suffrage for the election of their own officers and that the guarantee in the National Constitution of a republican form of government would be violated if this amendment should be held to be valid. The bill was dismissed in the Supreme Court on several grounds, partly technical, and the decree was affirmed in the District Court of Appeals apparently on the ground that the proclamation of ratification was not final. An appeal from this decree is now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States. All this litigation has been conducted by the American Constitutional League.

“The New York headquarters are in Mr. Wheeler’s office in William Street; the Washington headquarters are where the official anti-suffrage organ, the *Woman Patriot*, is published.

While the declared object of the League is 'to protect the Federal Constitution from further invasion' the only effort it has made is to defeat woman suffrage. The Hon. Charles S. Fairchild, Secretary of the Treasury under President Cleveland, is president; honorary vice-presidents, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Francis Lynde Stetson, Herbert L. Satterlee, George W. Wickersham, John C. Milburn, George W. Seligman, the Rev. Anson P. Atterbury and Dr. William P. Manning; Mr. Wheeler, chairman of the executive committee."

During the struggle to secure ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment from the Tennessee Legislature in August, 1920, Mr. Wheeler went to that State and a branch of the league was formed there. The strongest possible fight against it was made. Chancellor Vertrees wrote articles and delivered speeches against it. Professor G. W. Dyer of Vanderbilt University; Frank P. Bond, a Nashville attorney, and others made a speaking tour of the State. When Governor Roberts sent the certificate of ratification to Secretary of State Colby, Speaker of the House Seth M. Walker headed a delegation to Washington to protest against its being accepted. Failing in this they went on to Connecticut to try to prevent ratification by its Legislature.

In Maryland the Men's Anti-Suffrage Association took the name of League for State Defense. Having defeated ratification in the Legislature of that State a delegation went to the West Virginia Legislature in a vain effort to prevent it there. After Maryland women had voted in 1920, suit was brought in the Court of Common Pleas to invalidate the action in the name of Judge Oscar Leser and twenty members of the league's board of managers. Receiving an adverse decision they carried the case to the Court of Appeals, which sustained the decision. Mr. Wheeler and William L. Marbury, George Arnold Frick and Thomas F. Cadwalader of Baltimore represented the league. They carried the case to the U. S. Supreme Court, where it remains at present.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As this volume goes to press the U. S. Supreme Court on Feb. 27, 1922, rendered a unanimous adverse decision in both cases and declared that the Federal Amendment had been legally ratified.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE LEAGUE OF WOMAN VOTERS.<sup>1</sup>

The League of Women Voters was first mentioned at the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, D. C., Dec. 12-15, 1917, when its president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, outlined a plan to unite the women of the equal suffrage States. She suggested organization committees of five women in each, these committees to be united in a central body known as the National League of Women Voters. Upon the enfranchisement of its women each State would automatically join the organization, which would provide a way to retain suffrage associations for work on the Federal Amendment and various reforms. It was voted that a committee be appointed to undertake such a plan of organization. [Handbook of convention, page 48.]

The League of Women Voters was organized at the national convention in St. Louis March 24-29, 1919, in commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the first grant of suffrage on equal terms with men in the world (in Wyoming) and the Fiftieth Anniversary of the organization of the first National Woman Suffrage Association. Women were eligible at this time to vote for President in twenty-eight States. The submission of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment was promised by the Sixty-sixth Congress and early ratification was assured, so that the object for which the association had labored through half a century of arduous sacrifice and toil was nearly attained. The natural question, therefore, was, Should the association make plans to dissolve immediately upon ratification or was there reason for continuance?

On the opening night of the convention Mrs. Catt answered

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, corresponding secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.



this question and gave the purpose and aims of the new organization in her address *The Nation Calls*. She said in part :

Every suffragist will hope for a memorial dedicated to the memory of our brave departed leaders, to the sacrifices they made for our cause, to the scores of victories won. . . . I venture to propose one whose benefits will bless our entire nation and bring happiness to the humblest of our citizens—the most natural, the most appropriate and the most patriotic memorial that could be suggested—a League of Women Voters to “finish the fight” and to aid in the reconstruction of the nation. What could be more natural than that women having attained their political independence should desire to give service in token of their gratitude? What could be more appropriate than that such women should do for the coming generation what those of a preceding did for them? What could be more patriotic than that these women should use their new freedom to make the country safer for their children and their children’s children?

Let us then raise up a League of Women Voters, the name and form of organization to be determined by the members themselves; a league that shall be non-partisan and non-sectarian and consecrated to three chief aims: 1. To use its influence to obtain the full enfranchisement of the women of every State in our own republic and to reach out across the seas in aid of the woman’s struggle for her own in every land. 2. To remove the remaining legal discriminations against women in the codes and constitutions of the several States in order that the feet of coming women may find these stumbling blocks removed. 3. To make our democracy so safe for the nation and so safe for the world that every citizen may feel secure and great men will acknowledge the worthiness of the American republic to lead.

The following ten points covered by Mrs. Catt in her address were adopted later as the first aims of the League of Women Voters and made the plan of work for the Committee on American Citizenship: 1. Compulsory education in every State for all children between six and sixteen during nine months of each year. 2. Education of adults by extension classes of the public schools. 3. English made the national language by having it compulsory in all public and private schools where courses in general education are conducted. 4. Higher qualifications for citizenship and more sympathetic and impressive ceremonials for naturalization. 5. Direct citizenship for women, not through marriage, as a qualification for the vote. 6. Naturalization for married women to be made possible. 7. Compulsory publica-

tion in foreign language newspapers of lessons in citizenship. 8. Schools of citizenship in conjunction with the public schools, a certificate from such schools to be a qualification for naturalization and for the vote. 9. An oath of allegiance to the United States to be one qualification for the vote for every citizen native and foreign born. 10. An educational qualification for the vote in all States after a definite date to be determined.

With Mrs. Catt in the chair and Miss Katharine Pierce of Oklahoma secretary, after full discussion the League of Women Voters was launched to replace the National American Woman Suffrage Association when the work for which the latter was organized was fully accomplished. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president of the association, expressed herself as "wholeheartedly in favor of the proposed action." [Handbook of convention, page 43.] Mrs. Charles H. Brooks of Kansas was elected national chairman. The recommendations of the sub-committees on organization plans, Mrs. Raymond Brown (N. Y.) chairman, were adopted as follows: 1. The Council of the League of Women Voters will consist of the presidents of the States having full, Presidential or Primary suffrage and the chairmen of the Ratification Committees in the seven States of Montana, Idaho, Washington, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona and Wyoming—this Council to pass upon all policies of the league and approve the legislative programs. 2. The permanent chairman, who will also be chairman of the legislative committee, will conduct correspondence, direct organization in unorganized States and visit States with the view of stimulating organization and clarifying the objects of the league, the work for suffrage to remain in the National Congressional Committee and the State Ratification Committees. 3. The State Leagues of Women Voters will consist of individual members and organized committees with the addition of associations already established which subscribe to the principles of the league. At the regular State convention or at a special State conference to be called the object of the league will be set forth and each department presented, with publicity and advertising to bring it to the attention of the public.

Eight departments each composed of a national chairman and one woman from every State were recommended, the members of

these departments to become familiar with all laws on the subjects under consideration, recommend legislative programs, prepare and issue literature on their subjects and work in the States through the State committees. A "budget" of \$20,000 was recommended.

The program for the Women in Industry Committee presented by Mrs. Raymond Robins (Ills.) was adopted. The greatest needs for Unification and Improvement of Laws defining the Legal Status of Women were named by Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch (Ills.), such as joint guardianship of children, marriage and divorce laws, property rights, industry, civil service, morality, child welfare and elections. Education was set forth as the best means to Social Morality and Social Hygiene by Dr. Valeria Parker (Conn.). Miss Julia Lathrop (Washington, D. C.), chief of the Federal Child Welfare Bureau, spoke on present needs, saying: "Child labor and an educated community, child labor and modern democracy cannot co-exist. . . . Time does not wait, the child lives or dies. If he lives he takes up his life well or ill equipped, not as he chooses but as we choose for him."

The following needed Improvements of Election Laws were named by Mrs. Ellis Meredith (Colo.): *Federal*—A national amendment guaranteeing women the franchise on the same terms as men; restricting the franchise to those who are citizens; repealing the Act of 1907 which disfranchises women marrying foreigners; an extension of the present five-year time after which a foreigner becomes a full citizen by virtue of having taken out two sets of papers and giving the oath of allegiance. *State*—Adoption of the Australian ballot; reduction of number of ballots printed to not more than 5 per cent. more than registration; for "military" and "poll tax" substitution of "election tax," to be remitted to persons voting and collected from those failing to do so when not unavoidably prevented by illness; adoption of absent voter law—Montana or Minnesota statutes recommended; discontinuance of vehicles except for sick or feeble or crippled persons; even division of Judges between major political parties, examination required, more latitude in appointment and removal

for cause; election of judicial, legislative and educational officers at a different time from that for national and State.

Miss Jessie R. Haver, legislative representative of the National Consumers' League and executive secretary of the Consumers' League of the District of Columbia, read a paper on The Government and the Market Basket, after which she presented a resolution urging the chairman of the Senate and House Interstate Commerce Committee to re-introduce and pass the bill drafted by the Federal Trade Commission in reference to the Packers' Trust.

During the convention sectional conferences were held on the department subjects. Out of these conferences came many suggestions and two resolutions were adopted: 1. That the League of Women Voters supports the Federal Trade Commission in its efforts to secure remedial legislation in the meat-packing industry. 2. That the convention endorses the principle of federal aid to the States for the removal of adult illiteracy and the Americanization of the adult foreign born.

In June, 1919, the initial conference of the president, Mrs. Brooks, and the committee chairmen of the League of Women Voters, was held at the headquarters of the National Suffrage Association, 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, and plans were made to render the league effective throughout the United States.

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The record of the action of the Official Board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1919 on questions pertaining to the League of Women Voters is as follows: In April it was voted that the Americanization Committee and the Committee on Protection of Women in Industry of the association be united with the committees of the same name in the league. In May the following chairmen for new committees were selected, subject to endorsement of the Council of the league: Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Washington, D. C., Food Supply and Demand; Mrs. Jacob Baur (Ills.), Improvement of Election Laws and Methods; Mrs. Percy V. Pennacker (Tex.), Child Welfare. In July an appropriation of \$200 for each of the eight departments of the league was made from the treasury of the association.

As the National Association was the convener of the first congress of the League of Women Voters and there was no method of determining the number of delegates that any league was entitled to, the Board on December 30, in preparation for the approaching annual convention in Chicago, adopted the following resolution: 1. That each State auxiliary of the association be invited to secure for the league congress, which would be held at the same time, one delegate from the State Federation of Women's Clubs, one from the State Woman's Christian Temperance Union and one from the State Women's Trade Union League; and ten delegates at large from the national organizations of each. 2. That invitations be extended to the following national bodies, asking each to send ten delegates at large: Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, International Child Welfare League, Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, Ladies of the Maccabees, National Council of Jewish Women, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers' Associations, Federation of College Women, Florence Crittenden Mission, Women's Relief Corps, Women's Relief Society, Women's Benefit Association of the Maccabees, Women's Department National Civic Federation, United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Young Women's Christian Association. 3. That each of the ten unorganized western States be entitled to ten delegates to be secured by the chairman of ratification.

At the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the League of Women Voters in Chicago Feb. 12-18, 1920, there were present 507 delegates, 102 alternates and 89 fraternal delegates. Among the resolutions for dissolving the association recommended by its Executive Council and adopted by vote of the delegates was the following pertaining to the League of Women Voters:

*Citizenship*—Whereas, millions of women will become voters in 1920, and, Whereas, the low standards of citizenship found in the present electorate clearly indicate the need of education in the principles and ideals of our Government and the methods of political procedure, therefore be it resolved: 1. That the National League of Women Voters be urged to make Political Education for the new women voters (but not excluding men) its

first duty for 1920. 2. That the nation-wide plan shall include normal schools for citizenship in each State followed by schools in each county. 3. That we urge the League of Women Voters to make every effort to have the study of citizenship required in the public schools of every State, beginning in the primary grades and continuing through the upper grades, high schools, normal schools, colleges and universities.

The recommendations were: 1. That the League of Women Voters, now a section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, be organized as a new and independent society. 2. That the present State auxiliaries of the association, while retaining their relationship in form to the Board of Officers to be elected in this convention, shall change their names, objects and constitutions to conform to those of the league and take up the plan of work to be adopted in its first congress.

At the opening session of the congress of the League of Women Voters Saturday afternoon, February 14, Mrs. Brooks, the chairman, presiding, Mrs. Catt was made permanent chairman and Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson recording secretary for the convention. By vote of the convention the chair named the following committees and chairmen: Constitution, Mrs. Raymond Brown (N. Y.); Nominations, Mrs. George Gellhorn (Mo.); Regions, Mrs. Andreas Ueland (Wis.). The constitution was adopted defining the aims of the league—to foster education in citizenship; to urge every woman to become an enrolled voter, but as an organization the league not to be allied with or support any party.

Following are the officers elected for 1920-1921, the regional division of States and the chairmen of departments: Directors at Large—Mrs. Maud Wood Park (Mass.), Mrs. Richard E. Edwards (Ind.), Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs (Ala.). Board as Organized—Chairman, Mrs. Park; vice-chairman, Mrs. Gellhorn; treasurer, Mrs. Edwards; secretary, Mrs. Jacobs. Mrs. Catt was made honorary chairman by the board.

Regional Directors—First Region: Miss Katharine Ludington (Conn.)—Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Second: Mrs. F. Louis Slade (N. Y.)—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware. Third: Miss Ella Dortch (Tenn.)—Virginia, Dis-

trict of Columbia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Tennessee. Fourth: Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser (O.)—Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, West Virginia and Wisconsin. Fifth: Mrs. James Paige (Minn.)—Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming and Montana. Sixth: Mrs. George Gellhorn (Mo.)—Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas and Missouri. Seventh: Mrs. C. B. Simmons (Ore.)—Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and California.

Chairmen of Departments.—1. American Citizenship, Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, Boston; 2. Protection of Women in Industry, Miss Mary McDowell, Chicago; 3. Child Welfare, Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Austin (Tex.); Social Hygiene, Dr. Valeria H. Parker, Hartford (Conn.); 5. Unification of Laws Concerning Civil Status of Women, Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, Chicago; 6. Improvement in Election Laws and Methods, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York; 7. Food Supply and Demand, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Washington, D. C.; 8. Research, Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, New York.

The recommendations of the Committee on Plans for Citizenship Schools, appointed by the National Suffrage Association, Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, chairman, were adopted as follows:

1. That a normal school be held in the most available large city in each State, to which every county shall be asked to send one or more representatives, the school to be open to all local people.
2. That no State shall feel that it has approached the task of training for citizenship which has not had at least one school in every county, followed by schools in as many townships and wards as possible, with the ultimate aim of reaching the women of every election district.
3. That minimum requirement of a citizenship school should include (a) the study of local, State and national government; (b) the technique of voting and election laws; (c) organization and platform of political parties; (d) the League of Women Voters—its aims, its platforms, its plans of work.
4. That each State employ a director for citizenship schools to be under the direction of the national director of such schools.
5. That the States urge the assistance of State

universities through summer schools, extension departments and active participation by professors from these departments to make the teaching of citizenship of real benefit to the State. 6. That the States invite the cooperation of local men who are experienced in public affairs and that every agency, including that of publicity, be employed which will tend to increased interest in the teaching of citizenship. 7. That the States try to make the study of citizenship compulsory in the public schools from the primary grades up.

The following resolutions were adopted: 1. That a copy of the legislative program as selected by the Board of Directors shall be submitted to all State presidents and presidents of national women's organizations for approval, and that a deputation from the League of Women Voters be sent to the conventions of two at least of the dominant political parties to present this program to the delegates and to chairmen of the Resolutions Committees if announced in advance, leaders of these parties having been previously interviewed or circularized. 2. That the recommendations of the standing committees as accepted by the convention be referred to the Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters; after consultation with the chairmen the Board in turn to pass on its recommendations to the State chairmen with the request that they use as many of them as possible. 3. That resolutions relating to Federal legislation, after submission to the National Board, be considered binding; that resolutions affecting State legislation be considered recommendations to be submitted to States. 4. That in order to create a better understanding of the purposes of the League of Women Voters and its relation to other national organizations of women, the directors of the league make the purposes of the league exceedingly clear to local groups—namely, that its function is for the purpose of fostering education in citizenship and of supporting improved legislation; that as far as possible organizations already existing and doing similar work be used and asked to cooperate in the work of educating women to an understanding of these purposes; that a Committee on Congressional Legislation be created with headquarters in Washington and that in addition to a chairman



the committee be made up of a representative from each of the great national organizations of women.

It was moved by Mrs. John L. Pyle (S. D.), seconded by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton (O.) and carried by the convention that, Whereas, all women citizens of the United States would today be fully enfranchised had not James W. Wadsworth, Jr., misrepresented his State and his party when continuously and repeatedly voting, working and manœuvering against the proposed 19th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, be it Resolved, That we, representing the enfranchised women of the country, extend to the women of New York our appreciation and our help in their patriotic work of determining to send to the U. S. Senate to succeed the said James W. Wadsworth, Jr., a modern-minded Senator who will be capable of comprehending the great American principles of freedom and democracy.

Before the convention opened there were eight conferences followed by dinners presided over by the chairmen of the departments. The voting members of each conference were the chairman and forty-eight State members and representatives of other agencies doing the same work. The purpose of each conference was to formulate a legislative program combining the best judgment and experience of all workers for the same cause. This program was presented to the convention of the League of Women Voters for its consideration and after adoption it became the platform to which the league was pledged. These conferences were open to visitors without speaking or voting privileges.

The program as submitted by the chairmen, approved by the conferences and amended and adopted by the convention was as follows: Women in Industry, Mrs. Raymond Robins; recommendations presented by Miss Grace Abbott (Ills.):

I. We affirm our belief in the right of the workers to bargain collectively through trade unions and we regard the organization of working women as especially important because of the peculiar handicaps from which they suffer in the labor market.

II. We call attention to the fact that it is still necessary for us to urge that wages should be paid on the basis of occupation and not on sex.

III. We recommend to Congress and the Federal Government:  
1. The establishment in the U. S. Department of Labor of a

permanent Women's Bureau with a woman as chief and an appropriation adequate for the investigation of all matters pertaining to wage earning women and the determination of standards and policies which will promote their welfare, improve their working conditions and increase their efficiency. 2. The appointment of women in the Mediation and Conciliation Service of the U. S. Department of Labor and on any industrial commission or tribunal which may hereafter be created. 3. The establishment of a Joint Federal and State Employment Service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women. 4. The adoption of a national constitutional amendment giving to Congress the power to establish minimum labor standards and the enactment by Congress of a Child Labor Law extending the application of the present Federal child labor tax laws, raising the age minimum for general employment from 14 to 15 years and the age for employment at night to 18 years. 5. Recognizing the importance of a world-wide standardization of industry we favor the participation of the United States in the International Labor Conference and the appointment of a woman delegate to the next conference.

IV. We recommend to the States legislative provision for: 1. The limitation of the hours of work for wage earning women in industrial undertakings to not more than 8 hours in any one day or 44 hours in any one week and the granting of one day's rest in seven. 2. The prohibition of night work for women in industrial undertakings. 3. The compulsory payment of a minimum wage to be fixed by a Minimum Wage Commission at an amount which will insure to the working woman a proper standard of health, comfort and efficiency. 4. Adequate appropriations for the enforcement of labor laws and the appointment of technically qualified women as factory inspectors and as heads of women in industry divisions in the State Factory Inspection Departments.

V. We urge upon the Federal Board of Vocational Education and upon State and local Boards of Commissioners of Education the necessity of giving to girls and women full opportunity for education along industrial lines, and we further recommend the appointment of women familiar with the problems of women in industry as members and agents of the Federal Board of Vocational Education and of similar State and local Boards.

VI. Recognizing that the Federal, State and Local Governments are the largest employers of labor in the United States, we urge (a) an actual merit system of appointment and promotion based on qualifications for the work to be performed, these qualifications to be determined in open competition, free from special privilege or preference of any kind and especially free from discrimination on the ground of sex; (b) A reclassification of the present Federal civil service upon this basis with a wage or salary scale determined by the skill and training required for the work to be performed and not on the basis of sex; (c) A minimum wage in Federal, State and local service which shall not be less than the cost of living as de-

terminated by official investigations; (d) Provisions for an equitable retirement system for superannuated public employees; (e) Enlarging of Federal and State Civil Service Commissions so as to include three groups in which men and women shall be equally represented; namely, representatives of the administrative officials, of the employees and of the general public, and (f) The delegating to such commissions of full power and responsibility for the maintenance of an impartial, non-political and efficient administration.

VII. Finally this department recommends that the League of Women Voters shall keep in touch with the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor securing information as to the success or failure of protective legislation in this and other countries, as to standards that are being discussed and adopted and as to the results of investigations that are made.

Upon motion of Miss Abbott, duly seconded, it was voted that the following resolutions be adopted: "That the report of the Women in Industry Department of the National League of Women Voters in its entirety be officially transmitted by the secretary to the congressional legislative bodies or committees thereof before which legislation on the subject is now pending and to the administrative officials who may have authority to act upon any of its recommendations; that the article concerning the establishment on a permanent basis of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor be telegraphed tonight to Representative James W. Good and Senator Francis E. Warren, chairmen of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees in Congress, and to Senator William S. Kenyon and Representative J. M. C. Smith, chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Labor before which this legislation is now pending; that the whole of the article concerning the Federal civil service be telegraphed tonight to Senator A. A. Jones, chairman of the Joint Congressional Commission on Reclassification of the Federal Service; to Senator Kenyon of the State Labor Committee; Senator Thomas Sterling and Representative Frederick R. Lehigh, chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on the Civil Service.

Food Supply and Demand, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, chairman. Whereas, in addition to the results of inflated currency due to the war, the high cost of living in the United States is increased and the production of necessary food supplies diminished

by unduly restrictive private control of the channels of commerce, markets and other distributing facilities by large food organizations and combinations; and, Whereas, if our civilization is to fulfil its promise, it is vital that nourishing food be brought and kept within the reach of every home and especially of all the growing children of the nation, be it

Resolved, First, that the principles and purposes of the Kenyon-Kendrick-Anderson Bills now pending in Congress for the regulation of the meat-packing industry be endorsed for prompt and effective enactment into laws and that this declaration be brought to the attention of the leading political parties in advance of an urgent request for corresponding and unqualified platform pledges; Second, that the Food Supply and Demand Committee be authorized to keep in touch with the progress of the proposed legislation and to cooperate with the National Consumers' League, the American Live Stock Association, the Farmers' National Council and other organizations of like policy in an effort to promote through legislation the realization of such principles and purposes; furthermore, that the committee be authorized to confer with the Department of Agriculture in regard to the extension of its service, with a view to establishing long-distance information to enable shippers and producers to know daily the supplies and demands of the food market; Third, that the early enactment of improved State and Federal Laws to prevent food profiteering, waste and improper hoarding is urged and the strict enforcement of all such present laws is demanded; Fourth, that the various State Leagues of Women Voters are requested to consider the advisability of establishing public markets, abattoirs, milk depots and other terminal facilities; Fifth, that aid be extended to all branches of the league in spreading knowledge of the methods and benefits of legitimate cooperative associations and that endorsement be given to suitable national and State legislation favoring their organization and use.

The meat packers asked for a hearing and by vote of the convention ten minutes were allowed them to present their case. This was done by Louis D. Weld, manager of the commercial research department of Swift and Company, Chicago, who said during his remarks: "I believe you ladies are not prepared to pass

on such a vital matter as this proposed legislation; it is a mighty complicated and intricate subject." A decided titter ran around the room. Women who had been making a study of the question from the home side for a number of years did not resent being told that they did not understand it but they smiled at a man's coming to tell them so. To show that they were fair, when he said that the packers did a great amount of good in carrying food in time of war he was cheered. His argument had no effect. After he had finished the league adopted the committee's recommendations and passed the resolution against which the packers had directed their efforts.

Social Hygiene, Dr. Valeria H. Parker, chairman. Resolutions recommended and adopted on the abolition of commercialized prostitution: (a) The abolition of all segregated or protected vice districts and the elimination of houses used for vicious purposes. (b) Punishment of frequenters of disorderly houses and penalization of the payment of money for prostitution as well as its receipt. (c) Heavy penalties for pimps, panders, procurers and go-betweens. (d) Prevention of solicitation in streets and public places by men and women. (e) Elimination of system of petty fines and establishment of indeterminate sentences. (f) Strict enforcement of laws against alcohol and drug trades.

Drastic resolutions were passed for the control of venereal diseases, applying alike to men and women. Those on delinquents, minors and defectives were as follows: (a) Legal age of consent to be not less than 18 and laws to include protection of boys under 18 as well as of girls. (b) Trying cases involving sex offenses in chancery courts instead of in criminal courts is advocated. (c) Mental examination and diagnosis of all children, registration of abnormal cases, education suited to their possibilities; supervision during and after school age; custodial care for those unable to adjust to a normal environment. (d) Reformatory farms for delinquent men and women . . . these institutions to have trained officers. (f) Women on governing boards of all charitable and penal institutions; as probation and parole officers; as State and local police; as protective officers; as court officials, as jurors; as physicians in institutions for women and on all State and local boards of health. The committee recom-

mends the establishment of local protective homes for girls in all the larger cities, proper detention quarters for women awaiting trial and separate detention quarters for juvenile offenders, as well as Travelers' Aid agents at all large railroad stations and steamship embarkation points.

Child Welfare—Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, chairman. The resolutions adopted covered: 1. The endorsement of the Sheppard-Towner Bill for the Public Protection of Maternity and Infancy; (2) of the principle of a bill for physical education about to be introduced into Congress to be administered by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior; (3) of an appropriation of \$472,220 for the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor; (4) of the Gard-Curtis Bill for the regulation of child labor in the District of Columbia.

American Citizenship—Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, chairman. Resolutions provided for: 1. Compulsory education which shall include adequate training in citizenship in every State for all children between six and sixteen nine months of each year. 2. Education of adults by extension classes of the public schools. 3. English made the basic language of instruction in the common-school branches in all schools public and private. 4. Specific qualifications for citizenship and impressive ceremonials for naturalization. 5. Direct citizenship for women, not through marriage, as a qualification for the vote. 6. Naturalization for married women made possible, American women to retain their citizenship after marriage to an alien. 7. Printed citizenship instruction in the foreign languages for the use of the foreign born, as a function of the Federal Government. 8. Schools of citizenship in conjunction with the public schools, a certificate from such schools to be a qualification for the educational test for naturalization. 9. An educational qualification for the vote in all States after a sufficient period of time and ample opportunity for education have been allowed.

Laws Concerning the Legal Status of Women, Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, chairman. Following resolutions presented and adopted: 1. Independent citizenship for married women. 2. Equal interest of spouses in each other's real estate. 3. The married woman's wages and business under her sole control.

4. Just civil service laws in all cities and States now under the spoils system; amendments to existing civil service laws to enable men and women to have equal rights in examinations and appointments. 5. Mothers' pensions with a minimum amount adequate and definite; the maximum amount left to the discretion of the administering court; the benefits of all such laws extended to necessitous cases above the age specified in the law, at the discretion of the administering body, and residence qualifications required. 6. The minimum "age of consent" eighteen years. 7. Equal guardianship by both parents of the persons and the property of children, the Utah law being a model. 8. Legal workers should read a book published by the Department of Labor entitled *Illegitimacy Laws of the United States*. 9. A Court should be established having original exclusive jurisdiction over all affairs pertaining to the child and his interests. 10. The marriage age for women should be eighteen years, for men twenty-one years. The State should require health certificates before issuing marriage licenses. There should be Federal legislation on marriage and divorce and statutes prohibiting the evasion of marriage laws. 11. Laws should provide that women be subject to jury service and the unit vote of jurors in civil cases should be abolished. 12. Members of committees of the League of Women Voters should not use their connection with the league to assist any political party.

On February 17 Miss Mary Garrett Hay in an appeal for funds secured pledges of \$44,450. Of this sum the amount of \$15,000 by the Leslie Commission was offered by Mrs. Catt as follows:

(1) The *Woman Citizen* as an organ of the league until Jan. 1, 1921, at which time we believe that it should issue a Bulletin of its own.

(2) The full use of the publicity department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association until May 1, 1920.

(3) The remainder for the use of the league during the year.

Following the convention Mrs. Catt conducted a School of Political Education in the Auditorium of Recital Hall, in Chicago, February 19-24. Its aim was to train women already equipped with competent knowledge of civil government and political science to teach new voters the ideals of American Citizenship, the

processes of registering and casting a vote, the methods of making nominations and platforms, the nature of political parties and the best ways of using a vote to get what they want and to effect the general welfare of the people. Mrs. Catt urged each State to hold a similar State school to be followed by others in every election district, to carry the message to every woman that good citizens not only register and vote but know how to do so and why they do it; to set a standard of good citizenship with an "irreducible minimum" of qualifications below which no person can fall and lay claim to the title good citizen. It was planned to give certificates of endorsement to those who passed 75 per cent. in the examinations at the close.

A widespread demand arose for Citizenship Schools, requests coming even from women who were indifferent or opposed to suffrage but who, now that the vote was assured, were anxious to make good and intelligent use of the ballot. Under the direction of Mrs. Gellhorn, vice-chairman of the National League of Women Voters and chairman of Organization, twenty-seven field directors were employed and schools held in thirty-five States. Missouri had 102 schools, Nebraska 30, Ohio 35. In sixteen States, the State universities cooperated with the League of Women Voters in their citizenship work. Those of Iowa and Virginia employed in their extension departments directors of citizenship schools, who, responding to calls, went to various localities and conducted courses in citizenship. That of Missouri put in a required course for every freshman, with five hours' credit. A normal training school was conducted in St. Louis in August and a correspondence course of twelve lessons was issued and used by forty-two States. In many cases these schools made a thorough study of the fundamental principles of government.

In compliance with the instruction of the convention the Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters at its post-convention meeting in Chicago selected from the program recommended by the standing committees the issues to be presented to the Resolution Committees of the political parties with a request that they be adopted as planks in the national platforms. Two of the Federal measures endorsed by the League in Chicago—the bill for the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor and the



Retirement Bill for Superannuated Public Employees—were passed by Congress the following June and became law. Twelve others were grouped into six planks and later condensed into a single paragraph as follows:

“We urge Federal cooperation with the States in the protection of infant life through infancy and maternity care; the prohibition of child labor and adequate appropriation for the Children’s Bureau; a Federal Department of Education; joint Federal and State aid for the removal of illiteracy and increase of teachers’ salaries; instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign born; increased Federal support for vocational training in home economics and Federal regulation of the marketing and distribution of food; full representation of women on all commissions dealing with women’s work and women’s interests; the establishment of a joint Federal and State employment service with women’s departments under the direction of technically qualified women; a reclassification of the Federal Civil Service free from discrimination on account of sex; continuance of appropriations for public education in sex hygiene; Federal legislation which shall insure that American-born women resident in the United States but married to aliens shall retain American citizenship and that the same process of naturalization shall be required of alien women as is required of alien men.”

Deputations from the Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters presented this program to the Resolutions Committee of the Republican party at its convention in Chicago; to that of the Democratic party in San Francisco, and to the convention of the Farmer Labor party and the Committee of Forty-eight held jointly in Chicago. The last named included the following planks: Abolition of employment of children under 16 years of age; a Federal Department of Education; Public ownership and operation of stock yards, large abattoirs, cold-storage and terminal warehouses; equal pay for equal work. Five of the planks were included in the Republican platform: Prohibition of child labor throughout the United States; instruction in citizenship for the youth of the land; increased Federal support for vocational training in home economics; equal pay for equal work; independent citizenship for married women. The Democratic

Resolutions Committee incorporated in its platform all of the requests made by the League of Women Voters except a Federal Department of Education. The Socialist Party held its convention before the planks were sent out. The Prohibition Party adopted the full program of the League of Women Voters.

One of the important steps taken in 1920 by the League of Women Voters in support of its social welfare program was the presenting of these platform planks to the Presidential candidates of the two major parties for their approval. Its representatives with a deputation went to Marion, O., the home of Senator Harding, Republican candidate, October 1 and to Dayton, O., the home of Governor Cox, Democratic candidate, the following day. Each promised assistance in the event of his election.

At the call of Mrs. Park, chairman of the league, delegates representing national organizations which collectively numbered about 10,000,000 women, met in Washington on November 22. These included the National League of Women Voters, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Council of Women, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, National Women's Trade Union League, National Consumers' League, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers' Associations, Association of Collegiate Alumnae, American Home Economics Association, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. They formed a Woman's Joint Congressional Committee and endorsed the largest constructive, legislative program ever adopted. It was arranged that all organizations might participate to the limit of their specific field of work and purposes and at the same time all possibility was eliminated of any being involved in supporting a measure or a principle outside of its scope or contrary to its opinions.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NATIONAL PRESIDENTIAL CONVENTIONS.<sup>1</sup>

The courage and patience of the woman suffrage leaders in their long struggle for the ballot is nowhere more strongly evidenced than in their continued appeals to the national political conventions to recognize in their platforms woman's right to the franchise. These distinguished women were received with an indifference that was insulting until far into the 20th century. To two parties, the Prohibition and the Socialist, it was never necessary to appeal. The Prohibition party was organized in 1872 and from that time always advocated woman suffrage in its national platform except in 1896, when it had only a single plank, but this was supplemented by resolutions favoring equal suffrage. The Socialist party, which came into existence in 1901, declared for woman suffrage at the start and thereafter made it a part of its active propaganda. All the minor parties as a rule put planks for woman suffrage in their platforms.<sup>2</sup>

Before the conventions in 1904 the board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association secured full lists of delegates and alternates of the two dominant parties—667 Republicans and 723 Democratic delegates; 495 Republican alternates and 384 Democratic, a total of 2,269. To each a letter was sent directing his attention to a memorial enclosed, signed by the officers of the association, an urgent request for the insertion in the platform of the following resolution: "Resolved, That we favor the submission by Congress to the various State Legislatures of an amendment to the Federal Constitution forbidding the disfranchisement of United States citizens on account of sex."

The Republican convention met in Chicago June 21-23. The committee appointed by the National Association consisted of

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Mary Garrett Hay, second vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

<sup>2</sup> For a full account of the effort to obtain planks in the national platforms from 1868 to 1900, inclusive, see Chapter XXIII, Volume IV, *History of Woman Suffrage*.

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton and Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser of Ohio, its treasurer and headquarters secretary, and Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch of Chicago, a former officer, who arranged the hearing. The beautiful rooms of the Chicago Woman's Club were placed at their disposal, where they kept open house, assisted by Mrs. Gertrude Blackwelder, president of the Chicago Political League, Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin and other prominent club women. Mrs. McCulloch went to the Auditorium Annex to ask the Committee on Resolutions for a hearing. Senator Hopkins of Illinois presented her to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the chairman, and the choice was given her of having it immediately or the next morning. She chose the nearest hour and a little later returned with her committee. Mrs. McCulloch introduced the speakers and made the closing argument. Mrs. Upton, the Rev. Celia Parker Woolley and the Rev. Olympia Brown addressed the committee. They were generously applauded, the suffrage plank was referred to a sub-committee and buried.

The Democratic convention was held in St. Louis July 6-9 and Mrs. Priscilla D. Hackstaff, an officer of the New York Suffrage Association, secured a hearing before the Resolutions Committee. Mrs. Louise L. Werth of St. Louis and Miss Kate M. Gordon of Louisiana joined her on the opening day of the convention and at 8 o'clock the evening of the 7th they appeared before the committee. Mrs. Hackstaff argued on the ground of abstract justice and Miss Gordon from the standpoint of expediency. The committee listened attentively and were liberal with applause but the resolution never was heard from.

Undaunted by a failure which began in 1868 and had continued ever since, the suffragists made their plans for 1908. The Republican convention was again held in Chicago, June 16-20, and a committee of eminent women presented the suffrage resolution—Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Henrotin, the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Miss Harriet Grim, Mrs. Blackwelder and Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch. They were heard politely but not the slightest attention was paid to their request. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, tried to secure the adoption of a plank pledging the Republican party to support a Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment but also was ignored.

When the Democratic party met in national convention in Denver July 7-11, all the delegates and alternates received an appeal which read: "You are respectfully requested by the National American Woman Suffrage Association to place the following plank in your platform: 'Resolved, That we favor the extension of the elective franchise to the women of the United States by the States upon the same qualifications as it is accorded to men.' We ask this in order that our Government may live up to the principles upon which it was founded and in order that the women in the homes and the industries may have equal power with men to influence conditions affecting these respective spheres of action. In making this demand for justice our association calls your attention to the fact that more than 5,000,000 women who are occupied in the industries of the United States are helpless to legislate upon the hours, conditions and remuneration for their labor. We call your attention to the fact that through the commercialized trend of legislation the children of our nation are being sacrificed to a veritable Juggernaut—cheap labor—while this same trend is wasting our mineral land and water resources, imperiling thereby the inheritance of future generations. We call your attention to the moral conditions menacing the youth of our country. Justice and expediency demand that women be granted equal power with men to mould the conditions directly affecting the industries, the resources and the homes of the nation. We therefore appeal to the Democratic convention assembled to name national standard bearers and to determine national policies, to adopt in its platform a declaration favoring the extension of the franchise to the women of the United States."

This appeal was signed by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president, Kate M. Gordon, Rachel Foster Avery, Alice Stone Blackwell, Harriet Taylor Upton, Laura Clay and Mary S. Sperry, national officers. It received no consideration whatever, but, although the suffragists did not know it, this was the last year when the two powerful political parties of the country could stand with a united front hostile to all progressive movements. There was shortly to be brought to the assistance of such movements strong forces which could not be resisted.

Early in 1912 President William Howard Taft and U. S.

Senator Robert M. La Follette announced their intention of trying to secure the Republican nomination for the presidency and the press of the country took up the burning question, "Will Roosevelt be a candidate for a third term?" On February 25 he announced his candidacy and from then until the date of the Republican national convention the public interest was intense. The convention met in Chicago, June 16-20. Miss Jane Addams, vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, had arranged with a number of women to appear at a few hours' notice before the Resolutions Committee but she could not give even that, as she learned at 8:30 p.m. on the 19th that the committee would meet at 9:30 in the Congress Hotel and she must appear at that time. There was hastily mustered into service a small but distinguished group of suffragists consisting of Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen and Miss Mary Bartelme of Chicago; Professor Sophonisba Breckinridge of Kentucky; Mrs. B. B. Mumford of Richmond, Va.; Miss Lillian D. Wald and Mrs. Simkovitch of New York City; Miss Helen Todd of California; Professor Freund of the Chicago University Law Faculty and a few others. At ten o'clock the suffragists were admitted to the committee room and greeted cordially by Governor Hadley of Missouri and courteously by the chairman, Charles W. Fairbanks. Miss Addams was told that she might have five minutes (later extended to seven) and present one speaker. She introduced Mrs. Bowen, president of the Juvenile Protective Association, who spoke earnestly four minutes, leaving Miss Addams three to make the final plea. There were confusion and noise in the room and the attention of the committee was distracted. The platform contained no reference to woman suffrage. Senator LaFollette presented his own platform to the convention in which was a plank favoring the extension of suffrage to women but it went down to defeat. Two days later the convention amid great excitement nominated President Taft by a vote of 561 while Colonel Roosevelt's vote was only 107. Directly after the convention adjourned the delegates who favored Roosevelt assembled at Orchestra Hall and nominated him in the name of the new Progressive party, Miss Addams seconding the nomination.

Soon after Colonel Roosevelt announced his candidacy he

was visited by Judge "Ben" Lindsey of Denver, a representative of the progressive element in politics, who pointed out to him the great assistance it would be to his campaign for him to come out for woman suffrage. Roosevelt, who was an astute politician, saw the advantage of enlisting the help of women, who through their large organizations had become a strong factor in public life. Judge Lindsay therefore was authorized to announce that he would favor a woman suffrage plank in the Progressive platform and Roosevelt confirmed it. This caused wide excitement and the suffragists throughout the country began to rally under the Roosevelt banner. He had always been theoretically in favor but with many reservations and during his two terms as President he had refused all appeals to endorse it in any way. When he went to Chicago to the first convention of the Progressive party August 5 he carried with him the draft of the platform and in it was a plank favoring woman suffrage but calling for a nationwide referendum of the question to women themselves!

When this plank was submitted to the Resolutions Committee, on which were such suffragists as Miss Addams, Judge Lindsay and U. S. Senator Albert J. Beveridge, they vetoed it at once. It had already been issued to the press in printed form and telegrams recalling it had to be sent far and wide. The plank presented by the Resolutions Committee and unanimously adopted by the convention read as follows: "The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike."

Many States sent women delegates and they were cordially welcomed. The convention was marked by a deep, almost religious zeal, the delegates breaking frequently into the singing of hymns of which Onward Christian Soldiers was a favorite. Women took a prominent part in the proceedings and woman suffrage was made one of the leading features. Senator Beveridge referred to it at length in his speech, saying: "Because women as much as men are a part of our economic and social life, women as much as men should have the voting power to solve all economic and social problems. Votes are theirs as a matter of natural right

alone; votes should be theirs as a matter of political wisdom also."

Later in a glowing tribute Mr. Roosevelt said: "It is idle to argue whether women can play their part in politics because in this convention we have seen the accomplished fact, and, moreover, the women who have actively participated in this work of launching the new party represent all that we are most proud to associate with American womanhood. My earnest hope is to see the Progressive party in all its State and local divisions recognize this fact precisely as it has been recognized at the national convention. . . . Workingwomen have the same need to combine for protection that workingmen have; the ballot is as necessary for one class as for the other; we do not believe that with the two sexes there is identity of function but we do believe that there should be equality of right and therefore we favor woman suffrage." The Progressive party in State after State followed the lead of the convention and women were welcomed into its deliberations. From this time woman suffrage was one of the dominant political issues throughout the country.

The Democratic National Convention met in Baltimore June 25-July 3. The Baltimore suffragists applied on Thursday for a hearing before the Resolutions Committee for Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and were informed that the hearings had ended on Wednesday. Urged by the women the chairman, John W. Kern of Indiana, finally consented to give a hearing that day, although he said he had turned away hundreds of men who wanted hearings, and he allotted five minutes to it. Mrs. W. J. Brown of Baltimore, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis of Philadelphia and several others went with Dr. Shaw but after a long wait only Mrs. Lewis and she were admitted. With a strong, logical speech Dr. Shaw presented the following resolution and asked that it be made a plank in the platform:

Whereas, The fundamental idea of a democracy is self-government, the right of citizens to choose their own representatives, to enact the laws by which they are governed, and whereas, this right can be secured only by the exercise of the suffrage, therefore,

Resolved, That the ballot in the hand of every qualified citizen constitutes the true political status of the people and to deprive one-half of the people of the use of the ballot is to deny the first principle of a democratic government.



The committee was courteous and listened with marked attention, William Jennings Bryan among them, but took no action on the resolution.<sup>1</sup>

The convention nominated Woodrow Wilson, who had answered a question from a chairman of the New York Woman Suffrage Party the preceding winter, while Governor of New Jersey: "I can only say that my mind is in the midst of the debate which it involves. I do not feel that I am ready to utter my confident judgment as yet about it. I am honestly trying to work my way toward a just conclusion." President Taft had written in answer to a letter of inquiry from the secretary of the Men's Suffrage League of New York: "I am willing to wait until there shall be a substantial, not unanimous, but a substantial call from that sex before the suffrage is extended."

As the result of the year's political work a summing up in December, 1912, showed a woman suffrage plank in the national platforms of the Progressive, Socialist and Prohibition parties; a plank in the platform of every party in New York State and in that of one or more parties in many States. The Progressive party with woman suffrage as one of its cardinal principles had polled 4,119,507 votes. Kansas, Oregon and Arizona by popular vote had been added to the number of the equal suffrage States. In 1914 these were increased by Montana and Nevada, making eleven where women voted on the same terms as men. In 1913 Illinois granted a large amount of suffrage including a vote for Presidential electors. In 1915 President Wilson and all his Cabinet, except Secretary Lansing; Speaker Champ Clark and Mr. Bryan publicly endorsed suffrage for women. Constitutional amendments were defeated in four eastern States but they polled 1,234,470 favorable votes.

By 1916, the year of the Presidential nominating conventions, there had been so vast an advance of public sentiment that the official board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was encouraged to believe that its effort of nearly fifty years to obtain woman suffrage planks in the national platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties would be successful.

<sup>1</sup> One evening during the convention the Maryland suffragists, reinforced by others from surrounding cities, had a long and handsomely equipped parade.

Its president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in the letters sent to the delegates, who were circularized three times, called attention to the great gains and the existing status of the movement, adapting the appeal to each party. Under her direction, as a preliminary to the conventions, favorable opinions were obtained from many leading men who were to attend them, similar to the following: Representative John M. Nelson of the House Judiciary Committee said: "The endorsement of equal suffrage by either of the two great parties would do more at this time to simplify the question than any other one thing. It seems to me that in directing their efforts toward securing this endorsement its advocates have exhibited sound practical judgment and admirable political acumen." "I am in favor of an endorsement in the Republican platform of the principle of equal suffrage," said Senator Borah, a Republican delegate. "I have no doubt there will be a plank offered to that effect and it will receive my active support." U. S. Senator Owen on the floor of the Senate declared: "This demand ought to be made by men as well as by thinking, progressive women. I hope that all parties will in the national conventions give their approval to this larger measure of liberty to the better half of the human race." The suffragists began preparations for two striking demonstrations during the conventions.

The Republican convention took place in Chicago June 7-10. On the 6th a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the association at the Princess Theater. Speeches by Mrs. Catt and others roused the audience to great enthusiasm and the following resolution was adopted: "We, women from every State, gathered in national assembly, come to you in the name of justice, liberty and equality to ask you to incorporate in your platform a declaration favoring the extension of suffrage to the only remaining class of unenfranchised citizens, the women of our nation, and to urge you to give its protecting power and prestige to the final struggle of women for political liberty. We are not asking your endorsement of an untried theory but your recognition of a fact. The men of eleven States and Alaska have already fully enfranchised their women and Illinois has granted a large degree of suffrage, including the Presidential vote. The women

of five States have gained the vote since 1912, your last convention, and have party affiliations yet to make."

A parade of 25,000 women had been planned to show the strength of the movement. A cold, heavy rain upset these plans but on June 7, 5,500 women (the others believing the demonstration would not be given) braved the storm, gathered in Grant Park and marched to the Coliseum, where the Republican Resolutions Committee was meeting. The Chicago *Herald* in describing that march said: "Over their heads surged a vast sea of umbrellas extending two miles down the street; under their feet swirled rivulets of water. Wind tore at their clothes and rain drenched their faces but unhesitatingly they marched in unbroken formation. Never before in the history of this city, probably of the world, has there been so impressive a demonstration of consecration to a cause." The first division reached the convention hall before five o'clock. The committee had given a hearing to the suffragists and was listening to the "antis." Just as Mrs. A. J. George of Brookline, Mass., was asserting, "there is no widespread demand for woman suffrage" hundreds of drenched and dripping women began to pour into the hall, each woman's condition bearing silent witness to the strength of her wish for the vote. Thousands of converts were made among those who witnessed the courage and devotion of the women in facing this storm.

The hearing took place before a sub-committee of the Resolutions Committee and instead of seven minutes being allotted to it, as in 1912, representatives of the National American Woman Suffrage Association had half an hour, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage the next half hour and the Congressional Union a final half hour. Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Abbie A. Krebs of California, Mrs. Ellis Meredith of Colorado, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout of Illinois and Mrs. Frank M. Roessing of Pennsylvania spoke for the National Suffrage Association. They asked for the following resolution: "The Republican party reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people and for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women." The speakers for the Congressional Union were Miss Anne Mar-

tin, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch and Mrs. Sara Bard Field and they asked for an endorsement of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The "antis" were represented by their national president, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, and national secretary, Miss Minnie Bronson; Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, New York State president, and Mrs. George. They asked that there should be no mention of woman suffrage.

The sub-committee reported against the adoption of a suffrage plank, the vote standing five to four—Senators Lodge, Wadsworth, Oliver, and Charles Hopkins Clark, editor of the Hartford (Conn.) *Courant*, and former Representative Howland of Ohio opposed; Senators Borah, Sutherland and Fall and Representative Madden of Illinois in favor.

The question was then taken up in the full Committee on Resolutions. Senators Borah and Smoot led a vigorous fight for a plank; Senator Marion Butler of North Carolina headed the opposition. The strongest possible influence was brought to bear against it by the party leaders, Senators W. Murray Crane and Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts; Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania and James W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York and Speaker Cannon of Illinois. Nevertheless it was carried by 26 to 21. Within a half hour defeat was again threatened when seven absent members of the committee came and asked for a reconsideration. After repeated parleys it was reconsidered and emerged as the last plank in the platform. The final vote was 35 to 11 but it was the result of a compromise, for it read: "The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people and for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself"!

For the first time this party declared for the doctrine of State's rights, which was the chief obstacle in the way of the Federal Amendment, the goal of the National Association for nearly fifty years. Mrs. Catt knew that it would be utterly useless to ask for a plank favoring this amendment and so she asked simply for a clear-cut endorsement of the principle of woman suffrage. This was secured, after women had been appealing to national Republi-

can conventions since 1868, and although it was weakened by the qualifying declaration, she realized that an immense gain had been made. By the press throughout the country the adoption of the plank was hailed as "a victory of supreme importance," and as guaranteeing a suffrage plank in the Democratic national platform, which could not have been obtained without it. It was adopted by the convention without opposition and with great enthusiasm.

The Democratic convention met in St. Louis June 14-16. The first day the suffragists staged their "walkless parade," which the press poetically called "the golden lane," as the 6,000 white-robed women who formed a continuous lane from the convention headquarters in the Jefferson Hotel to the Coliseum where the convention was held carried yellow parasols and wore yellow satin sashes. They gave resplendent color to the aisle through which hundreds of delegates walked to their political councils. On the steps of the Art Museum the suffragists presented a striking tableau showing Liberty, a symbolic figure effectively garbed, surrounded by three groups of women, those in black typifying the non-suffrage States; those in gray representing the partial suffrage States; those in red, white and blue the States where political equality prevailed. The suffragists had now no difficulty in obtaining a hearing and plenty of time. Representatives of the National American Association, the National Woman's Party, the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference and the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage appeared before the sub-committee of the Resolutions Committee.

The entire Resolutions Committee met in the evening of the 15th to make the final draft of the platform. Although it was a foregone conclusion that it would have to contain a woman suffrage plank the enemies did not intend to concede it willingly. It was not reached until 3 o'clock in the morning, when platform building was suspended while a contest raged. The sleepy committeemen became wide awake and their voices rose till they could be heard in the corridors and out into the street. The unqualified endorsement of woman suffrage asked for by the National Association was defeated by a vote of 24 to 20. The approval of the Federal Amendment asked for by the National

Woman's Party was rejected by a vote of 40 to 4. The plea of the "antis" not to mention the subject was defeated by 26 to 17. Finally the committee fell back on what was said to have been President Wilson's suggestion for a plank, which was adopted by 25 ayes, 20 noes. A minority report was immediately prepared by James Nugent of New Jersey, Senator Smith of South Carolina, former Representative Bartlett of Georgia, Stephen B. Fleming of Indiana, Governor Ferguson of Texas and Governor Stanley of Kentucky, in opposition.

The Resolutions Committee adjourned at 7:15 a.m. and the convention opened at 11. Senator William J. Stone of Missouri, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, brought forward the platform but confessed that he was too tired to read it, so Senators Hollis and Walsh took turns at it and when the suffrage plank was reached it was greeted with applause and cheers. Senator Stone moved the adoption of the platform and Governor Ferguson was given thirty minutes to present the minority report, which finally was signed by himself, Nugent, Bartlett and Fleming. The resolution was supported by the chairman. The young Nevada Senator, Key Pittman, handled the signers of the minority report without gloves, showed up their unsavory records and stirred the convention to a frenzy. Yells and catcalls on the floor were met with the cheers of the women who filled the gallery and waved their banners and yellow parasols. Again and again he was forced to stop until Senator John Sharp Williams took the gavel and restored a semblance of order. Senator Walsh of Montana made a powerful speech from the standpoint of political expediency and pointed out that the minority report was signed by only four of the fifty members of the Resolutions Committee. Attempts were made to howl him down and in the midst of the turmoil a terrific storm broke and flashes of lightning and roars of thunder added to the excitement. At last the vote was taken on the minority report and stood 888 noes, 181 ayes. That ended the opposition.

Senator Stone had said to the delegates: "I may say that President Wilson knows of this plank and deems it imperative to his success in November that it be inserted in the platform." The plank, which was adopted by a viva voce vote read as fol-

lows: "We favor the extension of the franchise to the women of this country, State by State, on the same terms as to the men." It transpired afterwards that President Wilson had written it.

As soon as the convention adjourned Mrs. Catt, president of the National Suffrage Association, who with the board of officers was present, sent the following telegram to President Wilson: "Inasmuch as Governor Ferguson of Texas and Senator Walsh of Montana made diametrically opposite statements in the Democratic convention today with regard to your attitude toward the suffrage plank adopted, we apply to you directly to state your position on the plank and give your precise interpretation of its meaning." To this message the President replied on June 22: "I am very glad to make my position about the suffrage plank clear to you, though I had not thought that it was necessary to state again a position that I have repeatedly stated with entire frankness. The plank received my entire approval before its adoption and I shall support its principle with sincere pleasure. I wish to join with my fellow Democrats in recommending to the several States that they extend the suffrage to women upon the same terms as to men." Later the President made it plain that the Democratic plank was to be considered a distinct approval of the suffrage movement and that it did not necessarily disapprove of a Federal Amendment.

The general sentiment of the press was to the effect that as a result of the endorsement of the national conventions woman suffrage went before the country with its prestige immeasurably strengthened and recognized as a great force to be reckoned with. The suffragists ended their political convention campaign with planks in the platforms of all the five parties, Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Prohibitionist and Socialist. The Progressive party made its declaration stronger than at its national convention in 1912, its plank reading: "We believe that the women of the country, who share with the men the burden of government in times of peace and make equal sacrifice in times of war, should be given the full political right of suffrage both by State and Federal action." It was adopted unanimously and with great applause at the party's national convention in Chicago June 7-10. The planks were taken by the suffragists as pledges that the

parties would help in a practical way to assist the movement in the various States and nationally and this view was made plain to the leaders and to the rank and file of the voters.

Results were soon apparent and between 1916 and 1920 the cause of woman suffrage took immense strides forward. In 1917 New York State gave the complete suffrage to women. In 1918 Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma fully enfranchised them, increasing the number of equal suffrage States to fifteen. In thirteen other States women obtained the Presidential franchise and in two the vote in Primary elections. The resolution for a Federal Amendment passed both Houses of Congress in May and June, 1919, and was submitted to the State Legislatures for ratification. By March 22, 1920, it had been ratified by 35, lacking only one of the three-fourths required to make it a part of the National Constitution. The women, therefore, approached the political parties this year in quite a different frame of mind from that of the past, feeling the strength of their position and realizing that where they had formerly pleaded they could now demand. The burning question of the hour was whether the 36th State would ratify in time to enable the millions of women to vote in the Presidential elections in November. The National Committees of the two dominant parties had become ardently in favor of it. Through the influence of Republican women suffragists, the committee of that party sent on June 1 to the Republican Governors and legislators of Delaware, Connecticut and Vermont the following appeal to ratify the Federal Amendment so that the Republican party might have the credit of assisting women to win their final battle and thus gain their gratitude and allegiance:

Whereas, The Republican National Committee at its regular meetings has repeatedly endorsed woman suffrage and the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and has called upon the Congress to submit and the States to ratify such amendment; and, whereas, it still lacks ratification by a sufficient number of States to become a law, therefore be it

Resolved, by the Republican National Committee that the 19th Amendment be and the same is hereby again endorsed by this committee, and such Republican States as have not already done so are now urged to take such action by their Governors and Legislatures as will assure its ratification and establish the right of equal suffrage at the earliest possible time.



When the Republican National Convention met in Chicago June 8-12 the Resolutions Committee received the following memorial:

The National American Woman Suffrage Association asks permission to place on record with the National Republican Convention its appreciation of the resolution of the National Republican Executive Committee on June 1. . . . It seems the spirit of fairness underlying the committee's action must commend it to every lover of liberty regardless of party and its political far-sightedness must be evident to every Republican desirous of party victory.

Conceding to the committee's action its full and friendly significance, this association further asks permission to re-emphasize before this convention the fact that on the very eve of complete victory a deadlock supervenes in the ratification of this amendment and for that deadlock the Republican party must carry its full share of responsibility, since three States with Republican Legislatures remain on the unratified list. Republican leaders frequently point out that their party has insured a far larger proportion of ratifications than has the Democratic, and apparently count on this situation to accrue to its advantage. This position would be logical if the relative proportion between Republicans and Democrats were the essential thing but it is by no means the essential thing. The 36th State is the essential thing.

Women who are waiting on that State for their right to vote in the Presidential elections of 1920 cannot rest satisfied with the assurance or the evidence that Republican leaders are doing all in their power to bring about ratification. Women who are going to vote the Republican ticket anyhow may be satisfied but they are not the women whose vote is important to the party. The important vote is the vote of the undecided woman who would just as soon be a Republican as a Democrat. That woman has not been convinced by the final Republican showing on ratification and she will not be convinced until the 36th State has ratified. This ratification is the only solution of the situation that can make actual what is so far a merely potential claim of the Republican party on the woman voter.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association urges upon this convention the necessity for such action as will make inevitable and immediate the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the 36th State.

This was signed by Mary Garrett Hay, acting president, in the absence of Mrs. Catt in Europe; Gertrude Foster Brown, vice-president; Nettie Rogers Shuler, corresponding secretary; Emma Winner Rogers, treasurer; Esther G. Ogden, director, and Rose Young, press chairman.

Miss Hay called a conference of the suffragists attending the

convention in Chicago and a plank was drawn up. Miss Hay, Mrs. Richard Edwards, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Mrs. George Gellhorn, Miss Ada Bush and Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs constituted a committee to present this plank to the Resolutions Committee of which Senator James E. Watson (Ind.) was chairman. Miss Hay made the principal speech and Mrs. Gellhorn and Miss Bush spoke briefly. A sub-committee of the Resolutions Committee accepted the plank which was given out to the press on June 10. It read:

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican party. We urge Republican Governors whose States have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment to call immediately special sessions of their Legislatures for the purpose of ratifying said amendment, to the end that all the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the coming election, so important to the welfare of our country.

As soon as this appeared in the Chicago papers, members of the Connecticut delegation rushed to leaders of the Platform Committee and protested that it was a gross insult to their Governor, Marcus H. Holcomb, and they wanted the wording changed. Accordingly the offending sentence was revised and in the plank adopted by the convention read: "We earnestly hope that Republican Legislatures in States which have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment will ratify it, to the end that all the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920 so important to the welfare of our country."

Republican women in attendance at the convention united in a demand for a fifty-fifty recognition inside of the party. They asked for a woman vice-chairman of the National Republican Committee and for men and women to be represented on it in equal numbers. The Committee on Rules, responding to this demand, changed the rules for representation and provided that seven members be added to the National Executive Committee, all to be women. With this concession the women had to be content.

The Democratic National Convention met in San Francisco June 28-July 5. Prior to the convention the National Committee had yielded to the pressure from the suffrage leaders and Demo-

cratic women and on May 30 sent out the following Call: "This committee calls upon the Legislatures of the various States for special sessions, if necessary, to ratify woman suffrage when the Constitutional Amendment is passed by Congress, in order to enable women to vote at the Presidential election in 1920." On June 26, after the amendment had been submitted by Congress, the committee again gave its aid by sending the following message to Governor Roberts of Tennessee:

We most earnestly emphasize the extreme importance and urgency of an immediate meeting of your State Legislature for the purpose of ratifying the proposed 19th Amendment to the Federal Constitution. We trust that for the present all other legislative matters may, if necessary, be held in abeyance and that you will call an extra session for such brief duration as may be required to act favorably on the amendment. Tennessee occupies a position of peculiar and pivotal importance and one that enables her to render a service of incalculable value to the women of America. We confidently expect, therefore, that under your leadership and through the action of the Legislature of your State, the women of the nation may be given the privilege of voting in the coming Presidential election.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association appointed Mrs. Guilford Dudley, one of its vice-presidents, who was a delegate-at-large from Tennessee to the convention and a member of the Credentials Committee, to present the following plank to the Resolutions Committee: "The Federal Suffrage Amendment, whose passage in Congress was greatly furthered by the efforts of a Democratic President, is one State short of the number required to make its ratification effective. In two Republican States, Vermont and Connecticut, where ratification could be at once achieved, Republican Governors are refusing to call special sessions. In simple justice to women, we, Democrats in national convention assembled, urge the cooperation of Democratic Governors and legislators in North Carolina, Tennessee, Florida and other Democratic States that have not ratified, in a united effort to complete ratification by the addition of the 36th State in time for the women of America to participate in the approaching elections."

The National Woman's Party through Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, its publicity chairman, presented a plank through U. S. Senator

Carter Glass of the Resolutions Committee, which read: "The Democratic Party endorses the proposed amendment to the U. S. Constitution enfranchising women and calls upon all Democratic Governors of States which have not yet ratified the amendment immediately to convene their Legislatures so that they may act upon it and urges all Democratic members of such Legislatures immediately to vote for the amendment. . . ."

The plank finally adopted by the convention read: "We endorse the proposed 19th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women. We congratulate the Legislatures of 35 States which have already ratified said amendment and we urge the Democratic Governors and Legislatures of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida and such States as have not yet ratified it to unite in an effort to complete the process of ratification and secure the 36th State in time for all the women of the United States to participate in the fall election. We commend the effective advocacy of the measure by President Wilson."

The Democratic women achieved a victory also in the important decision which was reached in regard to the representation of women in future national conventions, this convention deciding that full sex equality should be observed in its delegations and that the National Committee hereafter should include one man and one woman from each State.

Thus the struggle begun in 1868 for the approval of woman suffrage by the National Presidential Conventions of the political parties ended with its complete endorsement by all of them in 1920.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### WAR SERVICE OF ORGANIZED SUFFRAGISTS.<sup>1</sup>

The response of the women of the United States to the call of their country as it entered the World War was as vigorous and eager as had been that of women of other more deeply involved nations. Although American women had little opportunity for giving first line aid in comparison with the women of the Allied countries they gave a second or supporting line service in organization and conservation to which they applied their full energy. These efforts brought them close in spirit to the firing line long before the Stars and Stripes were carried to Chateau Thierry and beyond.

It is the province of this chapter to review especially the work of the organized suffragists in their loyalty to their government—a government which from the first had refused to women all voice and part in its proceedings. This work may best be examined under two headings: 1. War Service of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; 2. War Service of suffragists as a whole under the direction of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense.

On Feb. 5, 1917, the president of the association, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, issued the following Call to its Executive Council of One Hundred to meet in Washington on February 23-24 to confer upon the approaching crisis in national affairs:

“To Members of the Executive Council:

“Our nation may be on the brink of war. To those who live in the interior war may seem a long way off but in the East, where public buildings, water works, forts, etc., are now under military guard and where some of the regiments of the National Guard have been called to duty, it comes as a sad realization that our

<sup>1</sup>The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick, first vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and general chairman of its War Service Department.

country is facing a far more serious crisis than most of us have ever known. A few days may determine whether our people are to be drawn into war at once or whether the break can be patched up and the more tragic circumstances postponed or even averted.

"If the worst comes, very serious problems confront us. Our suffrage work would unquestionably come to a temporary standstill. How shall we dispose of our headquarters, our workers, our plans? How shall we hold our organization and resources meanwhile, so that our movement will not lose its prestige and place among the political issues of our country? These are questions we must not leave to answer themselves. If we are 'not the hammer, our cause will be the anvil.' Women not connected with any particular movement are calling meetings in order to pass pointless resolutions of the promised service of women if required. The big question presents itself, shall suffragists do the 'war work' which they will undoubtedly want to do with other groups newly formed, thus running the risk of disintegrating our organizations, or shall we use our headquarters and our machinery for really helpful constructive aid to our nation? The answer must be given *now*.

"Because this unexpected turn of public affairs creates an unprecedented condition, the majority of the National Board avails itself of the provision of the constitution which permits the call of the Executive Council on a two weeks' notice. I therefore issue this call to all Elected Officers, all Presidents, all Auxiliaries, all State Members, (auxiliaries which pay dues on a membership of 1500 or more are entitled to a State member in addition to the president), and all Chairmen of Standing and Special Committees to meet in Washington at the National Suffrage Headquarters, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, February 23-25 inclusive, as per inclosed program. Each State is urged to send its State Congressional Chairmen also to this meeting. . . ."

It was, therefore, for the Executive Council to decide what the association could best do to help the Government in case of war. The summons came as no surprise to the members of the National Association, since for many months their eyes had been

fixed on the war-clouds gathering upon the horizon. It was evident that the United States was about to enter the World War.

When this council met at the headquarters in Washington the national officers submitted to it the draft of a Note that specified various concrete ways in which, according to their ideas, the members of the association might give aid to their country in an emergency. This draft was discussed section by section and the motion then came to adopt the Note as a whole. This called out the most important debate of the two-days' meeting, remarkable for the kindly spirit and good temper with which were set forth opposing views on a vital matter concerning which public feeling ran high. The president gave an opportunity to all "conscientious objectors" to come forward and record their names as dissenting. Almost all who did so stated that they believed women should give their assistance in case of war but they feared that an offer of help to the Government made in advance might tend to fan the war spirit and create a psychological impetus towards war. Even this minority felt that the proposed services were judiciously chosen, as they were such as would benefit the country were it at war or at peace. The majority decision was that the National Association should now abandon its unbroken custom of not participating in any matters except those relating directly to woman suffrage and that in view of the national emergency it should offer its assistance to the Government of the United States and proceed to organize for war service. The registered vote on such action was 63 to 13. As the attendance at the conference represented 36 States out of the 45 in which the association had auxiliaries, it might be considered as expressing an almost nation-wide conviction among the members of the association. On February 24 the conference issued the following Note:

"To the President and Government of the United States:

"We devoutly hope and pray that our country's crisis may be passed without recourse to war. We declare our belief that the settlement of international difficulties by bloodshed is unworthy of the 20th Century, and also our confidence that our Government is using every honorable means to avoid conflict. If,

however, our nation is drawn into the maelstrom, we stand ready to serve our country with the zeal and consecration which should ever characterize those who cherish high ideals of the duty and obligation of citizenship. With no intention of laying aside our constructive forward work to secure the vote for the womanhood of this country as 'the right protective of all other rights,' we offer our services in the event that they should be needed, and, in so far as we are authorized, we pledge the loyal support of our more than two million members. We make this offer now in order to avoid waste of time and effort in an emergency; also, that the executive ability, industry and devotion of our women, trained through years of arduous endeavor, may be utilized, with all other national resources, for the protection of our country in its time of stress. We propose that a National Committee be formed at once, composed of a representative from each national organization of women willing to aid in war work, if the need arises. The object shall be to establish a clearing house between the Government and those organizations in order that service may be rendered in the most expeditious manner. **With this end in view** we recommend that each component organization list its resources and report to this central committee concerning the definite work it is prepared to do. To further the practical application of this suggestion our association declares its willingness to undertake the following departments of work:

"I. The Establishing of Employment Bureaus for Women.—Through its local, State and national headquarters to register the names and qualifications of women available for occupations which men will leave to enter the army; to supply these women to employers and to protect the work of such women.

"II. The increase of the Food Supply by the Training of Women for Agricultural Work and by the Elimination of Waste. The aid of the Department of Agriculture will be sought in planning systematic courses for women to accomplish these purposes. The cultivation by women of garden plots and vacant lots in cities will be encouraged at the same time that the larger importance of regular farming is urged.

"III. The Red Cross.—As the Red Cross, in which many of our members are zealous workers, is already equipped to render



hospital, medical and general supply service, we offer our organized service in other fields and we promise continued cooperation with the Red Cross as needed.

"IV. Americanization.—A problem unknown to other lands will become accentuated in the event of war. Within our borders are eight millions of aliens, who by birth, tradition and training will find it difficult, if not impossible, to understand the causes which have led to this war. War invariably breeds intolerance and hatred and will tend to arouse antagonisms inimical to the best interests of the nation. With the desire to minimize this danger, our association, extending as it does into every precinct of our great cities and into the various counties of the States, offers to conduct classes in school centers wherein national allegiance shall be taught, emphasizing tolerance, to the end that the Stars and Stripes shall wave over a loyal and undivided people.

"V. Conference Committee.—In order to carry out our expressed desire and purpose, a committee of three is hereby ordered appointed to confer with the proper authorities of the Government. If need arises, this committee shall be the intermediary between the Government and our association."

Signed, Executive Council, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

by Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president; Carrie Chapman Catt, president; Helen Guthrie Miller, first vice-president; Katharine Dexter McCormick, second vice-president; Esther G. Ogden, third vice-president; Emma Winner Rogers, treasurer; Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, recording secretary; Nettie Rogers Shuler, corresponding secretary; Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, first auditor; Heloise Meyer, second auditor.

The conference ended on Saturday and on Sunday afternoon a public mass meeting was held. Poli's Theater was filled by a representative audience and on the platform were four members of the Cabinet: Secretaries Baker, McAdoo, Daniels and Houston, with their wives; also United States Senators, Representatives and many other prominent people, including Miss Margaret Wilson, the daughter of the President. The meeting was opened with an address by Mrs. Catt on The Impending Crisis, express-

ing the hope that after the war there would arise a truer democracy than ever known before and that the world would never see another war. The Note to President Wilson was read by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper and handed to Secretary of War Baker. In accepting it he paid a tribute to the aspirations of women and expressed the belief that at the close of the war the United States would take its place in a concert of neutral nations and having practiced justice at home it would have earned the right to help establish international justice. Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton delighted the rather tense audience with her inimitable humor and Dr. Shaw closed the meeting with one of her strongest speeches. The addresses of Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw emphasized not only the desire of women to do effective patriotic service in time of stress but also their wish that a more civilized way than by the waste and destructiveness of war might be found to settle international disputes.

President Wilson immediately answered as follows:

"The Secretary of War has transmitted to me the Resolutions presented to him at the meeting held on Sunday afternoon, February 25, under the auspices of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. I want to express my great and sincere admiration of the action taken.

Cordially and sincerely yours, Woodrow Wilson."

On April 6, 1917, the United States declared that a state of war with Germany existed. News of the severance of diplomatic relations elicited a deep and reverberating response from the millions of suffragists over the country. At the New York and Washington headquarters of the National Association telephone calls and telegrams were received all day, as State by State the suffrage organizations proffered concerted action with the national on any program of constructive service which it might decide to offer to the Government. The National Suffrage Association at once commenced its war work on the lines adopted at the Washington conference. This comprised departments under four sections: Thrift; Food Production; Industrial Protection of Women and Americanization. Branches of these four sections had already been formed by all its State auxiliaries and Mrs.

McCormick, its second vice-president, had been appointed general chairman of the War Service Department. In many States the president of the suffrage association became chairman of the War Service Committee. Thus the suffragists of the United States started their war activities with as much vigor as they had been accustomed to put into efforts for their own cause.

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There had been created in August, 1916, by an Act of Congress, the Council of National Defense, composed of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor. This council was formed in order that an emergency might not find the country without a central agency to direct the mobilization of troops back of the regular army. It was not an executive body; its function was to consider and advise. By a wise provision of the Congressional Act the formation of subordinate agencies was authorized and upon the declaration of war advantage of this was quickly taken. Large fields of action were mapped out and assigned to committees on which were appointed the foremost men and women of the country. It was at once evident that the women of the United States had a definite and powerful rôle to play in the great war and the council decided that "for the purpose of coordinating the women's preparedness movement a central body of woman should be formed under the Council of National Defense." On April 19, 1917, the director, Secretary of War Baker, telegraphed to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw that Secretary of the Interior Lane and he would like to consult her in regard to important matters concerning the relations of women to the council. She was on a lecture tour in the South but arranged to meet with them in Washington on April 27. On April 21, before the time for this meeting, the Council of National Defense voted that a Woman's Committee be formed with the following personnel: Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick, Mrs. Josiah Evans Cowles, Mrs. Philip North Moore, Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Miss Ida Tarbell, Miss Maude Wetmore, Mrs. Joseph R. Lamar. Later Miss Agnes Nestor and Miss Hannah J. Patterson were added. Of the eleven members of the committee all were prominent suffragists except Miss Tarbell, Mrs. Lamar and Miss Wet-

more, who were well-known "antis." It was learned that the names had been carefully considered by the council. Dr. Shaw was designated as chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense and asked to hold a meeting in Washington at the earliest possible date. Its headquarters were opened in this city and the members accepted their appointments as a call by the Government to the service of the country.

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In December, 1917, the 49th annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was held at Washington. The chairman of its War Service Department, Mrs. McCormick, described the combination of efforts desirable between its branches and those of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, saying that such a combination was essential to efficient war-service by the women of the country. Comprehensive reports were made of the activities of the four sections by their chairmen which may be read in full in the Handbook of the association for 1917 and space can be used here only for the briefest summaries.

(1) Thrift and Elimination of Waste. The chairman, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, first vice-president of the association, said in part: "After consultation with Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Vrooman and the heads of Economics and Extension Departments and the Children's Bureau, a letter was sent to each State suffrage president outlining the plan of work and asking that a chairman be appointed to inaugurate and carry out the Thrift program. Food conservation was the subject stressed, for the experience of the European countries made it of prime importance. It is a matter of interest that the original food outline sent out in April contained all the suggestions afterwards insisted upon by Mr. Hoover, and the outline on Clothing contained the same advice as was later given out by the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. The response from the southern States was especially gratifying. I have spoken 100 times for Thrift, travelled 6,000 miles, sent out 144 form letters and written 100 individual letters. Reports from States where Thrift Committees have been at work show constantly increasing interest and the gradual adoption of a definite line of effort."

(2) Food Production. The chairman, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, treasurer of the association, after speaking of the cooperation received from the Department of Agriculture, said in part: "We appealed to all State suffrage presidents to appoint chairmen and encourage their local leagues to cooperate in every way possible in increasing the food supply and a splendid response came. We urged the importance of enlisting women to undertake practical gardening or farming and to provide training for women to this end. We urged the opening in every State of two or three Farm Employment Bureaus for women through which graduates of Agricultural Colleges and others with less training could be placed on farms, and farmers who were progressive enough to want women's help could be reasonably sure of securing it. We arranged with the largest overalls company in the United States to design and put out a suitable farm uniform for women, which was extensively sold and used. . . . The reports at the end of the season testified to the millions of gardens worked by suffragists, to the thousands who helped on farms or went to farm training schools, to canning kitchens and home canning on a scale hitherto unthought-of."

(3) Industrial Protection of Women. The chairman, Miss Ethel M. Smith, said in part:

"This committee was created by the National Suffrage Board to secure women workers to fill the places of men called for military service and it promised to 'protect the work of such women.' A letter was sent to five hundred Chambers of Commerce over Mrs. Catt's signature, asking for their cooperation in behalf of women workers against the danger of excessive overtime and underpay. The slogan of 'Equal Pay for Equal Work' was utilized and vigilance committees were planned for each State to note the conditions in industrial localities and report back to Washington. The questions of equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity for women were then taken up with the Government departments, which have been quite as unfair to women employees as have private firms. The scale of pay is notoriously less than for men, and women have been excluded from the civil service examinations for many positions which they are well equipped to fill. We therefore sent a letter to the Departments

of War, Navy, State and Commerce where the discrimination had been proved, asking whether they would not modify their regulations to give women equal chances with men, and, now that men were needed for the army, give women the clerical positions in preference to men. We published these letters and received favorable replies from all but the State Department." Miss Smith told of the discovery that women in the Bureau of Engraving, under the Treasury Department, were working twelve hours a day seven days in the week; of the protest of her committee sent through Mrs. Catt to Secretary McAdoo and of his order restoring the eight-hour day and removing all cause of complaint."

(4) Americanization. The chairman, Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, said that her first act was to secure three wise and experienced suffragists to form with her a central committee, Mrs. Shuler, corresponding secretary of the National Suffrage Association; Mrs. Robert S. Huse of New Jersey, and Mrs. Winona Osborn Pinkham, executive secretary of the Boston Equal Suffrage Association. A plan for Americanization work was printed in the *Woman Citizen*, June 30, 1917, and was sent to each State president with a letter asking for the appointment of a State chairman. Mrs. Bagley's thorough résumé of the work of her committee filled eleven pages of the printed convention report and among the various branches described were recruiting in the foreign tenement quarters for attendance at the public schools; securing cooperation with foreign leaders and with existing agencies for Americanization work; enlisting the cooperation of employers in providing school facilities for employees; teaching English in the homes where the women had not been able to attend school and aiding in the carrying on of the day school for immigrant women now established in the North End of Boston. She told of two new departments, Americanization for rural districts and citizenship classes for women voters. She urged, not only the necessity of schools for adult foreigners but the desirability of good ones that would hold their attention and she made a special plea for the immigrant women. She also called attention to the imperative need for teaching patriotism.

The plan of work recommended by the Executive Council and

adopted by this convention provided that the association during 1918 should continue the four departments and add the Woman's Hospital Unit in France and Child Welfare; that these six departments be placed under the direction of a committee, the chairman of which should be a member of the national suffrage board; that each State suffrage auxiliary be asked to establish a War Service Committee, composed of chairmen of the above sections, with an additional one on Liberty Bonds. This Committee of Eight was to direct the war work for each State in cooperation with the State division of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense. The Land Army Section was added in the spring of 1918 and took the place of the Food Production section. The name of the Thrift section was changed to that of Food Conservation; Miss Hilda Loines became its chairman and its work was combined as closely as possible with the similar section in the Woman's National Defense Committee directed by Mrs. McCormick.

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The National Suffrage Association held no convention in 1918 but it met in March, 1919, at St. Louis for its 50th Anniversary. The Armistice had been declared and the final reports of the association's war activities were rendered. In that of the War Service Department the chairman, Mrs. McCormick, stated that the reason the reports did not cover all six of its sections but only Land Army, Americanization and Oversea Hospitals was that the other sections, after the convention of 1917, were merged with the similar sections of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense. Detailed statements regarding Food Conservation and Industrial Protection for women in which the suffrage committees took so large a part, may be found in the reports of the Government Agriculture and Labor Departments. The Child Welfare Department was combined with that of the Woman's National Defense Committee and both were put under the guidance of Miss Julia Lathrop, chief of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. Miss Lathrop made an address to the convention in St. Louis on this subject which was published in full in its Handbook for 1919.

In the section Industrial Protection of Women Mrs. Gifford

Pinchot had followed Miss Ethel M. Smith as chairman and in a brief report told how nominal the function of her committee had recently become, owing to the fact that all agencies working in this field had been consolidated under the direction of the U. S. Department of Labor. Before this amalgamation three interesting lines of effort had been carried forward by this committee: An attempt was made to secure a representation of women on the War Labor Board, which did not succeed; action was taken against the decision of this board in dismissing women street car conductors in Cleveland, O., and the committee's position was upheld; an unsuccessful effort was made through Mr. Gompers to have women appointed on the committee of labor delegates who went abroad to confer with the labor representatives of other countries during the Peace Conference.

Land Army. Miss Hilda Loines, chairman, said in part: "The training of women for agricultural work as a war necessity was early foreseen by the National Suffrage Association and was made a part of its program of war service. Early in the spring of 1917 a number of organizations undertook to register and place women who could and would do agricultural labor. Bureaus were opened for their registry and field workers were sent out to secure promises of employment from the farmers. This was difficult at first but as the season wore on and there were no men to cultivate the crops and pick the fruit the farmers in desperation turned to the women. During the spring and summer of 1918 the Woman's Land Army was organized in thirty States, and about 15,000 women were placed on the land, 10,000 in units and 5,000 in emergency groups. The majority of these women had had no previous experience and most of them could receive little training but they did practically every kind of farm labor, ploughing, planting, cultivating and harvesting. They cut, stacked and loaded hay, corn and rye and filled the silos; worked on big western farms and orchards, dairy farms, truck farms, private estates and home gardens; did poultry work, bee-keeping and teaming; learned to handle tractors, harvesters and other farm machinery. Their efficiency is best proved by the change of attitude from skepticism to enthusiastic appreciation on the part of the farmers for whom they worked."



Americanization. The chairman, Mrs. Bagley, continued her report of the preceding year of the work in connection with the Councils of Defense of the several States "by means of the local machinery of the various suffrage organizations." She urged the teaching of English to aliens as the first step in Americanization, with emphasis on the point that the immigrant women must not be left out. "This Americanization is a function peculiarly appropriate to suffragists," she said, "as a woman married to an alien must herself forever remain an alien unless her husband becomes a citizen, and as the States enfranchise women hundreds of thousands will still be left without the vote. Every married alien whom suffragists help to take out naturalization papers means not only a vote for him but also for his wife.

During the convention in December, 1917, the plan for Oversea Hospitals was presented to the delegates by Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany of New York, at the request of Mrs. Catt, the national president, to whom the matter had been suggested by the action of the Scottish Suffrage Societies in sending to France in 1914 the Scottish Women's Hospitals, units managed and staffed entirely by women, and was accepted. Mrs. Tiffany was made chairman of the Hospital Committee and Mrs. Raymond Brown director of the work in France. At the convention of March, 1919, in St. Louis, Mrs. Brown made a full report, from which the following is an extract.

"At its convention in 1917 the National Suffrage Association, as part of its war work, agreed to support a hospital unit in France and undertook to raise \$125,000 for its maintenance for a year. This unit was already in process of organization by a group of women physicians of the New York Infirmity for Women and Children and was to be composed entirely of women. Since the U. S. Government does not accept women in its Medical Reserve Corps, and at that time neither it nor the Red Cross was sending women surgeons for service abroad, the unit was offered to the French Government, which accepted it by cable. The first group of the unit sailed on Feb. 17, 1918, and expected to establish a hospital for refugees in the devastated area. Before they could be installed the villages to which they had been assigned were taken in a new drive by the Germans and about

half the group, headed by Dr. Caroline Finley, was suddenly called upon for hospital service within the war zone. The hospital to which they were assigned was evacuated before they could reach it and they were finally placed in Chateau Ognon, a few miles north of Senlis on the road to Compiègne.

"Soon after the first group was sent into the war zone, the French Government asked the remainder of the unit to go to the Department of Landes in the south of France in order to establish there a hospital for refugees. The Germans were still advancing and as the refugees poured into the south the government was trying to build villages of barracks for them. When Dr. Alice Gregory with a group of fifteen women, including a carpenter, plumber, chemist and chauffeur, reached Labouheyre, early in April, a site had still to be found for the hospital and the buildings were still to be built, furnished and equipped. The barracks were erected in due time by the government; the equipment was the gift of the American Red Cross; the planning, directing purchasing and installing were done by our women. Dr. Marie Formad was finally put in charge. Later, at the request of the French Service de Sante, a 300-bed hospital unit for gas cases was organized by the Women's Oversea Hospitals and was started on its way from America to France. This was the first hospital unit exclusively for gas cases and had a personnel solely of women. Its principal group in Lorraine cared for 19,307 cases in three months."

The Oversea Hospitals service was divided and sent from point to point to answer the many demands of war, having charge of hospitals and treating tens of thousands of cases. "With the signing of the Armistice," Mrs. Brown's report said, "the great problem in France became the care of refugees and repatriates, who were returning at the rate of thousands a day, most of them utterly destitute and in need of medical care, to homes in many cases completely destroyed." The hospital and dispensary service was therefore continued. Dr. Finley and her group were sent to Germany and here met the returned prisoners of war, who were in desperate condition.

"The work of the Oversea Hospitals has been handled with great economy," the report said, "and has cost less than was an-

ticipated, both because of the large amount of volunteer work and because the units in French military hospitals received French rations. The State suffrage organizations have contributed most generously." A list was furnished of the trucks and ambulances given by the women's organizations in the United States. "The total number of women sent to France with the hospitals was seventy-four, who came from all parts of the United States. Several of the doctors received the French equivalent of a commission; three obtained the Croix de Guerre and two were decorated with the Medaille d'Honneur."

The report of Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, treasurer of the National Association, given at the convention, stated that funds for the hospitals service to the amount of \$133,340 had passed through her hands. Their disbursement, carefully audited, is published in the Handbook of the association for 1918, page 111.

At the annual convention of the National Suffrage Association held in Chicago, in February, 1920, the report of Mrs. Rogers stated that Oversea Hospitals funds to the amount of \$178,000 had passed through the treasury and a balance of \$35,000 remained. (See Handbook, page 116.) The question of the disposition of this balance was put to the convention, which voted that it be divided equally between the work in France of the Women's Oversea Hospitals and the American Hospital for French Wounded in Rheims. Mrs. Tiffany, chairman of the committee, and Mrs. Brown, director in France, made a final report to the convention, stating that the work in France was continued until September 1, 1919, in order to care for the French disabled soldiers, and to maintain hospitals, dental clinics, dispensaries, ambulances, motor cars, etc. Such work proceeded in connection with the American Fund for French Wounded. The principal group was transferred from Lorraine to Rheims in April, with Dr. Marie Lefort still in charge. On September 1, with its mission finished, the hospital and all its equipment were presented to the American Fund for French Wounded. The Mayor sent a letter to Dr. Lefort which said in part: "The Municipality of Rheims would like to express to you and the Women's Oversea Hospitals its profound gratitude for the splendid assistance you have given our population. France and the city of

Rheims are deeply moved." The full equipment of the smaller hospital groups was given to the French government for its own hospital service. Dr. Caroline Finley returned to the U. S. in August, still a Lieutenant in the French Army. The Prince of Wales, who was in New York, invited her on board H. M. S. *Renown*, where he conferred on her the Order of the British Empire in recognition of her work at Metz, where British prisoners stricken with influenza were cared for as they arrived from German prison-camps.

This ends the story of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, for which the National Suffrage Association willingly raised nearly \$200,000 at the crisis in its own fifty-year movement. Desks for suffrage work were vacant over all the country while their occupants were cheerfully giving their best service to the demands of the war. For the vast majority this took the forms indicated by the above committee reports. In addition there were the activities of money-raising; caring for children and other dependents; safeguarding public health; the usual tasks of nursing and other Red Cross work; the distribution of food administration pledge cards, the organizing of food committees in all townships under the direction of district captains, with "clean-up" days and "elimination of waste" days in counties; canning demonstrations throughout communities; allotting and directing garden plots; holding normal training schools to teach gardening; making collections for the Red Cross and other war funds, with countless other activities. Liberty Bonds in the second, third and fourth campaigns to the amount of one-fourth of the total sales were disposed of through the National Suffrage Association, its State branches and women throughout the country.

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While the suffragists were devoting themselves to war-service they did not lay down arms for their own cause, which had reached a stage where further delay was impossible. There was a general tacit understanding that, while the war needs of their country were and should be uppermost, their hands must never relinquish the suffrage throttle, and the double tasks of war work and suffrage work were undertaken in a fine spirit of devotion to both. Nevertheless, the anti-suffrage women seized upon the

occasion to accuse them of disloyalty, pacifism, pro-Germanism and of placing the interests of woman suffrage above those of the nation! These attacks were repeatedly made in the press and on the platform, Mrs. Catt, the president of the National Association, being especially the victim. At times they grew so virulent that it became necessary to answer them through the newspapers.

Her letters were published with headlines and widely quoted. One of these letters, under date of Oct. 2, 1917, addressed to Mrs. Margaret C. Robinson of Cambridge, Mass., chairman of the press committee of the National Anti-Suffrage Association, began: "My attention has been called to the fact that you are circulating by public letter and bulletin various statements that impugn my loyalty as an American and thereby put in jeopardy my good name and reputation. These assertions are made by you either with wilful intent to injure my name and standing in the community or without having made an effort to establish their proof. I hereby set forth the facts which have been distorted by you into untruths, either by contrary statements or by implications." It ended: "In the name of our common womanhood, I ask you to meet the suffrage issue fairly and squarely, and I warn you that for personal attacks tending to injure my name or those of my fellow-workers, you will be held responsible."

Another letter dated Nov. 1, 1917, addressed by Mrs. Catt to Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., president of the Anti-Suffrage Association; Mrs. Robinson and Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, president of the New York State Anti-Suffrage Association, took up and refuted the charges saying: "To every single and collective insinuation, implication or direct charge, published or spoken in any place at any time by professional anti-suffrage campaigners, which has conveyed the impression that I or any other officially responsible leader of the National Suffrage Association has by word or deed been disloyal to our country, I make complete and absolute denial here and now." It said in closing: "In this connection I wish to call your attention to the fact that the late John Hay, the father of the president of the National Association of Anti-suffragists, had his own experiences with people who challenged his loyalty and 'cursed me,' he says, 'for being the tool of England.' In May, 1898, when our country

was at war with Spain, John Hay actually had the temerity to draft a peace project, although he knew, so he said, that he 'would be lucky if he escaped lynching for it.' Are you willing to apply to Mrs. Wadsworth's father the chain of alleged reasoning that you apply to me, and, because of his great faith in and hope for peace, call him a traitor to his country?"

These letters had no effect on the abuse and misrepresentation of the suffragists but the charges were continued by the leaders of the "antis" until after the close of the war. There can be no doubt that the splendid war work of the suffragists was a principal factor in the submission and ratification of the Federal Amendment. Their instant and universal response in New York to the call of the Government, and later the actual conscription of all women over sixteen years of age by the Governor, proved that not only were women capable of war service but actually liable for it. These facts were largely responsible for the big majority vote cast by the men for woman suffrage in November, 1917, and the action of this great State paved the way for the success of the Federal Amendment in Congress.

It is impossible in this brief space to set forth the achievements of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, whose chairman, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, was honorary president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and had been for eleven years its president; two of whose members, Mrs. Catt and Mrs. McCormick, were now its president and vice-president, while five of the remaining eight were prominent suffragists. Its accomplishments were on so large a scale and embodied so much important detail that only a full review could do them justice. The facts attested to the work of an organization which built up branches in forty-eight States comprising 18,000 component units and capable in at least one instance of reaching as many as 82,000 women in a single State. The reader is referred to the excellent account by Mrs. Emily Newell Blair—The Woman's Committee, United States Council of National Defense, an interpretative report. (Government Printing Office.)

From the time Dr. Shaw called the first meeting, May 2, 1917, to the middle of March, 1919, the committee labored unceasingly to perform its great task. On New Year's Day, 1918, a telegram

to Dr. Shaw from Queen Mary expressed the "thanks of the women of the British Empire for the inspiring words of encouragement and assurance from the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense of America."

On Nov. 11, 1918, the Armistice was signed and on the 18th representatives of New York organizations of women met in the ball-room of the Hotel McAlpin at the call of Mrs. Catt. The second vice-president, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, presided and Mrs. Catt offered the following resolution:

"Whereas, the great war just ended has been a partnership of all the people of all belligerent countries composing two vast armies, one of soldiers in the trenches and one of civilians who formed a second line of defense to supply the needs of the fighters, thus making it possible to fight; and whereas, the war could not have been carried to a victorious conclusion without the aid of women in civilian activities, as is shown by the testimony of men in high authority in every belligerent land; and whereas, all truly civilized, intelligent people now wish to make a final end of war and to organize the forces of civilization so as to make future war impossible; and whereas, women compose half of society with very special and peculiar interests to be conserved and protected—all too frequently overlooked by men—therefore

Resolved, that we urge the President of the United States to give women adequate representation on the United States delegation to the Peace Conference to meet in Paris. We urge him to select women whose broad experience and sympathies render them competent to support and defend every point which bears upon the establishment of liberty for all the peoples of the world and especially upon the proper protection of women and children in peace and war. We urge him to select women who may be relied upon to uphold free representative institutions, based upon the will of the people in every land in which independence is established, in order that democratic institutions may make an end of war."

No attention was paid to this resolution by the President or the Government and no women were appointed on the Peace delegation as a recognition of their work and sacrifice.

The Woman's Committee gradually closed up its affairs and

at a meeting on Feb. 12, 1919, Dr. Shaw was instructed to write to the Secretary of War that it believed its work to be at an end and tendered its resignation to take effect when, in the judgment of his Council, its services should no longer be required. This resignation was accepted by President Wilson on February 27 with a splendid tribute to the work of the committee. The announcement was formally made on March 15, and the committee passed out of existence.<sup>1</sup> Two of its members, the chairman and the resident director, Miss Hannah J. Patterson, received from the Government in May the distinguished service medal.

Secretary of War Newton D. Baker in a Foreword to Mrs. Blair's report said: "The chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense from the beginning was Dr. Anna Howard Shaw—ripened by a long life devoted intensely to the advocacy of great causes; cheered and heartened by recent victories for the greatest cause for which she had fought in her long and unusual life; loved and honored by her sex as their leader and by men as a citizen combining in a rare degree high qualities of intellect, force of character and persuasive eloquence in speech. She and her committee wrought a work the like of which had never been seen before, and her reward was to see its success and then to be caught up as she was engaged in another high and fierce conflict into which she threw herself when hostilities ceased in order that this great work might be but a helpful part of a greater thing in the hope and history of mankind. . . . The Woman's Committee was the leader of the women of America. It informed and broadened the minds of women everywhere, and with no thought of propaganda it made an argument by producing results. The Council of National Defense fades out of this work and the Woman's Committee looms large—and yet larger still is the American woman. . . ."

It was the earnest desire of Dr. Shaw and the suffragists that she might now give her important services to the Federal Suffrage Amendment, which was at a critical stage, but this hope could not be realized. Former President Taft and President

<sup>1</sup> It was a question long and seriously discussed whether this vast organization should be wholly dissolved or whether it should be continued in the various States for civic and humanitarian purposes. Dr. Shaw was strongly in favor of preserving it and her earnest appeal will be found in Mrs. Blair's Report, page 137.



Lowell of Harvard University, both of whom had done valuable work for the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations, were starting in May, 1919, on a speaking tour to advocate the League in fifteen States and they urged Dr. Shaw to cancel all other engagements and join them on this tour. For two years she had been giving her time and labor without price and now she had commenced again to fill her own lecture dates. She was going later to Spain as the guest of Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, for a well-earned and much-needed rest, but at this call everything was given up willingly and cheerfully to continue her service to her country. As the tour was arranged, every night was to be spent on a sleeping car and Dr. Shaw was to speak only once in twenty-four hours. She could not, however, resist the pleading of people in different cities and at Indianapolis she filled eight engagements of various kinds in one day. The following day at Springfield, Ills., she succumbed to her old foe, pneumonia. She received every possible care in the hospital and after two weeks recovered sufficiently to make the journey to her home at Moylan, Pennsylvania. She had, however, put too great a strain on her vital forces and died July 2, at the age of seventy-two.

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Whatever may have been the unthinking verdict passed upon suffragists and their activities prior to the World War, it was thereafter widely acknowledged that in the national crisis they played a leading rôle in the support and defense of the nation. While it is a matter for regret that their war record cannot be chronicled as fully and definitely as can their work for suffrage, nevertheless, even a casual examination will show that it was a heroic one and none the less so because it was frequently merged, through far-sighted efficiency, in the war-service of all American women, of which it formed a distinguished part.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

### THE DEATH OF MRS. STANTON.

From the address of an old and valued friend, the Rev. Moncure D. Conway of Virginia, who was many years at the head of the Ethical Culture Society of London, at the funeral of Elizabeth Cady Stanton in her home in New York City, Oct. 28, 1902.

A lighthouse on the human coast is fallen. To vast multitudes the name Elizabeth Cady Stanton does not mean so much a person as a standard inscribed with great principles. Roses will grow out of her ashes; individual characters will give a resurrection to her soul and genius, but the immortality she has achieved is that of her long and magnificent services to every cause of justice and reason. Beginning her career amid ridicule and obloquy, all the worth she put into her life has not only been returned to her personally in the love and friendship which have surrounded her and made life happy even to her last day, but has been returned to her tenfold in the successes of her cause.

Could I utter to her my farewell I would say: Revered and beloved friend, you pass to your rest after a brave and beautiful life; you have journeyed by a path of unsullied light. If ever there shall be established in America a republic—a Constitution and Government free from all caste and privilege, whether of color, creed or sex—its founders will be discovered not in those who purchased by their valor and blood mere independence of territory in which a government allied with slavery was founded, but among those who, while faithful to heart and home, toiled unweariedly for an ideal civilization.

A few touching words were spoken by the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, a contemporary in the early days of the movement for woman suffrage. At Woodlawn Cemetery the committal to earth was pronounced by the Rev. Phoebe A. Hanaford, another companion in the long contest.

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### MISS ANTHONY'S LAST BIRTHDAY LETTER TO MRS. STANTON, WRITTEN A FEW DAYS BEFORE HER SUDDEN DEATH.

My Dear Mrs. Stanton:—

I shall indeed be happy to spend with you November 12, the day on which you round out your four-score and seven, over four years ahead of me, but in age as in all else I follow you closely. It is fifty-one years since first we met and we have been busy through every one of them, stirring up the world to recognize the rights of women. The older we grow the more keenly we feel the humiliation of disfranchisement and the more vividly we realize its disadvantages in every department of life and most of all in the labor market.

We little dreamed when we began this contest, optimistic with the hope and buoyancy of youth, that half a century later we would be compelled to leave the finish of the battle to another generation of women. But our hearts are filled with joy to know that they enter upon this task equipped with a college education, with business experience, with the fully admitted right to speak in public—all of which were denied to women fifty years ago. They have practically but one point to gain—the suffrage; we had all. These strong, courageous, capable young women will take our place and

complete our work. There is an army of them where we were but a handful. Ancient prejudice has become so softened, public sentiment so liberalized and women have so thoroughly demonstrated their ability as to leave not a shadow of doubt that they will carry our cause to victory.

And we, dear, old friend, shall move on to the next sphere of existence—higher and larger, we cannot fail to believe, and one where women will not be placed in an inferior position but will be welcomed on a plane of perfect intellectual and spiritual equality.

Ever lovingly yours,  
Susan B. Anthony.

Practically every magazine in the United States contained an article about Mrs. Stanton and her great work and there was scarcely a newspaper that did not have an editorial. An extended account, with tributes from Miss Anthony, will be found in her *Life and Work*, Chapter LXI.

In the *Review of Reviews* for December, 1902, appeared an appreciation from the writer of these volumes.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The following Declaration of Principles, prepared by Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw, Miss Blackwell and Mrs. Harper, was adopted by the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1904.

When our forefathers gained the victory in a seven years' war to establish the principle that representation should go hand in hand with taxation, they marked a new epoch in the history of man; but though our foremothers bore an equal part in that long conflict its triumph brought to them no added rights and through all the following century and a quarter, taxation without representation has been continuously imposed on women by as great tyranny as King George exercised over the American colonists.

So long as no married woman was permitted to own property and all women were barred from the money-making occupations this discrimination did not seem so invidious; but to-day the situation is without a parallel. The women of the United States now pay taxes on real and personal estate valued at billions of dollars. In a number of individual States their holdings amount to many millions. Everywhere they are accumulating property. In hundreds of places they form one-third of the taxpayers, with the number constantly increasing, and yet they are absolutely without representation in the affairs of the nation, of the State, even of the community in which they live and pay taxes. We enter our protest against this injustice and we demand that the immortal principles established by the War of the Revolution shall be applied equally to women and men citizens.

As our new republic passed into a higher stage of development the gross inequality became apparent of giving representation to capital and denying it to labor; therefore the right of suffrage was extended to the workingman. Now we demand for the 4,000,000 wage-earning women of our country the same protection of the ballot as is possessed by the wage-earning men.

The founders took an even broader view of human rights when they declared that government could justly derive its powers only from the consent of the governed, and for 125 years this grand assertion was regarded as a corner-stone of the republic, with scarcely a recognition of the fact that one-half of the citizens were as completely governed without their consent as were the people of any absolute monarchy in existence. It was only when our government was extended over alien races in foreign countries that our

people awoke to the meaning of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. In response to its provisions, the Congress of the United States hastened to invest with the power of consent the men of this new territory, but committed the flagrant injustice of withholding it from the women. We demand that the ballot shall be extended to the women of our foreign possessions on the same terms as to the men. Furthermore, we demand that the women of the United States shall no longer suffer the degradation of being held not so competent to exercise the suffrage as a Filipino, a Hawaiian or a Porto Rican man.

The remaining Territories within the United States are insisting upon admission into the Union on the ground that their citizens desire "the right to select their own governing officials, choose their own judges, name those who are to make their laws and levy, collect, and disburse their taxes." These are just and commendable desires but we demand that their women shall have full recognition as citizens when these Territories are admitted and that their constitutions shall secure to women precisely the same rights as to men.

When our government was founded the rudiments of education were thought sufficient for women, since their entire time was absorbed in the multitude of household duties. Now the number of girls graduated by the high schools greatly exceeds the number of boys in every State and the percentage of women students in the colleges is vastly larger than that of men. Meantime most of the domestic industries have been taken from the home to the factory and hundreds of thousands of women have followed them there, while the more highly trained have entered the professions and other avenues of skilled labor. We demand that under this new régime, and in view of these changed conditions in which she is so important a factor woman shall have a voice and a vote in the solution of their innumerable problems.

The laws of practically every State provide that the husband shall select the place of residence for the family, and if the wife refuse to abide by his choice she forfeits her right to support and her refusal shall be regarded as desertion. We protest against the recent decision of the courts which has added to this injustice by requiring the wife also to accept for herself the citizenship preferred by her husband, thus compelling a woman born in the United States to lose her nationality if her husband choose to declare his allegiance to a foreign country.

As women form two-thirds of the church membership of the entire nation; as they constitute but one-eleventh of the convicted criminals; as they are rapidly becoming the educated class and as the salvation of our government depends upon a moral, law-abiding, educated electorate, we demand for the sake of its integrity and permanence that women be made a part of its voting body.

In brief, we demand that all constitutional and legal barriers shall be removed which deny to women any individual right or personal freedom which is granted to man. This we ask in the name of a democratic and a republican government, which, its constitution declares, was formed "to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty."

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

### THE ANTHONY MEMORIAL BUILDING IN ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Shortly after the death of Susan B. Anthony a group of her co-workers and other friends in Rochester set out to raise a fund for the purpose of erecting, as a memorial to her, a building for the use of women students at the University of Rochester. This seemed to them especially fitting, as Miss Anthony had been intensely interested and very active in the raising of the

Co-education Fund which admitted women students to the University in 1900.<sup>1</sup> Endorsement of this plan and the use of their names were given by her sister, Mary S. Anthony, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and many well known women throughout this country and several from over-seas.

A Memorial Association was formed with an executive committee of Rochester women<sup>2</sup> but very little organized committee work was done. Suffragists were by this time too busy with the growing intensity of their own campaigns and said, truly enough, that Miss Anthony would much rather they would spend their time and money for the cause. However, an appeal was issued, coupon books were scattered among many women's organizations and individuals and the chairman of the committee addressed her personal appeal to every club and conference that would give her a hearing.

The largest single gift was from Miss Anthony's old friend Mrs. Sarah L. Willis of Rochester, \$5,250. Mrs. Susan Look Avery of Louisville, Ky., gave \$1,199. Of nine gifts of \$1,000 each, five were from Rochester women—Miss Mary S. Anthony, Mrs. Hannah M. Byam, Mrs. Mary H. Hallowell, Miss Ada Howe Kent and Miss Frances Baker. The other \$1,000 gifts were from Mrs. Emma J. Bartol, George and Mary A. Burnham of Philadelphia; John C. Haynes of Boston; Mrs. Lydia Coonley Ward of Chicago. Among many interesting gifts may be noted one from the women of The Netherlands and one from the Portia Suffrage Club of New Orleans. Women students at the college made class gifts from time to time but the fund grew slowly. After eight years it had reached \$27,475. At this point the college authorities offered to complete the amount necessary for the building as planned, if the committee would turn over its money, which it gladly did. The cost was \$58,763, the balance, which came to \$31,288, being paid from the Co-education Fund raised by and for the women in 1900.

In the fall of 1914 the college girls took possession of the handsome gray stone building, bearing on its face, cut in stone, "Anthony Memorial." It contains a well-equipped gymnasium, a lunch room and four parlors for the social life of the students and the use of the Alumnae Association. The possession of this building and Catherine Strong Hall, the two connected by a cloistered walk, has added greatly to the enjoyment and convenience of the women students. Miss Eddy's half-length portrait of Miss Anthony hangs over the chimney-piece in the largest parlor and these rooms furnish a home-like place for their smaller social gatherings; larger affairs, such as the alumnae dinner, are held in the gymnasium. "Miss Anthony would certainly rejoice if she could look in on some February 15th and see the girls commemorating her birthday, as they do in some way every year," Mrs. Gannett writes in sending information for this account.

Dr. Rush Rhees, president of the university, who has sent for this volume a picture of the Memorial Building and some additional information, says:

<sup>1</sup> See *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, page 1221 and following.

<sup>2</sup> Executive Committee: Mrs. Mary T. L. Gannett, chairman; Mrs. Georgia F. Raynsford, first vice-chairman; Mrs. Helen B. Montgomery, second; Mrs. William S. Little, third; Mrs. W. L. Howard, fourth; Mrs. Henry G. Danforth, treasurer; Miss Jeannette W. Huntington, assistant; Miss Charlotte P. Acer, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Emma B. Sweet, assistant; Mrs. Adele R. Ingersoll, recording secretary. Security Trust Co., Rochester, N. Y., Financial Agent.

A national committee of prominent women was formed.

"The building is in constant use and is a great contribution to the comfort, health and pleasure of our women students."

Friends of Miss Anthony gave a scholarship for women in her name and Miss Mary S. Anthony gave the money for one in her own name. The university has seven other scholarships for women.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X.

STATEMENT BY MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT AT SENATE HEARING IN 1910

Although the Constitution of the United States in section 2 of Article I seems to have relegated authority over the extension of the suffrage to the various States, yet, curiously, few men in the United States possess the suffrage because they or the class to which they belong have secured their right to it by State action. The first voters were those who possessed the right under the original charters granted by the mother country and as the restrictions were many, including religious tests in most of the colonies and property qualifications in all, the number of actual voters was exceedingly small. When it became necessary at the close of the Revolution to form a federation for the "common defense" and the promotion of the "general welfare," it was obvious that citizenship must be made national. To do this it became clearly necessary that religious tests must be abandoned, since Catholic Maryland, Quaker Pennsylvania and Congregational Massachusetts could be united under a common citizenship by no other method. The elimination of the religious test enfranchised a large number of men and this without a struggle or any movement in their behalf.

In 1790 the first naturalization law was passed by Congress. Under the Articles of Confederation citizenship had belonged to the States but since it was apparent that it must now be national, a compromise was made between the old idea of State's rights and the new idea of Federal union. Each of the original States had its representatives in the convention which drafted the Federal Constitution and by common consent it was there planned that citizenship should carry with it the right to vote, although this was to be put into the State constitutions and not into the National. These delegates, influencing their own States in the forming of their constitutions, easily brought this about and without any movement on the part of those who were to be naturalized. This common understanding in the National Constitutional Convention and the Naturalization Act of Congress in 1790 certainly enfranchised somewhere between three-fourths and four-fifths of all men in the United States at this time.

The population of the colonies at the time of the Revolution was two and a half millions and even though all men had been voters the number could not have been more than seven or eight hundred thousand. By the census of 1900 there were 21,000,000 men of voting age in the United States. The Act, therefore, of the U. S. Government virtually enfranchised millions upon millions of men. Generations then unborn have come into the right of the suffrage in this country under that Act and men of every nationality have availed themselves of its privileges to become voting citizens. Although, technically speaking,

enfranchisement of the foreign-born was extended by the States, yet in reality it is obvious that the real granting of this privilege came from Congress itself. The thirteen original States retained their property qualifications after the formation of the Union and these were removed by State amendments. This extension of the suffrage was made in most cases many years ago, when the electorate was very small in numbers.

The history of the enfranchisement of the negro is well known. States attempted it by amending their constitutions but in no case was this accomplished. Congress undertook to secure it by national amendment and although this was ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the State Legislatures yet it must be remembered that all the southern States were virtually coerced into giving their consent. . . . The Indians were enfranchised by Acts of Congress.

The evolution of man suffrage in the United States shows that but one class received their votes by direct State action—the nonproperty holders. They found political parties and statesmen to advocate their cause and their *enfranchisement was made easy by State constitutional action.*

In the 120 years of our national life no class of men have been forced to organize a movement in behalf of their enfranchisement; they have offered no petition or plea or even given sign that the extension of suffrage to them would be acceptable. Yet American women, who have conducted a persistent, intelligent movement for a half-century, which has grown stronger and stronger with the years, appealing for their own enfranchisement and supported now by a petition of 400,000 citizens of the United States are told that it is unnecessary to consider their plea since all women do not want to vote!

Gentlemen, is it not manifestly unfair to demand of women a test which has never been made in the case of men in this or any other country? Is it not true that the attitude of the Government toward an unenfranchised class of men has ever been that the vote is a privilege to be extended and it is optional with the citizen whether or not he shall use it? If any proof is needed it can be found in the fact that the U. S. Government has no record whatever of the number who have been naturalized in this country. It has no record of the number of Indians who have accepted its offer of the vote as a reward for taking up land in severalty. Manifestly the Government, as represented by Congress and the State Legislatures, considers it entirely unnecessary to know whether men who have had the suffrage "thrust upon them" use it or not, but imperative that women must not only demand it in very large numbers but give guaranty that they will use it, before its extension shall be made to them.

Is it not likewise unfair to compel women to seek their enfranchisement by methods infinitely more difficult than those by means of which any man in this country has secured his right to a vote? Ordinary fair play should compel every believer in democracy and individual liberty, no matter what are his views on woman suffrage, to grant to women the easiest process of enfranchisement and that is the submission of a Federal Amendment.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV.

## THE SHAFROTH-PALMER WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

In 1914 the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Medill McCormick was chairman and Mrs. Antoinette Funk vice-chairman, caused to be introduced in Congress, with the sanction of the National Board, a Federal Amendment for woman suffrage radically different from the one for which the association had been working since 1869. It was named for its introducers in Senate and House. The merits of the proposed amendment, as stated by Mrs. Funk, which are given in condensed form in Chapter XIV, will be found in full in the published Handbook or Minutes of the national suffrage convention of this year. Specimens of the objections made as published in the *Woman's Journal* are given herewith:

Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch (Ills.), a lawyer: Senator Shafroth's new suffrage amendment may do good by keeping law-makers discussing woman suffrage but as a practical method of securing it has serious defects. It is open to all the States' rights objections raised against our Susan B. Anthony amendment,<sup>1</sup> for it goes further and proposes a universal method of amending 48 State constitutions. State law-makers and Judges and even State voters from the North as well as the South will resent such dictation as an unwarrantable interference. The Initiative and Referendum scheme will have its own enemies, who will fear that this way may be an entering wedge for more Initiative and Referendum amendments to be pushed into State constitutions.

The amendment is, however, too indefinitely framed to be workable. No officer is named to whom the petitions should go; no officer is obligated to submit the question; no method of authenticating the petitions is prescribed and no time for voting is fixed. The United States has no facilities of its own for conducting any such elections or punishing State or county officers who may not volunteer to do the work. The Congressional Committee would better keep this amendment in committee rather than let the country know the great objection there is to it on the part of our constituency. . . .

Mrs. M. Tascan Bennett (Conn.): The three principal objections to the new amendment appear to be as follows: It divides suffragists all over the country. The Anthony Amendment has had the support since 1869 of the annual conventions, where the members of the National Association have their one opportunity to direct its work. The Shafroth Amendment furnishes an excellent excuse to Congress for taking no action on the Anthony Amendment. It might well appear as a happy way to dispose of the whole question of woman suffrage by foisting responsibility for it back on the States where it already is. . . . It defeats what I consider to be the unanswerable advantage of the Anthony Amendment, whose ratification by the required three-fourths of the States will force the remaining one-fourth into line. The southern States, for whose special benefit the Shafroth Amendment appears to have been conceived, will undoubtedly be many years in accepting woman suffrage. With this new amendment ratified, they can still hold it back within their borders as long as they cling to their prejudices.

George H. Wright, M.D. (Conn.): The greatest objection is that, if passed, this amendment would throw the whole suffrage campaign into chaos. At

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of making a clear distinction between the two amendments the name of Susan B. Anthony is permitted in this one instance for the original Federal Amendment. It is not just to the others who worked for it to give it this designation.



present when we have carried one State we stop worrying about that State. The women cannot again be disfranchised except by an amendment to the State constitution, which would first have to pass a Legislature elected by the whole people. No such Legislature would dare to pass such a bill; the members who voted for it would accomplish nothing and would at once be ousted by their outraged women constituents. But under the Shafroth Amendment 8 per cent. of the voters could force a referendum on the question at any time. . . . Also a large part of the effort and money now used to gain new victories would be spent in defending what we had already won.

The Rev. Olympia Brown (Wis.), a pioneer suffragist: The passage of the Shafroth Amendment is spoken of several times in the explanations and arguments for it as being an "endorsement of woman suffrage by Congress." "Federal sanction," it is said, "would dignify the movement." This is another misnomer. There is no "indorsement" by Congress and no "federal sanction" about it. There is not even a hint that Congress favors woman suffrage. The amendment merely provides for the Initiative and Referendum in the States.

The *Woman's Journal* lately called attention to the statement twice made that "the effect of the amendment, if ratified, would be the same as if every State in the Union had passed a suffrage amendment." This is a most singular assertion. If every State adopted a suffrage amendment our work would be done. Again: "The passage of this resolution would have the same effect over the United States as if any other suffrage amendment had passed." Surely anyone can see that if the Anthony Amendment had been passed by Congress the effect would be entirely different from that produced by the passage of one merely giving the Initiative and Referendum to the States. And again: "If ratified, this amendment would have the same effect in every State as if a suffrage amendment had already passed its Legislature." Even this is untrue. If any Legislature had submitted a suffrage amendment, the subject would at once go to the men to be voted on but by this method there must be a petition signed by 8 per cent. of the voters. . . .

One thing, however, seems to be ignored by all. When once an amendment to the Federal Constitution is passed and ratified by three-fourths of the Legislatures it becomes a part of the Constitution and is fixed for all time. No amendment has ever yet been repealed but it would be difficult, if not impossible, to secure another amendment on the same subject, especially one providing for a course of action entirely different from the former.

Therefore, this Shafroth Amendment, if passed, will place an impassable barrier to future Congressional action in behalf of woman suffrage. It simply refers the matter to the States. As a reason for passing it, it is claimed that we cannot secure the submission of the original amendment. Perhaps not today or during this session of Congress; possibly not during this administration, but with the wonderful progress of our cause, the spread of the recognition of the rights of women and the "new doctrine of freedom," the demand for it will be overwhelming and it will be gained at no distant day.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, historian of the suffrage movement: In behalf of many loyal and experienced suffragists I wish to enter two strong protests— one against the resolution which has been presented in the U. S. Senate by Senator Shafroth of Colorado, by request of Mrs. Medill McCormick and Mrs. Antoinette Funk; the other against their statement made to Congress that they speak for the 642,000 members of the National American Suffrage Association in offering this resolution.

The Congressional Committee, of which they are chairman and vice-chairman, was appointed, according to the understanding of the convention which met in Washington last fall, to work for the submission by Congress of the Federal Amendment for which the association has stood sponsor forty-five years. It was organized in 1869 for the express purpose of securing this amendment: "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." No other ever has been considered by the association.

When this committee opened its headquarters in Washington the National

Board asked contributions for its support through the *Woman's Journal*, saying: "The speedy submission of this Federal Amendment is of vital concern to every suffragist." Later it announced: "The Washington office will be occupied largely with the political end of the Federal Amendment campaign, while a Chicago office will specialize in the work of organizing the congressional districts of the United States in cooperation with the various State associations." All this, of course, was for the old, original amendment. No experienced suffragist expected it to receive the necessary two-thirds vote this session, but, as it had been reported favorably to the Senate, the desire was to have it brought to a discussion; to secure as large a vote as possible and to ascertain which members were friends and which were enemies. In spite of most unfavorable conditions this was accomplished and the amendment received a majority. There were no more negative votes than when it was acted upon in 1887 by the Senate and over twice as many favorable votes.

The opposition was based almost entirely on the doctrine of State's rights, as was to be expected; but three Southern Senators voted in the affirmative. Before another session of Congress several more States are certain to be carried for woman suffrage, thus insuring more votes for this Federal Amendment. The defeat of suffrage bills in a number of Legislatures in the South is converting the women of that section to the necessity of action by Congress. Just at the most favorable moment in the entire history of this amendment, the committee having it in charge suddenly throws it on the dust heap; has another introduced of a radically different character, and announces to the public that this is done with the sanction of the National Board and that it represents the sentiment of the 642,000 members of the National American Association! . . . In behalf of countless members of this association, I protest against this high-handed action. I insist that the National Board exceeded its prerogatives when it sanctioned so radical and complete a change in the time-honored policy of the association without first bringing it before a national convention and giving the delegates a chance to pass upon it. The proposed amendment seems undesirable from every point of view. . . .

These and all protests were answered by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal*, generally recognized as high authority by the suffragists of the country. Throughout the months of controversy she kept up a vigorous defense and advocacy of the Shafroth Amendment, saying: "The old amendment has not been dropped and many of us believe that the new amendment will pave the way for the passage of the old one. Most of the suffragists are much attached to the old nation-wide amendment. If any proposal should be made at the next national convention to drop it the proposal could hardly carry, or, if it did, the resulting dissatisfaction would greatly weaken the National Association, but at present nothing of the sort is proposed." She did, however, say in mild criticism:

The National Board has authority to decide questions that come up in the interim between the national conventions. On the other hand it has never before had to pass upon anything so important as committing the association to the advocacy of a wholly new amendment to the U. S. Constitution. It would probably have been the part of wisdom to get a vote of the National Executive Council. This would not have taken long and would have saved considerable hard feeling and perplexity. The approval of the majority of the Council could probably have been had, for there is no earthly ground for objecting to the Shafroth Amendment when it is thoroughly understood. It merely furnishes a short cut to amendments in the States—a method which any State could use or not as it chose. Supposing the Shafroth Amendment to have passed Congress and been ratified, if the suffragists of any State preferred the old way of amending their State constitution, it would still be open. The Shafroth Amendment would lay no compulsion upon any State; it would only take snags out of the way of amendments in those States where the snags are now very thick.

Feeling on this subject is more acute than it needs to be because the suffrage atmosphere just now is highly charged with electricity. The Shafroth Amendment is a first-rate little amendment and the sooner it passes the better.

The National Convention at Nashville in November, 1914, after many hours of heated discussion, finally adopted a resolution that it should be the policy of the association to "support by every means within its power the Anthony Amendment and to support such other legislation as the National Board might authorize to the end that the Anthony resolution should become law." (Minutes, p. 26.) At the convention of December, 1915, in Washington it was voted that the last year's action in regard to the Shafroth Amendment be rescinded; that the association re-indorse the Anthony Amendment and that no other be introduced by it during the coming year. (Minutes, page 43.) This ended the matter for all time.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XV.

FROM ADDRESS OF DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW WHEN RESIGNING THE PRESIDENCY OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, DEC. 15, 1915.

After a brief sketch of the condition of the world after a year and a half of the war in Europe, the address continued:

As an association we are confronted through the eternal law of progress by changes in our methods such as we have not met since the union of the two national societies in 1890. Our enlarged and expanding status as an association, the new and varied duties which devolve upon us and the innumerable demands increasing with the accumulation of means and workers call for a new kind of service in leadership. Political necessity has supplanted the reform epoch; the reapers of the harvest have replaced the ploughman and seed sower, each equally needed in the process of the cultivation and the development of an ideal as in the harvest of the land. When this movement began its pioneers were reformers, people who saw a vision and dreamed dreams of the time when all mankind should be free and all human beings have an equal opportunity under the law. Other reformers became possessed by it, and, following it in the spirit of Him who cried, "I was not disobedient to the Heavenly vision," they went forth proclaiming it to the world, knowing that misunderstanding, misrepresentation and persecution would combine to make the task difficult. It was not that they sought persecution but that they loved justice and freedom more than escape from it—these pioneers of the greatest political reform which history recounts. Year after year the task has been carried forward until the time has come when "new occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth," and the idealist and the reformer are supplanted in our movement by the politician. Our cause has passed beyond the stage of academic discussion and has entered the realm of practical politics. The time has come when our organized machinery must be political in its character and work along political lines directed by political leaders. . . .

The United States is looked upon as being the most powerful neutral nation, which with its high human ideal is the best equipped to present its good offices in mediation between the warring nations of the East, but is this true? What better preparation could it make than by removing from within its own borders the very cause which led to the present barbarous conditions across the sea? . . . How can the United States, in any spirit of a truly great nation, offer its services as mediator when it is following the same line of action towards its own people? How can it plead for justice in the East when it denies this to its own women? How can it claim that written agreements between nations are binding when it violates the fundamental principles of its own National

Constitution which declare that "the right of the citizen to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State," and for forty-five years Congress has turned a deaf ear to the appeal of our own citizens for protection under this law? Is it true that the United States Constitution too is but a "scrap of paper" to be repudiated at will? If, as a mediator of justice, we hold out our hands to lift other nations from the abyss into which injustice has plunged them, they must be clean hands. Our words must ring true. . . .

Many appeals will be made to our association to abandon its one purpose of securing votes for women and turn its attention and organized machinery to the real or imaginary dangers which beset us as a nation, but let us never for a moment forget the specious promises and assurances that were given to the pioneers, who, when the Civil War took place, gave up their associated work and turned their efforts to its demand in the belief that when the war was over the country would recognize their patriotic services and the dependence of the nation upon women in war as in peace and reward them with the ballot, the crowning symbol of citizenship. But instead of recognizing their service and rewarding the loyal women, the cry went forth: "This is the negroes' hour. Let the women wait"—and they are still waiting. As they wait they are not blind to the fact that this nation did what no other nation has ever done, when it voluntarily made its former slaves the sovereign rulers of its loyal and patriotic women.

The greatest service suffragists can render their country and through it the whole world at this time, is to teach it that there is no sex in love of individual liberty and to stand without faltering by their demand for justice and equality of political rights for men and women.

Dr. Shaw impressed upon the workers, especially the younger ones, not to be discouraged at what seemed slow progress and said:

It has been the privilege of your president to participate actively in twenty-four out of twenty-seven State campaigns; in the New Hampshire constitutional convention campaign, the Wheeling municipal campaign and directly though not actively in all the others except that of Illinois. The vote cast upon the amendments but inadequately expresses the expanding sentiment in behalf of woman suffrage and it needs only consecrated, persistent, systematic service to reach the goal and complete the task begun by the pioneers of 1848 and led by Susan B. Anthony until her death in 1906. While we accept as our motto her last public utterance, "Failure is impossible," we must also remember her prophetic words, uttered just before she laid down her life work: "There is nothing which can ultimately prevent the triumph of our cause but the time of its coming depends largely upon the loyalty and devotion of those who believe in it." . . .

While recognizing that our primary object is to secure the ballot for women citizens and that as an organization we are not wedded to one method of obtaining it but are willing to adopt any just plan which promises success, nevertheless until a better way is found we will seek to secure an amendment to the National Constitution prohibiting disfranchisement on account of sex, and at the same time will appeal to the States that by their action a sufficiently strong support may be given to the Federal Amendment to secure its adoption, unless it become unnecessary by action of the States themselves. . . . We must face the fact that large bodies of our new recruits know practically little of the history of the suffrage movement, of the long years of faithful devotion and the wise and statesmanlike service which have brought it to its present successful position. These recruits are attracted by new and spectacular methods, are impatient of delay and eagerly follow any scheme which promises to "get it quick." . . . If we analyze the arguments set forth by these most ardent advocates of the Federal Constitutional Amendment as the only means of securing immediate results and learn upon what they base their hopes of success, we shall see, as has been shown again and again, that every one of them has its source in the enfranchised States; that instead of State by State action being "wasteful, expensive and slow," it is the foundation of hope. This is the strongest argument in behalf of the wisdom of the founders of our

movement, that they recognized the necessity that State and Federal action must go together.

ADDRESS OF MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT AT SENATE HEARING, DEC. 15, 1915.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

Since our last appeal was made to your committee a vote has been taken in four Eastern States upon the question of amending their constitutions for woman suffrage. The inaction of Congress in not submitting a Federal amendment naturally leads us to infer that members believe the proper method by which women may secure the vote is through the referendum. We found in those four States what has always been true whenever any class of people have asked for any form of liberty and was best described by Macaulay when he said: "If a people are turbulent they are unfit for liberty; if they are quiet, they do not want it." We met a curious dilemma. On the one hand a great many men voted in the negative because women in Great Britain had made too emphatic a demand for the vote. Since they made that demand it is reported that 10,000,000 men have been killed, wounded or are missing through militant action, but all of that is held as naught compared with the burning of a few vacant buildings. Evidently the logic that these American men followed was: Since some turbulent women in another land are unfit to vote, no American woman shall vote. There was no reasoning that could change the attitude of those men. On the other hand the great majority of the men who voted against us, as well as the great majority of the members of Legislatures and Congress who oppose this movement, hold that women have given no signal that they want the vote. Between the horns of this amazing dilemma the Federal amendment and State suffrage seem to be caught fast.

So those of us who want to learn how to obtain the vote have naturally asked ourselves over and over again what kind of a demand can be made. We get nothing by "watchful waiting" and if we are turbulent we are pronounced unfit to vote. We turned to history to learn what kind of a demand the men of our own country made and determined to do what they had done. The census of 1910 reported 27,000,000 males over 21. Of these 9,500,000 are direct descendants of the population of 1800; 2,458,873 are negroes; 15,040,278 are aliens, naturalized or descendants of naturalized citizens since 1800. The last two classes compose two-thirds of the male population over 21. The enfranchisement of negro men is such recent history that it is unnecessary to repeat here that they made no demand for the vote. The naturalization laws give citizenship to any man who chooses to make a residence of this country for five years and automatically every man who is a citizen becomes a voter in the State of his residence. In the 115 years since 1800 not one single foreigner has ever been asked whether he wanted the vote or whether he was fit for it—it has literally been thrust upon him. Two-thirds of our men of voting age today have not only made no demand for the vote but they have never been asked to give any evidence of capacity to use it intelligently.

We turned again to history to see how the men who lived in this country in 1800 got their votes. At that time 8 per cent. of the total population were voters in New York as compared with 25 per cent. now. There was a struggle in all the colonial States to broaden the suffrage. New York seemed always to have lagged behind the others and therefore it forms a good example. It was next to the last State to remove the land qualification and it was not a leader in the extension of the suffrage to any class.

In 1740 the British Parliament disqualified the Catholics for naturalization in this country. That enactment had been preceded in several of the States by their definite disfranchisement. In 1699 they were disfranchised by an Act of the Assembly of New York. Although the writers on the early franchise say that Jews were not permitted to vote anywhere in this country in 1701, as they certainly were not in England, yet occasionally they apparently did so. In New York that year there was a definite enactment disfranchising them. In 1737 the Assembly passed another disfranchising Act. Catholics and Jews were disfranchised in most States. It is interesting to learn how they became enfranchised. One would naturally suppose that together or sepa-

rately they would make some great demand for political equality with Protestants but there is no record that they did. I find that the reason why our country became so liberal to them was not because there was any demand on their part and not because there was any special advocacy of their enfranchisement by statesmen. It was due to the fact that in the Revolution, Great Britain, having difficulty with the American colonies on the south side of the St. Lawrence River, did as every belligerent country does and tried to hold Canada by granting her favors. In order to make the Canadian colonies secure against revolution the British Parliament, which had previously disfranchised the Catholics and the Jews, now extended a vote to them. The American Constitution makers could not do less than Great Britain had done, and so in every one of the thirteen States they were guaranteed political equality with Protestants.

The next great movement was the elimination of the land qualification and on this we find that history is practically silent. In Connecticut and Rhode Island a small petition was presented to the Assembly asking for its removal. In New York in the constitutional convention of 1821 when some members advocated its removal others asked, "Where is the demand? Who wants to vote that has no land?" The answer was that there had been some meetings in New York in behalf of removing this qualification. No one of them had seen such a meeting but some members had heard that a few had been held in the central districts of the State. This constitutes the entire demand that has been made by the men of our country for the vote.

In contrast we may ask what have women done? Again I may say that New York is a fair example because it is the largest of the States in population and has the second city in size in the world and occupies perhaps the most important position in any land in which a suffrage referendum has been taken. Women held during the six months prior to the election in 1915, 10,300 meetings. They printed and circulated 7,500,000 leaflets or three-and-a-half for every voter. These leaflets weighed more than twenty tons. They had 770 treasuries in the State among the different groups doing suffrage work and every bookkeeper except two was a volunteer. Women by the thousands contributed to the funds of that campaign, in one group 12,000 public school teachers. On election day 6,330 women watched at the polls from 5:45 in the morning until after the vote was counted. I was on duty myself from 5:30 until midnight. There were 2,500 campaign officers in the State who gave their time without pay. The publicity features were more numerous and unique than any campaign of men or women had ever had. They culminated in a parade in New York City which was organized without any effort to secure women outside the city to participate in it, yet 20,000 marched through Fifth Avenue to give some idea of the size of their demand for the vote.

What was the result? If we take the last announcement from the board of elections the suffrage amendment received 535,000 votes—2,000 more than the total vote of the nine States where women now have suffrage through a referendum. It was not submitted in Wyoming, Utah or Illinois. Yet New York suffragists did not win because the opponents outvoted them. How did this happen? Why did not such evidence of a demand win the vote? Because the unscrupulous men of the State worked and voted against woman suffrage, aided and abetted by the weakminded and illiterate, who are permitted a vote in New York. In Rochester the male inmates of the almshouse and rescue home were taken out to vote against the amendment. Men too drunk to sign their own names voted all over the State, for drunkards may vote in New York. In many of the polling places the women watchers reported that throughout the entire day not one came to vote who did not have to be assisted; they did not know enough to cast their own vote.

Those are some of the conditions women must overcome in a referendum. One can eventually be carried even in New York but we believe we have made all the sacrifices which a just Government ought to expect of us. Even the Federal Amendment is difficult enough, with the ratification of 36 Legislatures required, but we may at least appeal to a higher class of men. We were obliged to make our campaign in twenty-four different languages. . . . It is too unfair and humiliating treatment of American women to compel

us to appeal to the men of all nations of the earth for the vote which has been so freely and cheaply given to them. We believe we ought to have the benefit of the method provided by the Federal Constitution.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVII.

### HEADQUARTERS OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

During the early years of the movement for woman suffrage the headquarters were in the home of Miss Susan B. Anthony, in Rochester, N. Y. In 1890 her strong desire to have a center for work and social features in Washington was fulfilled by the National Association's renting two large rooms in the club house of Wimodaughsis, a newly formed stock company of women for having classes and lectures on art, science, literature and domestic and political economy, with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw president. It did not prove to be permanent, however, and in two years the association had to give up the rooms and the work went back to Rochester, where much of it had continued to be done.

In October, 1895, when Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt became chairman of the Organization Committee, she opened headquarters in one room of her husband's offices in the *World Building*, New York City. At the same time Miss Anthony, with a gift of \$1,000 from Mrs. Louisa Southworth of Cleveland, had Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, national corresponding secretary, open headquarters in Philadelphia, with Miss Nicolas Shaw as secretary. Both acts were endorsed by the Business Committee of the association. At the next convention Mrs. Avery recommended that the Philadelphia headquarters be removed to those of New York. This was done April 1, 1897; two large rooms were rented in the *World Building* and all the work of the association except the treasurer's and the convention business was transacted here. For six years the national headquarters, in charge of Mrs. Catt, remained in New York. In May, 1903, they were removed to Warren, Ohio, near Cleveland, and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, national treasurer, took charge of them, with Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, executive secretary. Here they were beautifully housed, first in the parlors of an old mansion and later on the ground floor of the county court house where formerly was the public library. In 1909, partly through the contribution of Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, they were returned to New York City and with the New York State Association occupied the entire seventeenth floor of a large, new office building, 505 Fifth Avenue, corner of 42nd Street. When Mrs. Catt again became president the work of the association had outgrown even these commodious headquarters and in January, 1916, the fourteenth floor, with much more space, was taken in an office building at 171 Madison Avenue, corner of 33rd Street. In March, 1917, the Leslie Commission opened its Bureau of Suffrage Education in this building and the two organizations occupied two floors with a staff of fifty persons. On May 1, 1920, their work was concentrated on one floor, as the great task of securing complete, universal suffrage for the women of the United States was almost finished.

Branch Headquarters: In January, 1914, branch headquarters were opened in the Munsey Building on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington for the work

of the association's Congressional Committee. They continued there until the effort to obtain a Federal Amendment became of such magnitude as to require a great deal more room and in December, 1916, a large house was taken at 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, just off of Scott Circle [see page 632]. This was occupied by the committee, national officers, the lobbyists and other workers until July, 1919, when the amendment had been submitted by Congress.

The first headquarters in a business building in 1895 had been rented for \$15 a month; the last year's rent for the headquarters in New York and Washington was \$17,500.

#### BEQUEST OF MRS. FRANK LESLIE.

Mrs. Frank Leslie, long at the head of the Leslie publications in New York City, died Sept. 18, 1914, leaving a will which made the following provisions:

All the rest, residue and remainder of my estate, whatsoever and wheresoever situate, whereof I may be seized or possessed, or to which I may be in any manner entitled at the time of my death, including the amount of any legacies hereinbefore given which may for any reason lapse or fail, I do give, devise and bequeath unto my friend, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of the city of New York. It is my expectation and wish that she turn all of my said residuary estate into cash, and apply the whole thereof as she shall think most advisable to the furtherance of the cause of Women's Suffrage, to which she has so worthily devoted so many years of her life, and that she shall make suitable provision, so that in case of her death any balance thereof remaining unexpended may be applied and expended in the same way; but this expression of my wish and expectation is not to be taken as creating any trust or as limiting or affecting the character of the gift to her, which I intend to be absolute and unrestricted.

Mrs. Leslie had previously made two wills of a similar character. The estate was appraised at \$1,800,000 in stocks, bonds and real estate. There was an immense inheritance tax to be paid and harassing litigation was at once begun and continued. It was not until the winter of 1917 that the executors commenced a distribution of the funds. Mrs. Catt incorporated the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, which has received and expended all monies realized from the estate. They were a large factor in the legitimate expenditures for obtaining the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment from Congress and its ratification by 36 State Legislatures. They were also of great assistance in the campaigns of the last years to secure the amendments of State constitutions, which required organizers, speakers, printing, postage, etc. Contributions have been made to women's struggle for the franchise in other countries.

#### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIX.

##### PRESENT STATUS OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, ORGANIZED IN 1869.

Acting on the plan adopted at the last convention of the National American Association at Chicago in February, 1920, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president, issued a call for a meeting of the Executive Council in Hotel Statler at the time of the second annual convention of the National League of Women



Voters in Cleveland, Ohio. The meeting took place at 10 a. m., April 13, 1921, Mrs. Catt in the chair. She made a report of the receipts and disbursements of the Leslie Fund, saying that as soon as the estate was finally settled she would render a detailed statement. She said there were reasons why the association should not at this time be dissolved and gave them as follows:

(1) Legal attacks on the Federal Amendment are still pending and there are attempts to secure submission of a repeal to the voters. The association must remain till no further efforts are made to invalidate the amendment.

(2) The necessity of some authority to give advice and to help our dependencies where suffrage campaigns are pending.

(3) Several bequests, delayed because estates are not settled, also require the continuation of the association.

The Chair stated that the incorporation does not expire till 1940. Conventions of elected delegates are no longer feasible and, therefore, continuation without conventions should be provided for in an amended constitution, such amendments to be confirmed by the Executive Council.

It was unanimously agreed that the association be continued and on motion of Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, attorney, of Chicago, it was voted that the Chair appoint two other members of the Council to co-operate with her in revising the constitution in accordance with the new arrangement. She appointed Mrs. McCulloch and Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, the corresponding secretary of the association.

The report of the national treasurer from Jan. 1, 1920, to March 31, 1921, showed that \$12,451 had been used for the expenses connected with the ratification in eleven difficult States; the headquarters had been maintained; legal fees paid; the expenses of the Chicago convention met; deficit of the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. paid; printing and other bills settled, and a balance of \$3,534 remained in the treasury.

The General Officers had been re-elected in Chicago to serve until the end. At the present meeting the Directors, whose term of office had expired, were re-elected to serve continuously, except Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, whose resignation was accepted and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton was chosen to fill the vacancy. It was voted that the League of Women Voters be asked to take the place of the National Suffrage Association as auxiliary to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance; also that the association no longer continue as auxiliary of the National Council of Women of the United States.

Brief remarks were made by delegates present and enthusiastic appreciation was expressed of the action of the Tennessee Legislature in giving the 36th ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Mrs. Catt closed the meeting with advice to the delegates to put their State records, literature, etc., into libraries for preservation and she urged the necessity of the best training for their new responsibilities, reminding them that the duty would always rest on women to conserve civilization.

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The committee, consisting of Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Shuler and Mrs. McCulloch, recommended the adoption of an abridged constitution with the elimination of all the by-laws and articles of the old one which were now unnecessary. The Board could incur no financial obligations beyond the assets in their hands; they could fill vacancies caused by death or resignation as heretofore; adopt

such rules for their meetings as they deemed proper and amend the constitution by a two-thirds vote. The Board should continue to consist of nine officers and eight directors, with the power to summon the Executive Council. This Council should comprise the Board and the presidents and executive members of State auxiliaries as they existed in 1920. The name of the association would be retained.

The abridged constitution was sent to every member of the Council to be voted on.

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The Executive Council was called to meet at the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in New York at 10:30 a. m., June 22, 1921, for final action on the new constitution. Mrs. Catt presided and Mrs. Lewis J. Cox, State executive member from Indiana, acted as secretary. It was voted that the following sentence be added to the objects of the association: "To remove as far as it is possible all discriminations against women on account of sex." Sixty-six of the eighty-two members of the Council having voted in the affirmative and none in the negative the constitution was declared to be legally adopted.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIX.

### DEATH OF DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

It is literally true that a nation mourned the death of Anna Howard Shaw. Having lectured from ocean to ocean for several decades she was universally known and there were few newspapers which did not contain a sympathetic editorial on her public and personal life. Telegrams were received at her home from all parts of the world and the letters were almost beyond counting. Friend and foe alike yielded to the unsurpassed charm of her personality and the rare qualities of her mind and heart.

In February, 1919, the Woman's Council of National Defense, of which Dr. Shaw had been chairman since its beginning in April, 1917, dissolved with its duties ended. For the past two years she had practically given up her platform work for woman suffrage, then at its most critical stage with the Federal Amendment pending. Now she had made a large number of speaking engagements for the spring in its behalf and had accepted the invitation of Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, to be her guest on a trip to Spain afterwards. Everything was put aside when in May came an urgent request from former President Taft and President Lowell, of Harvard University, to join them in a speaking tour of fourteen States from New Hampshire to Kansas to arouse sentiment in favor of the League of Nations as a means of assuring peace forevermore. She was to speak but once a day but she could not resist the appeals in the different cities and it became four or five times a day. At Indianapolis she made speeches, gave interviews, etc., eight times. The next day at Springfield, Ill., she was stricken with pneumonia and was in the hospital two weeks. By June 12 she was able to leave for her home in Moylan, a residence suburb of Philadelphia, with her beloved friend and companion, Lucy Anthony, who had gone to her and who wrote to anxious

friends: "She made the journey without even a rise of temperature, found the house all bright with sunshine and flowers and was the happiest person in the world to be at home again." She seemed to recover entirely but on June 30 had a sudden relapse and died at 7 o'clock on the evening of July 2.

DR. SHAW'S TRIBUTE TO THE AMERICAN FLAG, GIVEN MANY TIMES.

"This is the American flag. It is a piece of bunting and why is it that, when it is surrounded by the flags of all other nations, your eyes and mine turn first toward it and there is a warmth at our hearts such as we do not feel when we gaze on any other flag? It is not because of the beauty of its colors, for the flags of England and France which hang beside it have the same colors. It is not because of its artistic beauty, for other flags are as artistic. It is because you and I see in that piece of bunting what we see in no other. It is not visible to the human eye but it is to the human soul.

"We see in every stripe of red the blood which has been shed through the centuries by men and women who have sacrificed their lives for the idea of democracy; we see in every stripe of white the purity of the democratic ideal toward which all the world is tending, and in every star in its field of blue we see the hope of mankind that some day the democracy which that bit of bunting symbolizes shall permeate the lives of men and nations, and we love it because it enfolds our ideals of human freedom and justice."

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In 1917. "It is because we love our country so much and because we are so anxious to give ourselves entirely to the great service of winning the war, that we want the freedom of American women now. We suffragists would be thrice traitors if at this time of the great struggle of the world for democracy we should fail to ask for the fundamental principles here which America is trying to help bring to other countries."

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When Dr. Shaw received the Distinguished Service Medal from Secretary of War Baker she said: "I realize that in conferring upon me the Distinguished Service Medal, the President and the Secretary of War are not expressing their appreciation of what I as an individual have done but of the collective service of the women of the county. As it is impossible to decorate all women who have served equally with the Chairman of the Woman's Committee, I have been chosen, and while I appreciate the honor and am prouder to wear this decoration than to receive any other recognition save my political freedom, which is the first desire of a loyal American, I nevertheless look upon this as the beginning of the recognition by the country of the service and loyalty of women, and above all that the part women are called upon to take in times of war is recognized as equally necessary in times of peace. This departure on the part of the national government through the President and Secretary of War gives the greater promise of the time near at hand when every citizen of the United States will be esteemed a government asset because of his or her loyalty and service rather than because of sex."

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Dr. Shaw was a valued member of the executive committee of the League to Enforce Peace, under whose auspices she was making the tour with former President Taft and President Lowell of Harvard University, and it sent her a transcript of her speech to revise for publication. This she did on the last Sunday of her life and the committee prepared tens of thousands of copies of it for circulation. It was entitled *What the War Meant to*

Women and mere extracts can give little idea of its strength and beauty. After speaking of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, the Peace Treaty and President Wilson's declaration that the United States did not want any material advantage out of the war, she ended:

While Mr. Wilson declared we want nothing out of the war, I said in my own heart: "It may be that we want nothing material out of the war, but, oh, we want the biggest thing that has ever come to the world—we want Peace now and Peace forever." If we cannot get that peace out of this war what hope is there that it will ever come to humanity? Was there ever such a chance offered to the world before? Was there ever a time when the peoples of all nations looked towards America as they are looking to-day because of our unselfishness in our dealings with them during the war? We have not always been unselfish but we have been in this war.

The war is over as far as the fighting is concerned but it is only begun as far as the life of the people is concerned. What would there be of inspiration to them to come back to their ruined homes and build up again their cities if within a few years the same thing could be repeated and homes destroyed and cities devastated, the people outraged and made slaves as they have been?

Men and women, they are looking to us as the hope of the world and whenever I gaze on our flag, whenever I look on those stars on their field of blue and those stripes of red and white, I say to myself: "I do not wonder that when that flag went over the trenches and surmounted the barriers, the people of the world took heart of hope. It was then that they began to feel they could unite with us in some sort of security for the future. And that flag means so much to me. I never look on its stars but that I see in every star the hope that must stir the peoples of the old world when they think of us and the power we have of helping to lead them up to a place where they may hope for their children and for their children's children the things that have not come to them." . . .

We women, the mothers of the race, have given everything, have suffered everything, have sacrificed everything and we say to you now: "The time is come when we will no longer sit quietly by and bear and rear sons to die at the will of a few men. We will not endure it. We demand either that you shall do something to prevent war or that we shall be permitted to try to do something ourselves." Could there be any cowardice, could there be any injustice, could there be any wrong, greater than for men to refuse to hear the voice of a woman expressing the will of women at the peace table of the world and then not provide a way by which the women of the future shall not be robbed of their sons as the women of the past have been?

To you men we look for support. We look for your support back of your Senators and from this day until the day when the League of Nations is accepted and ratified by the Senate of the United States, it should be the duty of every man and every woman to see that the Senators from their State know the will of the people; know that the people will that something shall be done, even though not perfect; that there shall be a beginning from which we shall construct something more perfect by and by; that the will of the people is that this League shall be accepted and that if, in the Senate of the United States, there are men so blinded by partisan desire for present advantage, so blinded by personal pique and narrowness of vision, that they cannot see the large problems which involve the nations of the world, then the people of the States must see to it that other men sit in the seats of the highest.

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In the beautiful Memorial issued by the Board of Directors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association were affectionate tributes from those who were officially associated with her for many years. Among the many from eminent men and women which were reproduced in the Memorial were the following:

It was not my privilege to know Dr. Shaw until the later years of her life but I had the advantage then of seeing her in many lights. I saw her acting with such vigor and intelligence in the service of the Government, and, through the Government, of mankind, as to win my warmest admiration. I had already had occasion to see the extraordinary quality of her clear and effective mind and to know how powerful and persuasive an advocate she was. When the war came I saw her in action and she won my sincere admiration and homage.

WOODROW WILSON,  
President of the United States.

(President and Mrs. Wilson, who were on the way home from France, sent a wireless message of sympathy and a handsome floral tribute from the White House.)

The world is infinitely poorer by the death of so great and good a woman.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL,  
Vice-President of the United States.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was a member of the Executive Committee of the League to Enforce Peace. She was constant in her attendance, full of suggestion and earnest in support of the cause. It was my great pleasure to speak with her from many a platform in favor of the League and to enjoy the very great privilege of listening to her persuasive eloquence and her genial wit and humor, which she always used to enforce her arguments. She thought nothing of the sacrifice she had to make and was only intent upon the consummation of our purpose. She was a remarkable woman. I deeply regret her death. There were many avenues of great usefulness which a continuance of her life would have enabled her to pursue. Her going is a great loss to the community.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT,  
President of the League to Enforce Peace.

I desire officially to pay tribute to the passing of Dr. Shaw. Aside from her epic contribution to the cause of progressive American womanhood it is in no sense perfunctory to say that whether in war time Washington, organizing and directing the eighteen thousand units of the Woman's Committee of National Defense, or with indomitable courage and power going up and down the country pleading great public causes relating to the war, this woman of seventy years was an inspiration to all of us. There was no one in American life who epitomized more finely Roosevelt's philosophy that in the public arena one must to the uttermost spend and be spent. It was a magnificent and enduring trail that Dr. Shaw blazed. Everywhere her endeavors had the impersonal and unselfish touch that marks the great protagonist of new ideals. She was a gallant and stirring figure in the history of this country and leaves the government of the United States distinctly in her debt.

GROSVENOR B. CLARKSON,  
Director United States Council National Defense.

As a member of the Council of National Defense I wish to express my very sincere appreciation of the patriotic service that Dr. Shaw rendered during the past two years, the magnitude of which cannot be appreciated except by those intimately familiar with it. Her distinguished service medal was well earned.

FRANKLIN K. LANE,  
Secretary of the Interior.

I hardly know how to write you about the death of our dear Anna Howard Shaw. She has been such a tower of strength to our cause everywhere and now her place knows her no more! There is one comfort in that she lived long enough to know of the triumph of your cause in the passage of the

Federal Amendment. She will be sorely missed and deeply mourned, first and foremost in America and Great Britain, but really all over the world, in every country where woman's cause is a living issue.

MILLCENT GARRETT FAWCETT,  
Honorary President,  
National Union of Societies for  
Equal Citizenship of Great Britain.

My deepest sorrow and sympathy go out to the family of Dr. Shaw, to the National Council of Women of the United States and to the International Council and the Woman Suffrage Alliance. Her passing is indeed a great loss to the women of the whole world.

ISHBEL ABERDEEN AND TEMAIR,  
President International Council of Women.

Truly all womanhood has lost a faithful friend.

ELIZABETH C. CARTER,  
President Northeastern Federation  
of Women's Clubs (colored).

Loving and appreciative tributes were sent from the officers of National and International Associations in all parts of the world.

## APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER XX.

APPEAL OF PRESIDENT WILSON TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES TO SUBMIT  
THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
DELIVERED IN PERSON SEPT. 30, 1918.

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

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

I had assumed that the Senate would concur in the amendment, because no disputable principle is involved but only a question of the method by which the suffrage is to be now extended to women. There is and can be no party issue involved in it. Both of our great national parties are pledged, explicitly pledged, to equality of suffrage for the women of the country.

Neither party, therefore, it seems to me, can justify hesitation as to the method of obtaining it, can rightfully hesitate to substitute Federal initiative for State initiative if the early adoption of this measure is necessary to the successful prosecution of the war, and if the method of State action pro-

posed in the party platforms of 1916 is impracticable within any reasonable length of time, if practical at all. And its adoption is, in my judgment, clearly necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and the successful realization of the objects for which the war is being fought.

That judgment I take the liberty of urging upon you with solemn earnestness for reasons which I shall state very frankly and which I shall hope will seem as conclusive to you as they seem to me.

This is a people's war and the people's thinking constitutes its atmosphere and morale, not the predilections of the drawing room or the political considerations of the caucus. If we be indeed democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy, we can ask other peoples to accept in proof of our sincerity and our ability to lead them whither they wish to be led, nothing less persuasive and convincing than our actions.

Our professions will not suffice. Verification must be forthcoming when verification is asked for. And in this case verification is asked for—asked for in this particular matter. You ask by whom? Not through diplomatic channels; not by foreign ministers; not by the intimations of parliaments. It is asked for by the anxious, expectant, suffering peoples with whom we are dealing and who are willing to put their destinies in some measure in our hands, if they are sure that we wish the same things that they do.

I do not speak by conjecture. It is not alone that the voices of statesmen and of newspapers reach me, and that the voices of foolish and intemperate agitators do not reach me at all. Through many, many channels I have been made aware what the plain, struggling, workaday folk are thinking, upon whom the chief terror and suffering of this tragic war fall. They are looking to the great, powerful, famous democracy of the West to lead them to the new day for which they have so long waited; and they think, in their logical simplicity, that democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon an equal footing with them.

If we reject measures like this, in ignorant defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to believe in us; they will cease to follow or to trust us. They have seen their own governments accept this interpretation of democracy—seen old governments like that of Great Britain, which did not profess to be democratic, promise readily and as of course this justice to women, though they had before refused it; the strange revelations of this war having made many things new and plain to governments as well as to peoples.

Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that our women can give—service and sacrifice of every kind—and still say we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our side in the guidance of the affairs of their nation and ours? We have made partners of the women in this war. Shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and right? This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations engaged or by America, if it had not been for the services of the women—services rendered in every sphere—not merely in the fields of efforts in which we have been accustomed to see them work but wherever men have worked and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself.

We shall not only be distrusted, but shall deserve to be distrusted if we do

not enfranchise women with the fullest possible enfranchisement, as it is now certain that the other great free nations will enfranchise them. We cannot isolate our thought or action in such a matter from the thought of the rest of the world. We must either conform or deliberately reject what they approve and resign the leadership of liberal minds to others.

The women of America are too intelligent and too devoted to be slackers whether you give or withhold this thing that is mere justice; but I know the magic it will work in their thoughts and spirits if you give it to them. I propose it as I would propose to admit soldiers to the suffrage—the men fighting in the field of our liberties of the world—were they excluded.

The tasks of the women lie at the very heart of the war and I know how much stronger that heart will beat if you do this just thing and show our women that you trust them as much as you in fact and of necessity depend upon them.

I have said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure and do you need further proof? Do you stand in need of the trust of other peoples and of the trust of our own women? Is that trust an asset or is it not? I tell you plainly, as the commander-in-chief of our armies and of the gallant men in our fleets; as the present spokesman of this people in our dealings with the men and women throughout the world who are now our partners; as the responsible head of a great government which stands and is questioned day by day as to its purpose, its principles, its hope. . . . I tell you plainly that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle.

And not to the winning of the war only. It is vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over. We shall need in our vision of affairs, as we have never needed them before, the sympathy and insight and clear moral instinct of the women of the world. The problems of that time will strike to the roots of many things that we have hitherto questioned, and I for one believe that our safety in those questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick, will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our counsels. We shall need their moral sense to preserve what is right and fine and worthy in our system of life as well as to discover just what it is that ought to be purified and reformed. Without their counsellings we shall be only half wise.

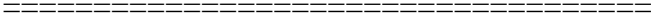
That is my case. This is my appeal. Many may deny its validity, if they choose, but no one can brush aside or answer the arguments upon which it is based. The executive tasks of this war rest upon me. I ask that you lighten them and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments, which I have daily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



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## INDEX

Readers of this volume of the History of Woman Suffrage will be spared some trouble in searching the index by noticing the arrangement of the chapters as shown in the Table of Contents. The Introduction gives a very brief outline of the movement for woman suffrage. The first 19 chapters contain accounts of the annual conventions of the National American Association during the last twenty years chronologically arranged, including the hearings before the committees of each Congress. Enough extracts from speeches are included to show the line of argument. The plans of work and the reports of committees indicate the development from year to year. These chapters record the work for a Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment, for which the association was especially organized.

Chapter XX contains in condensed form the full story of the contest for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. It is followed by chapters on various suffrage associations; the League of Women Voters; Woman Suffrage in National Presidential Conventions of the political parties and the War Service of the Organized Suffragists. Each has practically complete information on its particular subject, to which reference is made in other chapters and indexed.

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**MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.**

President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance from its founding in 1904 and of the National American Woman Suffrage Association 1900-1904 and from 1915.

Standing in an automobile on the way from the railroad station in New York after the campaign for ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment was completed by Tennessee. (See page 652.)

THE HISTORY  
OF  
WOMAN SUFFRAGE

EDITED BY

IDA HUSTED HARPER

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPERPLATE AND PHOTOGRAVURE  
ENGRAVINGS

*IN SIX VOLUMES*

VOLUME VI

1900—1920

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## INTRODUCTION

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE STATES OF THE UNION

In the preceding volume a full account is given of the forty years' continuous effort to secure an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would confer full suffrage on all the women of the United States possessing the qualifications required of men. Antedating the beginning of this effort by thirty years was the attempt to enfranchise women through the amendment of State constitutions. After 1869 the two movements were contemporaneous, each dependent on the other, the latter a long process but essential in some measure to the success of the former. There is no way by which the progress of the movement for woman suffrage can be so clearly seen as by a comparison of the State chapters in this volume with the State chapters in Volume IV, which closed with 1900. The former show the remarkable development of the organized work for woman suffrage, especially in the last decade, which brought the complete victory.

In Volume IV it was possible to give a résumé of the Laws specifically relating to women and one was sent with each chapter for this volume. The space occupied by the account of the work for the suffrage, however, made it necessary to omit them. It required thousands of words to record the legislation of the last twenty years relating especially to women in some of the States and the large part of it to women in the industries, which they had scarcely entered in 1900. The same is true of child labor. Every State shows a desire for protective legislation. Many States provide for mothers' pensions, a modern tendency. About half of the States now have equal guardianship laws. There is a gradual increase in those enlarging the property and business rights of married women. The "age of consent" and the age for marriage have been raised in most States where they were

too low. In every State for a number of years the large organizations of women have made a determined effort to obtain better laws for women and children and Legislatures have yielded to pressure. In every State as soon as women were enfranchised there was improvement in laws relating to their welfare and that of children.

The Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment went into effect in August, 1920, and the following winter there was a greater amount of advanced legislation in the various States than had taken place in the preceding ten years collectively, and the résumé of existing laws that had been prepared for this volume was soon at least partially obsolete in many of them. A brief statement of Office Holding was incorporated but its only value was in showing that in all States this was almost exclusively limited to "electors." When the Federal Amendment was proclaimed it carried with it eligibility to the offices. In some States it included Jury service but in others it was held that for this special legislation was necessary. In all States the professions and other occupations are open to women the same as to men. In the way of Education every State University admits women, and the vast majority of institutions of learning, except some of a religious character, are co-educational. A few of the large eastern universities still bar their doors but women have all needful opportunities for the higher education. Some professional schools—law, medicine and especially theology—are still closed to women but enough are open to them to satisfy the demand, and the same is true of the technical schools. To meet the lack of space every chapter had to be drastically cut after it was in type.

Women now have in a general sense equality of rights, although in every State they have learned or will learn that this is not literally true and that further effort will be required, but now, as never before, they are equipped for accomplishing it. It will be a long time before they have equality of opportunity in the business and political world but for the majority this will not be needed. Women will find, however, that in the home, in club life and in all lines of religious, philanthropic, educational and civic work the possession of a vote has increased their influence and power beyond measure.

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## CHAPTER I.

### ALABAMA.<sup>1</sup>

In 1902 Miss Frances Griffin of Verbena sent to the national suffrage convention the following report as president of the State suffrage association: "Two clubs in Alabama, in Huntsville and Decatur, are auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The State president did some aggressive work within the year, speaking in many different towns before women's clubs and at parlor meetings. She devoted much time to work of this character in Montgomery, hoping to bring to bear sufficient influence upon members of the Constitutional Convention to secure some concessions for women citizens. The results were bitterly disappointing, for it not only refused to grant suffrage to tax-paying women but it gave to the husbands of tax-payers the right to vote upon their wives' property! Women in the larger towns are taking an interest in municipal and educational affairs. Some have been placed on advisory boards in State institutions, such as the Girls' Industrial School, the Boys' Reform School and others. All this means a gradual advance for the suffrage sentiment, a general modifying of the anti-sentiment."

There were also short reports for 1903 and 1904, which, while showing no practical, tangible results of the efforts of that earnest pioneer worker, are interesting as evidences of the backward, unprogressive spirit against which the women of Alabama have had to contend. These reports mark the end of the first period of suffrage activity in the State, which had been maintained by a few devoted women. The new era was ushered in by the organization in Selma in 1910 of an Equal Suffrage

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, eight years president of the State Equal Suffrage Association, three years auditor of the National Association and now secretary of the National League of Women Voters; also to Miss Helen J. Benners, research chairman of the State League of Women Voters.



Association which was the beginning of an aggressive, tireless fight. Miss Mary Partridge, after seeing the defeat of a constitutional amendment for prohibition in Alabama despite the earnest but ineffectual efforts of the women who besieged the polls begging the men to vote for it, decided that the time was ripe for a woman suffrage organization and wrote for advice to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who answered in part: "I cannot express to you how happy I am that you are willing to begin the work in your State where very little has been done for suffrage because of the great conservatism among the women of the South. I am very glad if they are now beginning to realize their absolutely helpless and unprotected position. We have the temperance agitation to thank for arousing a great many women over all the country. . . ."

Shortly after the receipt of this letter Miss Partridge sent out a "call" in the Selma papers and on March 29, 1910, Mrs. Frederick Watson, Mrs. F. T. Raiford, Mrs. F. G. DuBose, Mrs. F. M. Hatch and Miss Partridge met at the Carnegie Library and organized the association. This action was reported to Dr. Shaw and she extended the greetings of the National Association with "thanks and appreciation."

The Birmingham Equal Suffrage Association was the outgrowth of a small group of women who had been holding study meetings in the home of Mrs. W. L. Murdoch. The enthusiasm and earnest conviction resulting from them found expression in a "call" for a woman suffrage organization and on Oct. 22, 1911, the association was formed at a meeting held in the Chamber of Commerce, where the following officers were elected: President, Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs; first vice-president, Miss Ethel Armes; second, Mrs. W. L. Murdoch; third, Mrs. W. N. Wood; corresponding secretary, Miss Helen J. Benners; recording secretary, Mrs. J. E. Frazier; treasurer, Mrs. A. J. Bowron.

Special mention is made of these two societies because they constituted the nucleus on which the State organization was formed. An urgent "call" was sent out by the officers of the Birmingham society to "all men and women who wish to further the cause of woman suffrage to unite in a State organization at

a meeting in Birmingham Oct. 9, 1912." Selma sent six delegates who met with the Birmingham suffragists at the Parish House of the Church of the Advent, where the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association was organized and a constitution and by-laws adopted. Mrs. Jacobs was elected president; Miss Partridge, first vice-president; Mrs. Raiford, second; Mrs. Murdoch, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Julian Parke, recording secretary; Mrs. C. M. Spencer, treasurer; Miss Partridge, State organizer.<sup>1</sup>

The following delegates were appointed to attend the national convention in Philadelphia in November; Mrs. Jacobs, Miss Amelia Worthington, Mrs. O. R. Hundley, Mrs. DuBose, Miss Partridge, Mrs. Chappel Cory. The new State organization affiliated at once with the National Association.

The first annual convention was held in Selma Jan. 29, 1913, with twenty-five representatives from Selma, Birmingham, Huntsville and Montgomery. Mrs. Jacobs was re-elected president and a splendid program of constructive work was outlined for the ensuing year. The association was represented at the meeting of the International Suffrage Alliance held in Budapest in June of this year by Mrs. T. G. Bush of Birmingham.

The second State convention, held in Huntsville Feb. 5, 1914, was made notable by the inspiring presence of three of Alabama's pioneer suffragists—Mrs. Annie Buel Drake Robertson, Mrs. Humes, and Mrs. Virginia Clay Clopton. The following local societies were represented by their presidents, named in the order in which they were organized: Selma, Mrs. Parke; Birmingham, Mrs. Hundley; Montgomery, Mrs. Sallie B. Powell; Huntsville, Mrs. Clopton; Cullman, Mrs. Ignatius Pollak; Greensboro, Miss S. Anne Hobson; Tuscaloosa, Mrs. Losey; Vinemont, Miss Mary Munson; Pell City, Miss Pearl Still; Coal City, Mrs. J. W. Moore; Mobile, Miss Eugenie Marks. Mrs. Jacobs was re-elected despite her wish to retire from office and her report of the past year told of a great amount of work done by all the members of the board.

In January, 1915, a resolution to submit a woman suffrage

<sup>1</sup> Those who held office in the State association during the next eight years were as follows: Mrs. Milton Humes, Mrs. Frederick D. Losey, Mrs. Parke, Mrs. Angus Taylor, Mrs. J. D. Wilkins, Mrs. W. J. Chambers, Miss Annie Joe Coates, Mrs. John Lusk, Mrs. Leon Weil.

amendment to the State constitution to the voters was for the first time introduced in the Legislature. It was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections in the House and the Legislature afterwards adjourned until July. In the meantime the women worked to secure pledges from the members of the committee to report the bill favorably and 14 of the 16 gave their promise to do so. Instead of this it was "postponed indefinitely." The women did not rest until they persuaded the House to compel a report and then a hearing was granted to them. Among those who worked in the Legislature were the legislative chairman, Mrs. O. R. Hundley; Mrs. Jacobs, the State president; Mrs. Chappel Cory, president United Daughters of the Confederacy; Miss Mollie Dowd, representing the wage earners, and Miss Lavinia Engle of Maryland, field organizer for the National Association. The bill came to a vote late in the session, when Representative Joe Green, who had asked for the privilege of introducing it, spoke and voted against it. The vote stood 52 ayes, 43 noes, a three-fifths majority being necessary to submit an amendment. As the Legislature meets only once in four years this was the only action ever taken on a State amendment.

At the State convention, held in Tuscaloosa in February of this year, reports were made from 19 auxiliary branches and the organization of 23 non-auxiliary branches was reported. The address of Dr. Shaw, the national president, gave a great impetus to suffrage work in the State. Mrs. Jacobs and the other officers were re-elected, except that Mrs. Frederick Koenig was made auditor.

On Feb. 9, 1916, the State convention was held in Gadsden and the evidences of the growth of the suffrage movement were most heartening, 26 local associations sending reports. Mrs. Parke was chosen for president, Mrs. Jacobs having been elected auditor of the National Association.

The State convention was held in Birmingham Feb. 12-13, 1917, and the officers re-elected except that Miss Worthington was made recording secretary. It was followed by a "suffrage" school conducted by representatives of the National Association, who generously gave the valuable help that a course of study

under such able instructors afforded. Over 200 pupils attended. It was reported that there were now 81 suffrage clubs in the State, which were being merged into political organizations with the county as a unit, and there were chairmen in 55 of the 67 counties. There were also chairmen in nine of the ten congressional districts. A paid organizer had been at work. State headquarters were maintained on the principal street in Selma and a bi-weekly press bulletin issued which was used by thirty-four newspapers, while eight published weekly suffrage columns. The Birmingham *News* got out a suffrage edition. Four traveling suffrage libraries were kept in circulation. Automobile parades had been given, a mass meeting held in Birmingham and street meetings in every part of the State.

The State convention was held in Selma May 7-8, 1918. The reports made by local and State officers showed that the suffragists had lent themselves and all their machinery of organization to every form of war work. Mrs. Jacobs had been appointed by Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, State chairman of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee. Suffrage work was in no wise suspended but the more active forms of propaganda were held in abeyance. The Federal Amendment was endorsed in no uncertain terms and the following resolution was adopted: "Whereas, the Senate will soon vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment, therefore, be it resolved, by the suffragists of Alabama assembled in their sixth annual convention, that the U. S. Senators, John H. Bankhead and Oscar W. Underwood, be, and they hereby are, earnestly petitioned to forward the march of democracy, to carry out the policy of the Democratic administration and to represent truly the wishes of the women of their own State by supporting this amendment and voting for it when it comes up in the Senate."

It was reported that the State association had energetically cooperated with the National in all its suggestions and plans and notwithstanding the efforts made to raise money for the purposes of the war it had collected over \$10,000 for State suffrage work and more than paid its pledge of \$1,000 to the national treasury. Thousands of copies of U. S. Senator Shafroth's speech, the gift of the Leslie Suffrage Commission, had been mailed to the

rural voters. The clergy had been requested to speak on woman suffrage in their sermons on "mothers' day" and many responded. Miss Lola Trax, the State organizer, reported a chairman in all but two counties. Each of the State's representatives in Congress had been interviewed. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, the national president, had lectured in seven places and Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, national vice-president, in five. The petitions for the Federal Amendment were being circulated.

The Alabama delegates to the national convention in March, 1919, learned while there that the Federal Amendment was likely to be passed by Congress in time for action to be taken on its ratification by the Legislature of the State, which had been called to meet July 8. They went before the National Board and secured the promise of definite help, which was to consist of literature, press work and organizers, and certain obligations were undertaken on the part of the State. The National Association did more even than it promised and the State suffragists made heroic efforts to live up to their part of the contract.

On May 1 the campaign was under way although the amendment had not yet been submitted. A Ratification Committee was appointed by the president consisting of Mrs. John D. McNeel of Birmingham, chairman; Mrs. W. D. Nesbit of Birmingham, vice-chairman; Mrs. Bibb Graves of Montgomery, resident member, and Mrs. Jacobs, ex-officio member. County chairmen were appointed in 53 counties and a Men's Committee of One Hundred was organized. Headquarters were equipped with some paid and much faithful volunteer help and the distribution of literature and press work was started. Early in the month Mrs. Albert McMahan, Miss Edna Beveridge and Miss Josephine Miller, organizers, were sent by the National Association, to which group Miss Mary Parke London of Birmingham was added and contributed her services throughout the entire campaign as an organizer and lobbyist. Press work was systematically carried on, some of the material sent from national headquarters but most of it originating in Birmingham. Speakers covered all important public meetings to which access could be had; Governor Thomas E. Kilby and other prominent men were interviewed and a poll was taken of the legislators before they

convened.<sup>1</sup> At the joint hearing, which was arranged almost immediately after the Legislature met, John C. Anderson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; W. D. Nesbitt, State chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee; ex-Senator Frank S. White; Judge S. D. Weakley, legal adviser of the Governor, and others spoke for ratification.

**RATIFICATION.** The Federal Amendment was submitted by Congress June 4 and the Legislature met July 8. For days before the vote was taken it occupied almost exclusive attention at the capital, many of the newspapers saying that the opposition were placing the State and the Democratic party in a grave position. The Republican party was claiming credit for the submission and Democratic leaders felt it to be very necessary that the Alabama Legislature should ratify. On July 12 President Wilson telegraphed to Governor Kilby as follows: "I hope you will pardon me if I express my very earnest hope that the suffrage amendment to the constitution of the United States may be ratified by the great State of Alabama. It would constitute a very happy augury for the future and add greatly to the strength of a movement which, in my judgment, is based upon the highest consideration both of justice and expedience."

On the same date Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels sent a long message to Mrs. McNeel, chairman of the Ratification Committee, and a multigraphed copy to each member of the Senate, setting forth the merits of the amendment and saying: "The South has nothing to fear from the amendment but it would be a loss to southern chivalry and southern prestige if our section of the country halted this great reform. I earnestly hope that the people of Alabama will take the lead of southern States east of the Mississippi and follow the wise leadership of Texas

<sup>1</sup> On June 17, 1919, Mrs. James S. Pinckard called a meeting of women of wealth and social standing at her home in Montgomery. With the help of a constitutional lawyer they organized the Southern Women's Anti-Ratification League, with Mrs. Pinckard chairman, Mrs. Charles Henderson, vice-chairman; Mrs. W. T. Sheehan, secretary; Mrs. Marie Bankhead Owen (daughter of the Senator), chairman of the Legislative Committee. Members of the Executive Committee were Mesdames Charles S. Thigpen, Hails Janney, Jack Thorington, J. A. Winter, Ormond Somerville, W. J. Hannah, Clayton T. Tullis, J. Winter Thorington, E. Perry Thomas, William M. E. Ellsberry, J. H. Naftel, W. B. Kelly and Miss Mae Harris. They sent a memorial to the Legislature which began: "We look with confidence to you to protect us from this device of northern Abolitionists." They "worked night and day, personally and by letter," and, after the defeat of ratification in the Alabama Legislature, Mrs. Pinckard and others transferred their efforts to those of Louisiana and Tennessee, where they "lobbied" for many days

and Missouri and other progressive commonwealths. There is no doubt of its ratification. Let Alabama lead and not follow." Homer S. Cummings, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and other prominent Democrats added their earnest appeals to the Senate for favorable action.

The ratifying resolution was introduced in the Senate by John A. Rogers and in the House by W. H. Shaw. The date set for the vote in the Senate was July 17 and a hearing before a joint meeting of Senate and House was granted on the 16th. Women journeyed to Montgomery from nearly every county to plead for the amendment but its defeat had already been planned. The vote was 13 ayes, 19 noes.

The House did not act on the measure until September 17 and during the interim every possible pressure was made on its members to obtain a favorable vote. President Wilson sent an urgent telegram to Speaker H. P. Merritt. Chairman Nesbit convened the State Democratic Committee on August 21 to consider the amendment. It adopted a resolution by a vote of 20 to 13, which endorsed the favorable action of the National Committee the preceding May and said: "We pledge our support in every proper way to accomplish the result desired." Mrs. George Bass, chairman of the Women's National Democratic Committee, went to Montgomery for this meeting and remained several days working for the amendment. The Central Labor Union of that city at a mass meeting passed a resolution asking the Legislature to "take steps immediately to ratify the amendment." A majority of the House were pledged to vote in favor of ratification but after it had been defeated in the Senate they considered it useless to keep their promise and the vote was 31 ayes, 60 noes.

The Governor and Lieutenant Governor Nathan L. Miller maintained a neutral position. The mainspring of the opposition from beginning to end was U. S. Senator Oscar W. Underwood. Senator John H. Bankhead was equally opposed. Both Senators had voted against the submission of the Federal Amendment and of the ten members in the Lower House only one, William B. Oliver of Tuscaloosa, had voted in favor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Among the men in the State who were especially active and helpful were: Colonel Bibb Graves and John H. Wallace, of Montgomery; L. B. Musgrove, of Jasper; Judge

Because of the campaign no convention took place in 1919. On April 8-9, 1920, the last one of the State Equal Suffrage Association, as such, was held in Montgomery. A large "pioneer luncheon" was given in the Exchange Hotel and a beautiful set of silver baskets was presented to Mrs. Jacobs. The sessions were held in the Senate chamber of the historic Capitol and by unanimous consent the association was merged into the State League of Women Voters. Mrs. A. J. Bowron was elected chairman.

After the amendment was finally ratified by the necessary 36 States there was a victory parade in Birmingham in which 1,500 took part. A brass band headed 36 automobiles, each a mass of banners, flags and flowers, labeled in the order in which the States ratified. Mrs. Jacobs and the pioneers led the marchers, followed by professional and business women, the League of Women Voters, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and other organizations. It ended with addresses and singing in Capitol Park.

W. R. Chapman, of Dothan; H. H. Patterson, of Atmore; John W. Abercrombie, of Anniston; John D. McNeel, Phil Painter, Ex-Governor B. B. Comer, James Weatherly, Fred M. Jackson and John R. Hornaday of Birmingham.

Among those especially active in opposition were: Congressman John H. Bankhead, Jr., of Jasper; C. Brooks Smith, Judge John R. Tyson and Ray Rushton, of Montgomery; R. A. Mitchell, of Gadsden; Wiley Tunstall and Len F. Greer, of Anniston; Judge Joe Evans, Martin Calhoun and Joe Green, of Selma; W. W. Brandon, of Tuscaloosa; John D. Leigh, of Brewton; Emmett O'Neal and E. D. Smith, of Birmingham.



## CHAPTER II.

### ARIZONA.<sup>1</sup>

Since this chapter is to commence with the year 1900, this will be where Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman and member of the Organization Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association left off in the spring of 1899 after they had spent a month laboring with the Territorial Legislature. They succeeded in getting a bill through the Lower House by a vote of two to one but by the deciding vote of Morris Goldwater of Prescott, president of the Council or Upper House, it was sent to a committee and prevented from coming to a vote. The hand of the "boss" of the saloon-keepers was clearly recognized in the game that was played.

Undaunted Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay came back in 1900 and organized the first full-fledged suffrage association in the Territory, with Mrs. Pauline O'Neill, wife of that staunch suffrage friend, the gallant Rough Rider, William O'Neill, as its president; Mrs. Lida P. Robinson, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Frances W. Munds, recording secretary, Mrs. Porter of Phoenix, treasurer. All were inexperienced and the society did not flourish and although 1900 was election year no pre-election pledges were obtained. A Territorial Legislature can extend suffrage to women without referring the question to the voters. A bill for this purpose was introduced in 1901 through a committee of women headed by Mrs. Robinson but it received little support and after creating the usual amount of excitement failed to pass either House.

During the following year suffrage work seemed to lapse and the organization would have died a natural death but for the will of Mrs. Robinson, who called a convention to meet in Phoenix

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Frances W. Munds, president of the State Woman Suffrage Association until women were enfranchised and then elected State Senator.

in the spring of 1902, where she was elected president with Mrs. Munds corresponding and recording secretary and Mrs. Ada Irving treasurer. Under Mrs. Robinson's guidance a list was made of all who had previously expressed an interest and they were notified that something was doing in the suffrage line. Dr. Frances Woods of Kansas was sent by the National Association and made a tour of the Territory which was remarkable for the haste in which it was made and the results obtained. She organized clubs in every county and set the women to work obtaining pre-election pledges, with the result that when the Legislature convened in the spring of 1903 it lacked only a few votes of having a majority in both Houses pledged to suffrage. Mrs. Robinson, Dr. Woods and Mrs. Munds constituted themselves a committee to work with the members and succeeded in getting a woman suffrage bill through the Legislature by a two-thirds vote. The rejoicing was short, for the Governor, Alexander O. Brodie, an appointee of President Roosevelt, vetoed the bill. Representatives Kean St. Charles, a newspaper man, and Morrison, a labor leader, were most active in its behalf, while the scheme that finally sent it down to defeat was concocted, it was said, by Joseph H. Kibbey, a lawyer of Phoenix. He was the leader of the Republican minority in the Council and traded its solid Republican vote for one needed vote on another bill, with the understanding that the Governor would veto the suffrage bill.

Governor Brodie afterwards resigned and Mr. Kibbey, the arch-enemy of woman suffrage, was appointed in his place. Mrs. Robinson continued propaganda through a little paper which she published and distributed herself throughout the Territory. This well-edited paper kept alive the favorable sentiment and through it the leading men and women suffragists in Arizona were in touch with each other. In the spring of 1905 Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Denver was sent by the National Association and spent several weeks working with the Legislature but received practically no cooperation from the local women, as it was conceded that the situation was hopeless while Kibbey was Governor. Mrs. Robinson moved from the Territory and the organization was without a head. It languished for about three

years and its enemies sang cheerful requiems for the dead. The Legislature that met in 1907 had a peaceful time as far as women were concerned for no suffrage bill was introduced.

In January, 1909, Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky, an officer of the National Association, came to Arizona at her own expense. The last Territorial Legislature was then in session and Miss Clay labored long and faithfully with it but the resident women were apathetic and gave her little assistance. The bill that she had introduced failed in both Houses, the members availing themselves of the excuse that Arizona women did not want suffrage or they would make some organized effort to get it. Miss Clay had the right kind of spirit and gathering a faithful few together they worked out a plan whereby the first really efficient suffrage organization was effected. This plan was the same as the political parties in the Territory used, namely, a State chairman with a chairman in each county and a chairman for each local club. A convention was called in Phoenix under Miss Clay's direction and Mrs. Munds was made Territorial chairman. During the year statehood for Arizona began to loom up and vigorous work was done for that event. The National Association sent the very woman needed, Miss Laura Gregg of Kansas. She made an extensive tour of the Territory and by the time Congress had passed the Enabling Act in June, 1910, it was thoroughly organized with suffrage clubs in every county and in all of the larger towns and cities, with a membership of about 3,000 men and women.

Strenuous effort was made to have a majority of the members of the Constitutional Convention pledged to vote for a suffrage plank but it succeeded with only about a third of them. It met in October, 1910, with eleven Republican and thirty-three Democratic members. Through the demands of organized labor backed by a heavy labor vote a very progressive constitution was written. Miss Gregg and Mrs. Munds struggled with the delegates during its entire session to have a full, partial or conditional woman suffrage clause incorporated but to no avail. Members who proudly proclaimed themselves the only original "progressives" were far too timid to put anything so "radical" as woman suffrage in the constitution for fear that the voters would not accept

it, and yet those same men wrote into it the initiative and referendum, recall of judges and many other far more radical measures and it was adopted by an overwhelming majority. It was plain that a measure was deemed radical or not according to the voting power behind it. The Republicans were in a minority and only two voted for the suffrage clause, although there were enough Democratic pledges to have carried it with the solid Republican support. The Republicans were for a "safe and sane" constitution, something like the one adopted at the same time by New Mexico, under which women never could get suffrage by State process. One Democrat who offered "to do and die for it" in the convention was Senator Fred Colter of Apache County.

Not at all discouraged by the defeat the women, now aroused and interested, began as soon as the constitution was accepted by the voters and statehood was effected to get ready for the first State election, as now it was necessary to have an amendment submitted by the Legislature and accepted by the electors. Headquarters were established in the house of Mrs. Munds at Prescott and a constant stream of literature and correspondence went out in an effort to elect suffragists to the first State Legislature. The men, however, were so pleased with the members of the Constitutional Convention that a little thing like their voting against woman suffrage did not matter and every one who was a candidate for anything was elected, some to the Legislature and others to the various State offices. George W. P. Hunt, who was president of the convention and had vigorously opposed the suffrage plank, was elected the first Governor of the State. He did recommend in his message to the Legislature that it submit a woman suffrage amendment to the voters. Senator John Hughes, son of former Governor and Mrs. L. C. Hughes, who had done so much to obtain woman suffrage in early territorial days, prepared and introduced such a measure but it failed in both Houses. The Legislature was 90 per cent. Democratic.

It was then determined to use the initiative and collect the requisite number of names on a petition that would compel the Legislature to submit the question. Women in every county volunteered to get these signatures, fifty or sixty altogether, and

did the drudgery of canvassing until the required number of signatures were obtained.

After a year's continuous educational work, in September, 1912, the National Association was notified that Arizona was ready for the final contest and asked to send Miss Gregg. She came and again campaigned the State and through her efforts every labor organization pledged its support. Mrs. Alice Park of Palo Alto, California, came at her own expense and took charge of the distribution of literature. Mrs. Munds went to Phoenix and opened headquarters in the Adams Hotel and ten weeks were spent in a most strenuous campaign. The National Association contributed Miss Gregg's salary and expenses, nearly \$1,000, and \$200 in cash. The rest of the campaign fund was raised in Arizona with the exception of voluntary contributions from suffrage organizations in other States. Dr. Shaw came and spoke for a week in the principal cities, making a tremendous impression. The press with one or two exceptions was favorable and gave generous space. The press work was in charge of Miss Sally Jacobs and Mrs. Maybelle Craig of Phoenix. State Senator H. A. Davis did splendid campaign work and loyal men and women too numerous to mention gave freely of their time and money.

On November 5 the amendment received 13,442 ayes, 6,202 noes, a majority of more than two to one. Every county was carried. The vote was small, as most Mexicans were disfranchised by an educational requirement.

The campaign was conducted without parades or demonstrations of any kind and the saloon-keepers, not realizing the strength of the suffragists, paid no attention to them until the closing days, then suddenly woke up and put forth strong efforts to defeat them but they were too well organized. The campaign closed with no deficit on the books. Later a League of Women Voters was formed and Mrs. M. T. Phelps of Phoenix was elected chairman.

The first State Legislature completely revised the civil and criminal codes of Arizona and without any demand on the part of the women incorporated some excellent laws for women and

children. Since then others have been added, partly through the efforts of women legislators.

RATIFICATION. Women have taken so active a part and have been so generally accepted in the political life of the State that it caused scarcely a ripple of excitement when a special session of the Legislature was called by Governor Thomas E. Campbell for the purpose of ratifying the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. It convened at noon Feb. 12, 1920, and adjourned at 9:30 p. m. of the same day. The resolution for ratification was introduced jointly by the four women members and passed both Houses without a dissenting vote. Protests from Mrs. Mabel G. Millard and Mrs. Frances Williams of the Iowa and Virginia Associations Opposed to Woman Suffrage were listened to in the Senate with good-natured amusement.

In the second Legislature of the new State, the first after women were enfranchised, Mrs. Frances W. Munds of Prescott served as Senator and Mrs. Rachel Berry of St. Johns as Representative. The third had in the Lower House Mrs. Rosa McKay of Globe, Mrs. Theodora Marsh of Nogales and Mrs. Pauline O'Neill of Phoenix. The fourth had Mrs. McKay and Mrs. H. H. Westover of Yuma.

About ten times as many women as men are teachers in the public schools.

## CHAPTER III.

### ARKANSAS.<sup>1</sup>

There was little general suffrage activity in Arkansas before 1911; perhaps the only specific work after 1900 was an occasional article written by Mrs. Chester Jennings of Little Rock and published in various papers in the State. She was called "the keeper of the light." Arkansas was not affiliated with the National American Association prior to 1913, there was only correspondence between individual suffragists and national officers.

In January, 1911, the Political Equality League was organized in Little Rock. This organization came about indirectly as a result of an article written by Mrs. D. D. Terry of this city and published on the front page of the *Arkansas Gazette*, the largest paper in the State. It was in answer to a scathing criticism of women by another paper for attending the trial of a child victim and was a demand that the suffrage should be given to women.

Immediately following this occurrence Mrs. J. W. Markwell called a public meeting in one of the Methodist churches to discuss this question. She was chairman and Mrs. Rice, Mrs. Terry, Mrs. L. B. Leigh, Mrs. Minnie Rutherford Fuller and members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the College Women's Club, almost to a unit suffragists, were among the prominent women present. They were deeply stirred and as the Legislature was in session they asked for a hearing. This was granted by the Judiciary Committee and they were courteously received, as they stated their desire. They went from the hearing into one of the committee rooms of the Capitol and decided to form a woman suffrage society. The same women with a few others met in the home of Mrs. Markwell that

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. O. F. Ellington, president of the State Woman Suffrage Association, 1914-1917, and Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, State treasurer during these years and chairman of the State Suffrage Central Committee from 1917.

evening. Miss Julia McAlmont Warner was made chairman and the following officers were elected: President, Miss Mary Fletcher; vice-president, Mrs. W. P. Hutton; secretary, Mrs. Jennings; treasurer, Miss Warner, and the name adopted was Woman's Political Equality League. It started with \$20 in the treasury—of which \$3 were paid by men—Dr. J. W. Markwell, Mr. Boyer and Clio Harper.

The semi-monthly meetings were first held in the public library, one in the afternoon, the other at night, so that working women, teachers and men might attend. The president soon went to Europe and the work passed into the capable hands of Mrs. Hutton. One of the most valuable helpers was Rabbi L. Witt, who always attended and helped out many a program. Leagues were formed in Hot Springs and Pine Bluff and these were the only three prior to 1913 when a State association was organized.

In October, 1913, Mrs. O. F. Ellington was elected president of the Little Rock League. At that time it was holding its meetings in the Chamber of Commerce and few people would climb two flights of stairs to hear a subject discussed in which there was little interest, so the executive board secured the parlors of the City Hall. If the women could accomplish as much in the offices of the City Hall as they did in the parlors no fair-minded person would have objected to their occupancy. Important local, State and national affairs were studied and discussed and prominent State and national speakers addressed that eager body of women.

Under the auspices of the league the first national suffrage May day was observed in Little Rock with speeches from the steps of the Old State House. Seventy-five letters were sent out to prominent men in the State, asking them to make five-minute speeches and after ten days Dr. L. P. Gibson, the well-known physician, was the first to accept. The next morning the *Arkansas Gazette* told that Dr. Gibson of Little Rock would be one of the speakers and then every man who could arrange to be in town that day accepted his invitation. Among the women who spoke were Mrs. George Pratho, Mrs. Fuller, Mrs. C. E. Rose, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Miss Julia Warner, Miss Josephine Miller, Mrs. George E. Cunningham, Mrs. Terry, Mrs. S. S. Wassel,



Mrs. E. W. Gibb, Mrs. W. G. Whipple, Mrs. A. Marinana. The intensely interested crowd stood two hours and a half earnestly listening to these leading citizens asking the right of suffrage for Arkansas women.

It had been the custom to disband during the summer months but the summer of 1914 the Political Equality League opened a class for the purpose of studying all the questions of the day and learning something about speaking extemporaneously. In response to a call from the president, Little Rock and Hot Springs sent representatives to a conference held in the former city for the purpose of devising ways and means of forming a State association. An organization committee was formed of the following: Mrs. Ellington, Miss Fletcher, Miss Mary House, Mrs. Rose, Mrs. Leigh, Mrs. Jennings, all of Little Rock; Miss Adele Johnson of Hot Springs. In October the State Woman Suffrage Association was formed in Little Rock at Hotel Marion, with six leagues represented by the following presidents: Hot Springs, Miss Mary Spargo; Pine Bluff, Mrs. L. K. Land; Augusta, Mrs. Rufus Fitzhugh; Malvern, Mrs. Mary Jackson; Hardy, Mrs. S. A. Turner; Fayetteville, Mrs. LeRoy Palmer. The officers elected were, President, Mrs. Ellington; first vice-president, Mrs. Fuller, Magazine; second, Mrs. N. F. Drake, Fayetteville; corresponding secretary, Mrs. P. J. Henry, Hot Springs; recording secretary, Mrs. Cunningham, Little Rock; treasurer, Mrs. Cotnam, Little Rock.

In October, 1915, the first annual meeting took place in Little Rock, eleven counties being represented, and this board was re-elected. The principal business of this convention was to lay plans for the legislative work early in the following year.

In October, 1916, the second annual convention was held in Pine Bluff, its principal work being to devise ways and means of raising money for continuing the organization of the State. Mrs. Cotman presented a feasible plan for raising money which was accepted by the convention. New officers elected were second vice-president, Mrs. J. D. Head, Texarkana; third vice-president, Mrs. J. H. Reynolds, Conway; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Maud O. Clemmons; recording secretary, Mrs. G. D. Henderson, both of Little Rock. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of

the National American Suffrage Association, had come to Little Rock in April and spoken most acceptably to a large audience. She held a conference with the State officers and later the association financed a two-months' campaign for organization. Miss Gertrude Watkins and Miss Josephine Miller of Little Rock gave their services for their expenses only and organized sixty committees.<sup>1</sup>

The new Primary law was almost equal to the full suffrage, as where one party is so largely in the majority the primaries decide the elections, and it gave a great impetus to the movement throughout the country, especially in the southern States.

After the Primary bill passed the suffragists re-organized along the lines of the State Democratic party. Where it had a State Central Committee they had an Equal Suffrage State Central Committee and so on through the organization. The object was to teach women how to work through and with political parties but they were not fully enfranchised and could not give up their suffrage organization, therefore they held together on semi-political but non-partisan lines until such time as they could go into the various parties.

At the close of Mrs. Ellington's administration in August, 1917, seventy-eight papers in the State were handling news items each week. Eighty-five organizations had been completed. The Primary bill had been passed by the Legislature and thousands of women had assessed themselves and paid their poll tax of one dollar a year preparatory to voting in the spring elections. Under the law the assessor can put this tax only on male citizens and the women in asking for the Primary suffrage voluntarily assumed it, as no one can vote until it is paid. This was held to be legal by Attorney General John D. Arbuckle.

Mrs. Ellington left Arkansas on August 1 and Mrs. Cotnam was elected by the State Board to take charge of affairs. On November 28 she was elected chairman of the State Suffrage Cen-

<sup>1</sup> The following officers were elected: Chairman, Mrs. Ellington; secretary, Mrs. Gibb, Little Rock. Finance Committee: Chairman, Mrs. Cotnam; Mrs. C. C. Cate, Jonesboro; Mrs. Land, Mrs. William Ells, Texarkana; Mrs. W. H. Connell, Hot Springs. Committee that framed constitution: Mrs. Fuller, Magazine; Mrs. Head, Mrs. Blaisdell, Hot Springs; Congressional chairman, Mrs. Ada Roussans, Jonesboro; Mrs. Fitzhugh, Mrs. H. E. Morrow, Mrs. Head, Mrs. W. L. Moose, Mrs. Drennan, Mrs. Garland Street, district chairmen.

tral Committee upon the receipt of Mrs. Ellington's formal resignation. Mrs. Cotnam appeared before the State Farmers' Union in August and secured a unanimous endorsement of woman suffrage and in September at the meeting of its executive committee she secured a resolution calling on Arkansas Senators and Representatives to vote for the Federal Amendment. She went to New York City in September to take part in the State suffrage campaign. After six weeks she returned to Little Rock, where the great victory won in New York was celebrated at a luncheon in the Marion Hotel. Governor Charles H. Brough was a speaker and prophesied a similar victory in Arkansas.

Dr. Shaw visited Arkansas for the first time on April 3, 1918, and spoke to an immense audience. She came under the auspices of the National Council of Defense, as chairman of the Woman's Committee, but she won many friends for suffrage and the sincere admiration of all.

Active work to assure the writing of woman suffrage in the new State constitution culminated at the first annual meeting of the Equal Suffrage Central Committee on April 2, 1918, when a close organization covering the State was perfected. At this meeting Mrs. Cotnam was re-elected chairman; Mrs. C. T. Drennen of Hot Springs first vice-chairman; Mrs. Stella Brizolara of Fort Smith second vice-chairman; Mrs. Frank W. Gibb, secretary; Mrs. R. W. Walker of Little Rock, treasurer. The National American Association contributed \$1,675 to the campaign. The constitutional convention met the first Monday in July and the suffrage clause was adopted on the third day of the session. Only one man spoke and finally voted against this clause but it was not acceptable to the majority until amended to make jury service for women optional. The suffragists were consulted and agreed because it was plain that a refusal might cause a long drawn out debate. The constitution was defeated at a special election on Dec. 13, 1918, but it was generally conceded that the opposition caused by the suffrage amendment was negligible.

The first State-wide Primary election in which women had the right to vote was held in May, 1918; between 40,000 and 50,000 voted and all papers commented on the intelligence of the new

electors. The State Democratic convention met in Little Rock on July 10 and for the first time women delegates were present from many counties. Fifty were seated and more were present in proportion to their representation than were men. They attended in force all minor committee meetings and controlled the action of some of these committees. The *Arkansas Gazette* of July 11 commented: "It may safely be said that nothing was put over on them by the wily politicians. There wasn't a chance—not a chance in the world." There were women on the platform, the resolutions and all prominent committees. The suffrage plank, as written by the women, was unanimously adopted and for the first time a woman was elected member of the State Central Committee, Mrs. Brizzolara. The one appointed as a member of the Democratic Women's National Committee was Mrs. Head, chairman of her congressional district for the suffrage organization.

On January 14 resolutions were introduced in the Senate by Senator Lee Cazort and the House by Representative J. D. Doyle, memorializing the Senate of the United States to submit the Federal Amendment. They passed unanimously and later were read into the Congressional Record by Senator W. F. Kirby.

RATIFICATION. As soon as the Federal Amendment passed, letters were sent to legislators asking them to agree to a call for a special session. In less than one week answers were received from a majority expressing willingness and even eagerness to hold the ratification session. Many offered to pay their own expenses and waive the regular per diem. With this support in hand a committee of fifty women went to the State House and asked Governor Brough to call a special session. This he agreed to do and set the date for July 28. While the suffragists were never in doubt of ratification they were genuinely surprised to find a few real enemies in the House and to hear some of the moss-grown arguments of 1911. The Senate ratified by a vote of 29 to two and the House by 74 to 15. Henry Ponder of Lawrence county introduced the resolution in the Senate and said he believed his children would be prouder of that act of his than of anything else he might ever do. An identical resolution was introduced in the House by Representatives Riggs, Joe

Joiner, Carl Held, Neil Bohlinger and J. D. Doyle. The Senate resolution passed first and went over to the House. The two Senators who voted against it were W. L. Ward, Lee county, and W. H. Latimer, Sevier county. Many women came from over the State to this special session and filled the galleries.

On Dec. 3, 1919, at the second annual meeting the Equal Suffrage Central Committee was merged into a State League of Women Voters and Mrs. Cotnam was elected chairman.

While the suffragists were working for the vote they confined their organized effort to that one measure but it is significant that the same Legislature that passed the Primary bill, gave women the right to practice law and provided for a Girls' Industrial School; that of 1915 removed all legal disabilities of married women.

Miss Josephine Miller and Miss Gertrude Watkins of Little Rock are on the staff of national organizers and Mrs. Cotnam has served as instructor in suffrage schools and also as a speaker in twenty States.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION: 1911. In January Representatives Grant of Newport and Whittington of Hot Springs introduced an equal suffrage resolution in the House. It was not initiated by the suffragists and apparently not introduced to advance woman suffrage, as it was said to contain a "joker." Nevertheless, when it became known that the bill had been introduced they appealed to Representative Hearst of Fayetteville, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, for a hearing. On the day and hour that it had been promised Mrs. Chester Jennings, Mrs. J. W. Markwell, Miss Julia Warner, Mrs. Rutherford Fuller and Mrs. D. D. Terry went to the Capitol but were unable to find either Mr. Hearst or his committee. On March 11, however, the committee met at the Marion Hotel, as it was customary to hold committee meetings at night in the hotel, and a hearing was granted to the women. Miss Olive Gatlin (now Mrs. Leigh) and Mrs. Fuller made excellent speeches which seemed to make an impression. Later the suffrage resolution was reported to the House and received six favorable votes.

1913. House joint resolution giving women the right to vote was introduced by Robert Martin. This year the suffragists had

a most successful hearing before the House Committee on Constitutional Amendments. The president of the Senate, W. K. Oldham, Lonoke; Judge W. L. Moose, Morrillton, and Rabbi L. Witt, Little Rock, made eloquent pleas in addition to those of the women. The committee reported the resolution favorably and the vote was 35 for, 55 against.

Between the two Legislatures the State Woman Suffrage Association was formed and its influence was immediately felt in political circles.

1915. Senator George W. Garrett, Okolona, introduced a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution giving women full suffrage and it passed by 23 to 12. The House called a night session for the third reading. A resolution signed by Representatives Yearger of Chico county, Dunlap of Phillips and Wilson of Jefferson to allow a representative of the Woman Suffrage Association ten minutes in which to present the reasons for the enfranchisement of women passed and Mrs. Cotnam was introduced, the first woman ever given the privilege of the floor. The vote was 51 in favor, 18 opposed, with 31 absent. The amendment failed to get on the ballot, as under the Arkansas law only three amendments could be submitted at one election and the next morning before this one could be properly recorded the Federation of Labor had filed an initiated amendment with the Secretary of State and that for suffrage became the fourth. The suffragists tried to get the Federation of Labor to withdraw their amendment, which had no chance of being adopted, but were unsuccessful and it did fail at the general election.

1917. On January 11 Representative John A. Riggs of Hot Springs introduced a joint resolution for the amendment, signed by himself, C. B. Andrews of Nevada county, Stephen P. Meador of Clark and Carl W. Held of Sebastian. Mrs. Ellington, president of the State Suffrage Association, explained to them that it had entered into an agreement with all other State associations at the last national suffrage convention not to go into a referendum campaign without the consent of the National Board, if they expected financial assistance from that organization, and the resolution was withdrawn. On February 7 Representative Riggs introduced what was known as the Primary Bill, which in brief

was as follows: "An Act to provide that women may vote in all primary elections: From and after the passage of this act and subject to all the provisions of the laws of this State as to age, residence, citizenship, payment of poll taxes and otherwise regulating the manner and form of holding the same, but especially exempt from every disqualification, direct or indirect, on account of sex, every woman shall have the right to vote at any primary election held under the laws of this State."

This form of suffrage is unique and deserves some explanation. William Hodges, Associate Justice of the Court of Civil Appeals, Texarkana, Texas, suggested the idea to Senator O. S. Lattimore of Fort Worth, who formulated the bill of which the Arkansas bill is substantially a copy. The Texas Legislature defeated it. Mr. Riggs wired for a copy of the bill, had a similar one drawn and submitted it to U. S. Senator Kirby and a number of prominent lawyers, all of whom were unanimous in the belief that it was constitutional. Justice Hodges said, "I have felt deep interest in the suffrage question for several years and the idea of permitting women to participate in Primary elections occurred to me casually as I was thinking of how to meet the stubborn opposition offered in the Texas Legislature to the submission of an amendment to the constitution."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Riggs said his eagerness to pass a suffrage bill was to do justice to the women of Arkansas and to keep a promise to his mother that if he ever was elected to the Legislature he would introduce and work for one.

The Legislature of 1917 was soon discovered to be a progressive assembly and gave promise of success for the bill. Mrs. Ellington decided the time had come to adopt business methods in the suffrage lobby and undertook with Mr. Riggs the whole responsibility of guiding this bill on its eventful journey through the House and Senate. The suffragists held themselves in readiness to do any special work needed, which they did quietly and

<sup>1</sup> In June, 1912, Miss Kate Gordon offered a Primary bill as a substitute for the constitutional amendment in the Louisiana Legislature, but it never came out of committee. Miss Gordon said: "The idea came to me as a solution of the woman suffrage question in a flash and it struck me as a good one. The Primary idea was mine as early as 1912."

effectively, seeing legislators when necessary, but the Legislature was not harassed by a large and conspicuous lobby.<sup>1</sup>

Sufficient pledges were secured in both House and Senate before the bill was allowed to come even to a test vote. Judge Josiah Hardage, Arkadelphia, assisted by W. J. Waggoner of Lonoke and James A. Choate of Floyd, led the opposition in the House and conducted the bitterest fight waged during the session. Sixteen men stood solidly with them in all parliamentary tactics in hopes of killing the bill. Nineteen men could delay it but they were destined to defeat when 78 men, led by the astute floor leader, J. O. Johnson of Sebastian county, were determined that it should pass. After several hours' debate the House passed the bill February 15 by 71 ayes, 19 noes, 10 absent.

When the bill came up in the Senate Walker Smith of Magnolia led the opposition, although several days before he had promised Mrs. Head and Mrs. Ellington to vote for it. Senator Houston Emory of Hot Springs guided it to a successful vote on February 27—17 ayes, 15 noes. Senators George F. Brown of Rison, George W. Garrett of Okolona, H. L. Ponder of Walnut Ridge, J. S. Utley of Benton and R. Hill Caruth of Warren aided materially in passing the bill. The first time during the session that every man in the Senate was in his seat to vote was when the Primary bill came up. Two Senators unalterably opposed to woman suffrage had been expelled for bribery and this made its success possible.

The Senate slightly amended the bill and returned it to the House, which accepted it March 6. Never did a man serve the cause of suffrage more loyally or more efficiently than John A. Riggs and the women of Arkansas owe him a lasting debt of gratitude. Governor Brough signed the bill in the evening at a public meeting amid great enthusiasm.

The Legislature met Jan. 13, 1919, after thousands of women had voted at the Primary election. Not one member had been asked to present a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage. In fact the women were following closely the advice of the National Association and were ardently

<sup>1</sup> Most of the women whose names are mentioned in this chapter, with the addition of Mrs. John P. Ahmand, Mrs. De Mott Henderson and Miss Jennie De Neler, did valuable legislative work during this and other sessions.



hoping to avoid a State campaign. They were reckoning from past experiences but times had changed. Twenty-five men came ready to propose a full suffrage amendment; Representative Riggs, the father of the Primary bill, was the first man on the floor after the House was organized and his bill got first place on the calendar. It passed the Senate January 30 by 27 to one, and the House February 3 by 73 to three. In November it went to the voters and was defeated. It received the largest favorable vote of any of the amendments submitted but not a majority of the largest number cast at the election, as required by the constitution. The women had felt certain that this would be impossible. In August, 1920, full suffrage was conferred by the Federal Amendment.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CALIFORNIA.<sup>1</sup>

The first ten years of the new century—Woman's Century—were years of laborious effort in California to educate the public mind and familiarize it with the idea of "votes for women." At the beginning of the second decade the State had given them the complete suffrage and at its close the women of the entire nation were enfranchised by an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

A resubmission of the question in California could not be expected for several years after the defeat of a constitutional amendment in 1896, although no subsequent Legislature met without discussing the subject and voting on some phase of it. The liquor interests continued a persistent opposition but the suffrage association had a powerful ally in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with its franchise department and its well organized army of workers, and, although somewhat discouraged for a few years, held its annual convention and reorganization was gradually effected. The State convention of 1900 met December 14, 15, in Golden Gate Hall, San Francisco, with the president, Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, in the chair. A resolution was adopted commending the former State president, Ellen Clark (Mrs. Aaron A.) Sargent, for instituting suit against the tax collector for the return of her taxes paid in San Francisco under written protest. [See Volume IV, page 504.] The members were urged to file a protest when paying taxes because they had no representation. It was declared that the time was opportune for organized effort to have the Legislature again submit an amendment to the voters. A vote of thanks was given

<sup>1</sup> For the "assembling" of the different parts of this chapter and much of the work on it the History is indebted to Mary McHenry (Mrs. William) Keith, president of the State Equal Suffrage Association; for Legislative Action to Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, chairman of the State Legislative Committee; for matter on Southern California to Miss M. Frances Wills and Mrs. Adelia D. Wade.

to Miss Clara Schlingheyde for her success in obtaining donations for the national suffrage bazaar in New York and appreciation expressed for the generous response of California people, especially for the donation of William Keith, the artist, of his picture, Spring in the Napa Valley. Mrs. Swift having served four years as president declined to hold the office longer and Mrs. Mary S. Sperry retired as treasurer after serving seven years. The following board was elected: Honorary presidents, Mrs. Sargent of San Francisco and Mrs. Ellen Knox Goodrich of San Jose; president, Mrs. Annie R. Wood, Alameda; first, second and third vice-presidents, Mrs. Lovell White, San Francisco, Mrs. E. O. Smith, San Jose, Mrs. Annie K. Bidwell, Chico; corresponding secretary, Miss Carrie Whelan, Oakland; recording secretary, Mrs. Dorothy Harnden; treasurer, Miss Schlingheyde, both of San Francisco; auditors, Mrs. A. K. Spero and Mrs. Keith.

A visit in 1901 from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Suffrage Association, greatly encouraged the clubs. Acting upon her urgent request, Mrs. Keith revived the Berkeley club, which soon doubled its membership and with the Oakland and Alameda clubs became a strong influence. There were three clubs in San Francisco and an active organization in Santa Clara county, made up of San Jose, Palo Alto and other clubs. Mrs. May Wright Sewall, president of the International Council of Women, came for an extended course of lectures in the interest of women's advancement. Women's organizations urged many changes in the unjust community property law, the W. C. T. U., the Women's Parliament of Southern California and the State Suffrage Association sending representatives to plead with the legislators. A School suffrage bill passed the House and was defeated by only seven votes in the Senate and there was constant agitation. The State convention this year was held at San Francisco in Yosemite Hall, Native Sons' Building, October 18, 19, with a large number of delegates and an interesting program. Executive board meetings had been held throughout the year and it was reported that eighty papers were publishing suffrage matter sent them. Mrs. Leland Stanford in an interview in the San Francisco *Examiner*

had declared herself in favor of woman suffrage and a letter of appreciation was sent to her.

The annual convention met October 24, 25, 1902, in Century Hall, San Francisco, with a large attendance and many excellent speakers, among them Dr. David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University, and B. Fay Mills, the noted revivalist. Greetings were read from Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, the national treasurer, and Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, the loved pioneer, now in her 83rd year, who had come from the East to Los Angeles over twenty years before. The reports showed that the board had been in constant communication with the national officers; an organizer, Mrs. Florence Stoddard, had been engaged; the treasury receipts were increasing; eighteen new clubs were recorded and there was general progress. Miss Vida Goldstein, a prominent suffrage leader of Australia, had been the guest of the association and a letter was sent to the Woman's Council of Australia, expressing gratitude for the assistance she had been in the United States. Australia's recent enfranchisement of her 800,000 women with eligibility to the national Parliament had given great encouragement to those of California. Mrs. Sperry was persuaded to take the presidency.<sup>1</sup> An interesting event reported was a suffrage meeting of the Sierra Club of mountain lovers one summer evening in King's River Canyon, where it was encamped. In the audience of over two hundred prominent men and women were Professor Joseph Le Conte, John Muir, William Keith, Dr. C. Hart Merriam, head of the U. S. biological department and Dr. Gannett, of the geological department.

The State convention of 1903 met in Golden Gate Hall, San Francisco, November 18, 19. Among the addresses of welcome was one by the Rev. Bradford Leavitt of the Unitarian church and one by President Benham of the city Labor Council. Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Sperry was reelected the next six years. Miss Carrie A. Whelan and Miss Clara Schlingheyde were retained six years as corresponding secretary and treasurer. Others who held State offices during the years were Mrs. Chapman, Mrs. Corbert, Dr. Minora Kibbe, Mrs. Alice L. Park, Mrs. Osborne, Dr. Charlotte Baker, Miss Belle Angier, Miss Josephine R. Cole, Rev. Mrs. Wilkes, Dr. Avery, Mrs. Blinn, Mrs. M. A. Woog, Mrs. Chapman J. Arnott, Mrs. Nellie S. Scoville, Mrs. Lulu Pyle Little, Mrs. Josephine Mastick, Mrs. Therese S. Speddy, Mrs. Coffin, Mrs. Ella Mitchell, Dr. Minerva Goodman, Mrs. Francesca Pierce, Mrs. Lucretia Watson Taylor, Mrs. Helen Moore, Mrs. Lilian Hough, Mrs. Lehman Blum, Mrs. Martha Pierce, Mrs. Augusta Jones.

Sargent and Mrs. E. O. Smith paid tributes to the memory of the association's honorary president, Mrs. Sarah Knox Goodrich, a devoted supporter of the cause for the past thirty-five years. Greetings were read from Miss Anthony, Henry B. and Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. Upton and Mrs. L. F. Darling, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. Miss Gail Laughlin, a young lawyer from the East, who was now State organizer, was among the speakers, and Albert H. Elliott, a San Francisco lawyer, gave an instructive talk on California Laws for Women. The executive board made the excellent appointment of Dr. Alida C. Avery of San Jose as historian. One hundred dollars were sent to the national board for use in the New Hampshire campaign. The State association endorsed Mrs. Sargent's protest against a referendum vote on the issuing of San Francisco's city bonds in which women were not allowed to take part.

A question considered at many board meetings had been the advisability of trying to obtain from the Legislature another submission of an amendment. The Los Angeles Suffrage League was waiting to know what action would be taken. Mrs. Catt had written that it might be well to make the effort and so a resolution was unanimously adopted to ask this of the session of 1905. A letter had been sent by Mrs. Catt suggesting plans of work to this end for the coming year and one was received from Miss Anthony asking that Mrs. Stanton's birthday be celebrated on November 12.

The Los Angeles Equal Suffrage Society had not affiliated with the State Association because of the long distance to San Francisco and the announcement by Mrs. Sperry that the affiliation had now been made was enthusiastically received. The movement had been active in Southern California, where federations, parliaments and societies of many kinds flourished, and the Woman Suffrage League had held monthly meetings. Besides Mrs. Severance, another pioneer suffragist had come there from the East many years ago, Mrs. Rebecca Spring, now past 90 and still alert and interested. Mrs. Clara Shortridge Foltz, Mrs. Alice Moore McComas and Mrs. Almeda B. Grey were still among the capable and valued workers.

In answer to an invitation from the Los Angeles city and

county suffrage leagues the State convention of 1904 was held in the Woman's Club House, October 6, 7, with three sessions daily. Articles of incorporation had been drawn by George C. Sargent of San Francisco and filed with the Secretary of State, and the State organization had been incorporated under the name of the California Equal Suffrage Association. The convention was welcomed by Mrs. Ada J. Lingley and Mrs. Mabel V. Osborne, county and city presidents. Mrs. Sperry in responding expressed her great pleasure that Northern and Southern California would now work together for woman suffrage. The report of Miss Laughlin, State organizer, showed that fifty-two new clubs had been formed and that the membership had more than doubled in the past year, and the treasurer, Miss Schlingheyde, told of \$2,063 contributed for organization work. Subscriptions to the amount of \$1,110 were made, Mrs. Keith leading with \$500. Miss Amanda Way, an Indiana pioneer, now of Whittier, made her offering. Mayor M. P. Snyder, Judge Waldo M. Yorke, the Rev. Eliza Tupper Wilkes and a long list of able speakers addressed the evening meetings. Strong resolutions presented by the chairman of the committee, Mrs. Nellie Holbrook Blinn, were adopted. Mrs. Severance and Mrs. Spring were made honorary presidents.

The work for the coming months was to secure a large petition to the Legislature for the submission of a woman suffrage amendment and Mrs. Osborne was appointed chairman of the committee. Heading the 15,000 names which were eventually obtained were those of Governor George C. Pardee, President David Starr Jordan, U. S. Senator George C. Perkins, W. S. Goodfellow, T. C. Coogan, Fred S. Stratton, A. A. Moore, George A. Knight, Henry J. Crocker, William H. Mills, Lovell White, M. B. Woodworth, Congressman James G. Maguire, Judge Carrol Cook and F. J. Murasky, all men of influence. The amendment was endorsed by the State association of 1,000 teachers. With the aid of the National Association 10,000 copies of Mrs. Catt's leaflet, *Do You Know?* were circulated.

The suffrage leaders made a vigorous effort at Sacramento at the next legislative session in 1905 but the measure was defeated in both Houses. California's full delegation of fourteen was in

attendance at the annual convention of the National American Suffrage Association in Portland, Ore., in June. On the way from Portland Miss Anthony, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and several other eastern delegates stopped at Chico, the home of Mrs. Bidwell, vice-president of the State association, where Miss Anthony spoke at the dedication of a magnificent park of 2,200 acres which she was presenting to the town. They were royally entertained in California, beginning with a public reception at the Sequoia Hotel in San Francisco. This was followed by others in Oakland, East Oakland and Berkeley, attended by hundreds. A mass meeting of 1,500 was arranged by the Equal Suffrage League in the Alhambra Theater, San Francisco.<sup>1</sup> Similar meetings and receptions awaited them in Southern California and they addressed an audience of 10,000 at Venice, the noted seaside resort.

The State convention met in Wheeler's Auditorium, San Francisco, in October. Deep interest had been felt in the campaign for a woman suffrage amendment carried on in Oregon during the summer and the association had wished to assist with money, organizers and speakers. For this purpose the entire contents of the treasury, about \$500, were contributed and clubs and individuals sent more than that amount. Mrs. Keith gave \$1,000 in the name of the State the following year.

The year 1906 opened auspiciously. In all parts of the State the clubs were holding public meetings, supplying columns of suffrage matter to the newspapers, now largely willing to publish them, and preparing for a siege of the next Legislature. In April the city was almost destroyed by fire and earthquake. One month afterwards the State board of officers met with a full quorum, ready to begin the effort to obtain woman suffrage planks in the platforms of the political parties at the approaching State conventions. This was accomplished in all but that of the

<sup>1</sup> While in San Francisco Miss Anthony found time to give one sitting for a large oil portrait by William Keith, which was completed after her death in the spring of 1906 and looked down upon the audience from the chancel of the Unitarian church in San Francisco at the memorial services for her on Palm Sunday, April 8. It was shipped to her home in Rochester, N. Y., the day before the earthquake of April 18, but it escaped destruction by fire only to meet with mishap after the death of Miss Mary S. Anthony, to whom it had been presented by the wife of the artist. Miss Anthony was shown seated near an open window from which a beautiful sunset was seen; a lavender robe and a crimson curtain background set off the face and figure in fine relief.

dominant Republican party. The work was continued throughout the State of securing resolutions of endorsement from various kinds of organizations and by the end of the year these included a dozen State associations, and with societies other than suffrage in the different cities the list filled two pages of a leaflet sent out from the headquarters. The annual convention was held in Calvary Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, October 5, 6, with an attractive program of men and women speakers. The initial number of *The Yellow Ribbon*, a monthly magazine edited by Mrs. Katharine Reed Balentine in the interest of woman suffrage on the Pacific coast, was distributed among the delegates.

The State convention of 1907 met in October in the Ebell Club House of Oakland, where excellent arrangements had been made by the various committees, and it was the most satisfactory yet held. There was a program of very good speakers, well-known men among them, and Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston was a guest of the convention. The chairman of the Press Committee, Mrs. Mabel Craft Deering, reported that 203 newspapers were using all the suffrage matter sent them. The chairman of the State Central Committee, Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, said that all the labor leaders were standing for woman suffrage. It was announced that headquarters for pushing the submission of an amendment would be established in Sacramento as soon as the Legislature opened in January. There was a resolution on the death of Mrs. Laura de Force Gordon, the pioneer lawyer and suffragist. The work conference conducted by Mrs. Coffin was a valuable feature of the convention. Over 5,000 clubwomen outside of the suffrage clubs had now declared for suffrage.

In January, 1908, Mrs. Maud Wood Park was invited to address the students of the State University in Berkeley at the Friday morning meeting and Professor Morse Stephens said he never heard as able a presentation of any subject in so short a time. She organized branches of the National College Equal Suffrage League here and at Leland Stanford University. All conventions during the year were asked through Mrs. Keith's committee to adopt woman suffrage resolutions and many of them did so. Steps were taken through the State Central and Legislative Committees to interview candidates for the Legis-



lature and pledge them after they were elected. The convention was held at the California Club House, San Francisco, October 2, 3. The work conference was conducted by Mrs. Keith.

In 1909 strenuous work was done with the Legislature but it again refused to submit the suffrage amendment, which it was the general opinion the voters would adopt if given an opportunity. The official board sent a telegram to President Roosevelt asking him in the name of 10,000 California women to recommend woman suffrage in his last message to Congress but without effect. Committees were appointed for Northern and Southern California and a chairman in each county to collect signatures to the petition of the National Association to Congress to submit a Federal Amendment. The State convention was held in Stockton September 30-October 2, one of the largest on record. It was welcomed by the Mayor and the president of the chamber of commerce with a response by Mrs. Sperry and there were greetings from a number of organizations of various kinds. The addresses were of a high order and among the speakers were Franklin Hichborn, J. N. Stuckenbruck, member of the Legislature; Mrs. Sturtevant Peet, for sixteen years president of the State W. C. T. U.; Thomas E. Hayden, president of the San Francisco Board of Education; Mrs. Elinor Carlisle of the Berkeley board and Mrs. James B. Hume, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Sperry, who had filled the office of president for seven years, insisted upon retiring and Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, a minister, lecturer, writer and philanthropist, president of the Santa Clara Club, was prevailed upon to accept the office. Mrs. Sperry, Mrs. Swift, Miss Sarah Severance and Dr. Jordan were added to the list of honorary presidents. A full delegation had attended the national convention at Seattle in July.

After the earthquake and fire in 1906 headquarters had been established at 2419 California St., conveniently fitted up in part of a dwelling house adjoining the residence of Mrs. Sargent, who presided and dispensed hospitality at the monthly board meetings. By 1910 larger and more central accommodations were needed and commodious headquarters were secured in the Pacific Building, corner of Market and Fourth Streets. Here the increasing

business of the association was transacted and free lectures were given. Mrs. Alice Park, as chairman, superintended the wide distribution of literature throughout the State. The association's committees on Child Labor, Education, Peace and other public questions were actively at work. The committee on Petitions to the Legislature for the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the voters, of which Mrs. Sperry was chairman, secured 14,000 signatures. Mrs. Lowe Watson said in her report to the national convention that splendid work was being done in organization through the generous financial aid of Mrs. Keith and Mrs. Charles D. Blaney. House to house canvasses were being made and assembly district and precinct clubs formed. Mrs. Keith gave \$100 a month during 1909 and 1910 to this and other headquarters work, largely financed the legislative work and frequently bore the principal expense of State conventions.<sup>1</sup> Space was freely granted in most of the newspapers and many were giving editorial endorsement. The College Women's Equal Suffrage Leagues were active and the subject of the universities' intercollegiate debate for the year was: Resolved that the ballot should be extended to women. Men's Auxiliary Leagues were formed in Northern and Southern California. A Votes for Women business club and a Wage Earners' club were organized in San Francisco and did important work. There were five downtown suffrage headquarters. Most of the women's clubs had introduced a civic section. Mrs. Lowe Watson lectured before labor unions, church societies, W. C. T. U.'s, "native daughters," women's clubs and suffrage clubs. The throng on Socialists' "woman's day" filled one of the largest halls in San Francisco and at the close of her address gave a unanimous standing vote for equal suffrage.

The annual suffrage convention took place Sept. 30, Oct. 1, 1910, in the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, the 40th that had been held in the State. The long program of prominent speakers, fraternal greetings, committee and club reports, showed the gathering weight and importance of the movement. J. Stitt Wilson, Mayor of Berkeley and Socialist candidate for Governor,

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Keith was by no means a woman of wealth but it was said that during the years that led up to the campaign and in the campaign her contributions amounted to about \$15,000.—Ed.

made a most encouraging address and J. H. Braly, an influential citizen of Pasadena, came to tell of what was being accomplished in Southern California. The visits of the national officers, Professor Frances Squire Potter, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Mrs. Ella S. Stewart had greatly inspired the workers and the favorable action of the next Legislature seemed almost certain.

For the past year California had been in the midst of a crucial political campaign. The State government for forty years had been the servant of a powerful political "machine" controlled by large public service corporations. The people had tired of it and public opinion was ripe for a change. The "progressive Republicans," as they were called, came into power at the election of November, 1910, and Hiram W. Johnson was elected Governor to carry out their reforms, woman suffrage being one of them.

The Legislative Committee was composed of Mrs. Coffin, Mrs. Blaney, Mrs. Edson and Mrs. Arthur Cornwall Juilliard. Senator Charles W. Bell of Pasadena had continuously stood for woman suffrage in the face of the opposition of the Senate and in the organization of the Legislature he was made chairman of the Republican caucus. Assemblyman A. H. Hewitt of Yuba City, also a staunch friend of years' standing, took charge of the amendment in the House and when elected Speaker he placed it in the hands of Assemblyman Cattell of Pasadena, who made it his chief interest. The Anti-Suffrage organization of women for the first time maintained a lobby at the Capitol. The amendment was introduced in both Houses the first week of the session. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate granted a hearing on the evening of Jan. 18, 1911. The crowd was so large it had to be held in the Senate chamber, and gallery, aisles and lobby were filled. Mrs. Katharine Philips Edson of Los Angeles introduced the speakers and Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding of San Francisco made the opening argument. Miss Maude Younger spoke in behalf of the working women; Miss Ethel Moore and Mrs. Cornelia McKinne Stanwood of the College Equal Suffrage League represented the children and the women of the State; Mrs. Coffin, speaking for the State Suffrage Association, urged the legislators to stand by the suffrage plank in their party platforms. Mrs. Shelley Tolhurst closed the appeal. Then Mrs.

George A. Caswell of Los Angeles, representing the women anti-suffragists, read a paper of fifty minutes.

Possibly there was no measure before the Legislature in which deeper interest was manifested or which had the urge of stronger public sentiment. Lieutenant Governor A. J. Wallace of Los Angeles was a true friend and Senator A. E. Boynton of Marysville, president *pro tem.*, had for years loyally supported it. The Los Angeles delegation with but few exceptions were pledged in favor. Many opponents of years' standing, feeling the pressure of popularity, were prepared to capitulate. Senator J. B. Sanford of Ukiah, who had long been a thorn in the flesh of the suffrage lobby, attempted to block it but was prevented by Senator Louis Juilliard and a spirited debate was led by Senator Lee C. Gates of Los Angeles, a leader of progressive measures. On January 26 the amendment came up for third reading and final passage. There was no need of further debate but each Senator seemed desirous of paying his tribute. It received 35 ayes and the opposition could muster only five votes. The Senate resolution was submitted in the Assembly and voted on February 2. Gallery and lobbies were thronged and only time limited the oratory. It received 66 ayes, 12 noes. Governor Johnson had insisted on the submission of the amendment as a party pledge.

Pink roses were sent by the committee to Mrs. Johnson, wife of the Governor, and violets to Mrs. Wallace for their helpful cooperation. Cordial appreciation was expressed to the wives of Senators and Assemblymen who did yeoman service, among them Mrs. Bell, Mrs. Gates, Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher Brown, Mrs. Miguel Estidillo and Mrs. Cattell.

After the adjournment of the Legislature a conference was called by the Progressive leaders to outline the plan of campaign for the many amendments which had been submitted and it was decided *not to mention the suffrage amendment*, as much needed contributions had been made on this condition lest it might cause some of the others to be defeated. There was strenuous objection to this plan by some of its friends but the majority prevailed. Governor Johnson was present at the meeting and carried out its program during the entire campaign, not referring to the suffrage amendment in his speeches. It was said that he expected it to

lose and did not want to jeopardize the amendments which would enable the voters to take the law-making power into their own hands and secure all desired reforms. A notable exception among the official speakers was Francis J. Heney, who never failed to include it with the others in his appeals to the voters.

The general political situation in California at the time, however, favored the suffrage campaign. The five parties had put a woman suffrage plank in their platforms and the voters could concentrate their attention on the twenty-three proposed constitutional amendments, for which a special election was called October 10. There were but eight months for what would have to be a "whirlwind campaign." The president of the State association, Mrs. Lowe Watson, said in her report to the next national suffrage convention:

The situation was very different from that of 1895-96. Not only were the suffragists better organized but as a result of the previous campaign, in which the National Association largely participated, there were earnest suffragists in every kind of association in the State, in the Federated Women's Clubs; the W. C. T. U., with a franchise department in every local; the Socialist party, the State Grange and the ever-growing Labor Unions. We determined to make a strenuous effort to get into touch with every progressive element. Our State Campaign Committee, with headquarters in San Francisco, consisted of chairmen of the ten departments of work. . . . In addition we had an Advisory Council composed of picked men and women over the State. During the two preceding years the State association had been carrying forward organization work under the able supervision of Mrs. Helen Moore as chairman but there still remained much to be done. Our territory was large, a portion of it immensely difficult. It was conceded that a house to house canvass was of the utmost importance, particularly in the large cities.

The suffragists of Southern California, whose work with the Legislature had been of incalculable value, led by J. H. Braly, president of the Los Angeles Political Equality League, assumed the responsibility of caring for the ten counties south of the Tehachapi Pass and nobly did they fulfil all expectations. We realized that the great "interests" were arrayed against us. Untold money was at the command of our enemies and they were schooled in political methods. We had little money and less political experience but we had consecration of purpose and we gave ourselves to the work, North and South, with unbounded enthusiasm. . . .

There was scarcely a corner of the State unvisited by good speakers. Under the supervision of Mrs. Rose M. French, the State association issued 3,000,000 pages of literature, while the College

Women's Equal Suffrage League and other organizations in the North, and the Political Equality League of Los Angeles, also published countless thousands of leaflets, besides ordering many from the National Association. Under the tactful management of Mrs. Ringrose, 50,000 Catholic leaflets were distributed at the doors of Catholic churches. The picture slides and stereopticon talks, superintended by Mrs. Lucretia Watson Taylor, were very effective, particularly in the outlying districts. Posters, pennants and banners played a conspicuous part in the campaign. The attendance at the meetings held in theaters, churches, halls and on the street corners was surprisingly large and in many instances splendidly enthusiastic. The attitude of the public generally was respectful and often profoundly sympathetic. Our country clubs and county organizations followed closely the plans recommended by the State association. It was purely an educational campaign, without one shadow of partisanship or militant methods. The victory in the State of Washington in 1910 and the manner in which the enfranchised women used their newly acquired power contributed much to the success in California. The pulpit and the press were also largely with us. We worked hard to make sure of these two great instrumentalities for the education of the people.

Our inland co-workers largely financed their own special lines of propaganda. The generous contributions of the National Association and the smaller personal donations through that body, amounting altogether to about \$1,800, and the noble work of the national vice-president, Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, were a large factor in our success. The Woman Suffrage Party of New York sent us able speakers. Among our many good fortunes was the coming of the National Education Association convention to San Francisco. Miss Gail Laughlin was of immense service as a speaker and as chairman of the Election Committee. . . .

The State association disbursed about \$10,000, not counting the expenses in Southern California. Mrs. Keith contributed \$3,000 within the year; Mrs. Anna K. Bidwell \$1,000 through the State treasury, besides assisting her own county organization. Mrs. Charles D. Blaney gave generous sums, while others in an equally liberal spirit donated from \$200 down to one, according to their means; and others again, having no gold or precious stones, gave what was best of all, themselves, nobly, untiringly, out of their love for justice.

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No active work in suffrage was done in Southern California for some years after the defeat of 1896. In November, 1900, the State president, Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, went to Los Angeles, a parlor meeting was held and later a public address was given by her at the Woman's Club House. Here it was determined to revive the Woman Suffrage League and an executive committee

was appointed, Mrs. Sarah Burger Stearns, a veteran suffragist, formerly of Minnesota, chairman. On December 1 a meeting was called by this committee and the league was re-organized; President, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance; vice-president, Mrs. Shelley Tolhurst; secretary, Mrs. Lenore C. Schultz. Monthly meetings were held for several years at the Woman's Club House, the money for the rent being given by Mr. Wilde, whose sympathy was strong for suffrage. The years from 1900 to 1910-11 were just years of "carrying on" and well the pioneers did their work.<sup>1</sup> They kept the fires burning and gradually all kinds of organizations of women became permeated with a belief in suffrage for women and were ready for the final campaign.

The work of John Hyde Braly in Southern California deserves a place by itself. A prosperous business man and public-spirited citizen, when the call came to assist the movement to enfranchise the women of the State he saw the necessity of interesting men of prominence. From early in January, 1910, he worked to secure the enrollment of one hundred names of the leading citizens of Los Angeles and Pasadena. Finally he arranged a mid-day banquet on the fifth of April and about fifty responded. Organization was perfected with a charter membership of one hundred influential men under the name of the Political Equality League of California and the following compact was signed: "We hereby associate ourselves together for the purpose of securing political equality and suffrage without distinction on account of sex." The officers elected were: J. H. Braly, president; Judge Waldo M. Yorke, first vice-president; Hulett Merritt, second; J. D. Bradford, secretary and treasurer. Enthusiastic speeches were made and Mr. Braly said that they were initiating this movement at the psychological time, for the progressive fever was in the California blood. It was a man's job to take a hand in the enfranchisement of women, since it was the men who must decide it by their votes. The league was pledged to work to induce the legislators to submit the amendment to the voters. Nine men were organized in a Board of Governors and it was decided to

<sup>1</sup> Among the early workers, besides those already mentioned, were: Mrs. Charlotte LeMoyné Wills, Mrs. Mila Tupper Maynard, Mrs. Lulu Pyle Little, Mrs. Sarah Wilde Houser, Mrs. Josephine Marlett, Mrs. Alice E. Brodwell, Mrs. Mary A. Kenney, Mrs. Mary Alderman Garbutt, Mrs. Martha Salyer, Miss Margaret M. Fette, Mrs. Cora D. Lewis.

have women become associate members of the organization, they to select nine women to be governors with the men. The movement was thus popularized and desirable men and women of all classes rapidly joined it.

Headquarters were established in the Story Building and systematic work begun. Judge Yorke was chairman of the legislative and political department. The 850 delegates and the audience at the Los Angeles County Republican convention in Simpson Auditorium in August were enthusiastically for woman suffrage. Eighty-three delegates went from that convention to the State Republican convention of 430 delegates in San Francisco. Mr. Braly was not only one of these delegates but also a member of the platform committee. The suffrage plank went into the platform and was received with the same enthusiasm apparently as in Los Angeles. After a progressive Legislature was elected in the fall of 1910 the Political Equality League gave a banquet at the Alexandria Hotel in honor of the southern legislators, the State officers-elect and their wives, with nearly 600 present. Mr. Braly said of this occasion: "We all felt that we were making history and casting bread upon the waters that would surely return to us in a day of need, which, thank God, it did, for without it I think the suffrage bill would not have been passed."

The organization's express purpose was to use all legitimate means to influence the Legislature to submit the amendment and every legislator of the nine southern counties went to Sacramento pledged to vote for it. After the Legislature had submitted the amendment the Political Equality League held its annual election. It was felt that it would be unjust to ask Mr. Braly to have charge of the details of the strenuous campaign and with expressions of the highest appreciation he was made president emeritus and Mrs. Seward A. Simons, president. Mr. Braly arranged to have Mrs. McCulloch of Chicago make a speaking tour of Southern California in company with a party consisting of himself and wife, Judge Neely, Judge W. S. Harbert and Senator Lee C. Gates, at his own expense, as was all of his work. Mrs. Edson wrote to him after the campaign: "Without the platform pledges of the Republican county and State conventions we could never



have held the legislators and to you the women of California are indebted for making this possible."

Mrs. Simons in her comprehensive report said in part :

In the southern part of the State the work from the beginning was undertaken with the understanding that everything possible should be done to counteract the effect of the probable San Francisco vote and the California Political Equality League concentrated its attention on Los Angeles and the country districts throughout the State. The Executive Board, composed of the following members, Mrs. Simons, president; Mrs. Tolhurst, chairman of the Speakers' Committee; Mrs. Berthold Baruch, of the Meetings Committee; Miss Louise Carr, Literature; Mrs. Edson, Organization; Mrs. Martha Nelson McCan, Press; Mrs. John R. Haynes, Finance; Miss Annie Bock, secretary, concerned itself with effective publicity work—public meetings, the distribution of literature and the press. . . .

Leaflets and pamphlets that appealed to every type of mind were printed to the amount of over a million. . . . Votes-for-Women buttons to the number of 93,000 and 13,000 pennants and banners added their quota to the publicity work. . . . One of the most effective means of publicity was that of letters of a personal nature addressed to members of the various professions and vocations. A letter was sent to 2,000 ministers asking their cooperation; 60,000 letters were sent through the country districts. Leaflets in Italian, German and French were given out at the street meetings in the congested districts of Los Angeles. A circular letter was sent in September to every club and organization asking that they give an evening before the election to a suffrage speaker to be supplied by the league. Suffrage was presented to every class from the men's clubs in the churches to the unions' meetings in the Labor Temple.

The importance of getting the endorsement of large bodies of women was recognized. A few of these endorsing were the Woman's Parliament of 2,000 members; State Federation of Women's Clubs, 35,000; Federated College Clubs, 5,000; State Nurses' Association, 800; State W. C. T. U., 6,000; Woman's Organized Labor, 36,000, and the Los Angeles Teachers' Club, 800. All of these endorsements were secured at conventions held in Southern California and the Northern women pursued the same policy. These do not include those made by organizations of men, or of men and women or of clubs for suffrage alone and these in the South exceeded fifty. In a large measure success was due to the inestimable assistance given by the eminent speakers, among them supreme court judges, prominent lawyers, physicians, ministers, noted educators and philanthropists and by men and women from all callings and occupations. . . .

During the last two months meetings were arranged in all the towns of the southern counties where it was possible. When a hall could not be had they were held in the open air. The last month from fifty to sixty meetings a week were planned from the league

headquarters, speakers supplied and literature sent. These did not include those arranged by local organizations in smaller towns nor the many street meetings which were held by every one who could command an automobile. The climax was in the largest theater in Los Angeles on the evening of September 30 when over 4,000 people listened to the best speakers of the campaign. In addition another thousand gathered in Choral Hall for an overflow meeting, while many hundreds were turned from the doors. It was the largest political demonstration in the history of Southern California.

The most important phase of the publicity work was that of the Press Committee, formed of active newspaper women. Miss Bess Munn was made secretary and her time was devoted exclusively to supplying material to the local press and the country newspapers. Double postals asking individuals their opinion of the suffrage movement were sent to the members of the Legislature; to city, county and State officials from San Diego to Siskiyou; to judges, lawyers, merchants, bankers, physicians and all prominent visitors within the gates of the city. Their answers were from time to time printed in the form of interviews. Letters went to club women in every town asking for cooperation in securing space for suffrage material in the local press. Personal letters were sent to all the editors informing them that a weekly suffrage letter would be sent to them from the headquarters of the league. This contained nothing but the shortest, pithiest items of suffrage activities and enclosed were the leaflets which were often printed in full. At the close of the campaign more than half of the papers of the State regularly used the letter either as news or as a basis for editorial comment. In Los Angeles alone more than 10,000 columns were printed on suffrage. In monetary value this amount of space would have cost \$100,000. The last week before election a cut of the ballot showing the position of the suffrage amendment was sent to 150 newspapers of the South with a letter offering the editor \$5 for its publication but many printed it without compensation. . . .

The majorities from the country districts won the victory by counteracting the immense majority rolled up against the amendment in San Francisco and thus proved that the country residents are most satisfactorily reached by the country press.

The anti-suffragists made a more open fight in California than ever before. A month preceding election a Committee of Fifty was organized in Los Angeles composed of the reactionary elements, men representing "big business," corporation lawyers, a number connected with the Southern Pacific R.R., some socially prominent. The only one known nationally was former U. S. Senator Frank P. Flint. The president was a Southerner, George S. Patten, who wrote long articles using the arguments and objections employed in the very earliest days of the suffrage movement

sixty years ago. They claimed to have thousands of members but never held a meeting and depended on intimidation by their rather formidable list of names of local influence.

The Women's Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was more active. It was formed in Los Angeles, with Mrs. George A. Caswell, head of a fashionable school for girls, as its president. It organized also in Northern California with Mrs. C. L. Goddard president and Mrs. Benjamin Ide Wheeler heading the list of honorary presidents. Both branches had a long list of officers, some with social prestige, and maintained headquarters. They also claimed to have a large membership but held only parlor and club meetings. The National Anti-Suffrage Association sent its secretary, Miss Minnie Bronson, to speak, write, organize and have charge of headquarters. Mrs. William Force Scott came as a speaker from New York. The association was not an important factor in the campaign.

Theodore Roosevelt lectured in California in the spring of 1911. He had been in the State twice in preceding years and each time had referred disparagingly to woman suffrage. During the present visit he spoke in the Greek Theater at the State University in Berkeley to an audience of 10,000 on March 25 and the San Francisco *Examiner* of the next morning said in its report:

Here is what Colonel Roosevelt said on the burning question of woman suffrage:

"A short time ago I was handed a letter from the president of an Equal Suffrage Association asking me to speak in behalf of it. I have always told my friends that it seemed to me that no man was worth his salt who didn't think deeply of woman's rights and no woman was worth her salt who didn't think more of her duties than of her rights. Personally I am tepidly in favor of woman suffrage. I have studied the condition of women in those States where that right is exercised but I have never been able to take a great interest in it because it always seemed to me so much less important than so many other questions affecting women. I don't think the harm will come of it that its opponents expect, and I don't think that one-half of one per cent. of the good will come from it that its friends expect. It is not a millionth part as important as keeping and reviving the realization that the great work of women must be done in the home. The ideal woman of the future as of the past is the good wife and mother, able to train numbers of healthy children."

There were flourishing suffrage societies in all parts of the State. An Equal Suffrage League had been formed in San Francisco from a consolidation of suffrage clubs, with a large membership of men and women, Mrs. Mary T. Gamage, president. With its various committees it was an active force throughout the campaign. Great assistance was rendered by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, as had been the case in 1896. During the fifteen years' interval it had been carrying on a steady work of education through its local unions and their members were among the most active in the suffrage clubs also. So complete was the cooperation that they took off their white ribbon badges toward the end of the campaign to disarm prejudice. Mrs. Keith, president of the Berkeley Club, hired a house in the central part of town for eight months as headquarters and Mrs. Hester Harland was installed as manager. An advisory committee was formed of Mrs. George W. Haight, Mrs. John Snook, Mrs. Fred G. Athearn, Mrs. Irving M. Scott, Jr., Dr. Helen Waterman, Mrs. Samuel C. Haight, Mrs. Aaron Schloss, Mrs. T. B. Sears, Mrs. C. C. Hall, Mrs. Frank F. Bunker, assisted by many others toward the close of the campaign. Mrs. J. B. Hume and Miss Blanche Morse toured the State as speakers and organizers. Mrs. Keith herself spoke on a number of special occasions. Mrs. Watson spoke night and day for three weeks in Sacramento Valley; at Chico to an audience of 3,000.<sup>1</sup>

The Central Campaign Committee was created in July, three months before election, consisting of one member from each of the five principal campaign organizations in San Francisco doing State work. Mrs. Watson Taylor, daughter of the president, represented the State Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. Aylett Cotton, the Clubwoman's Franchise League; Mrs. Robert A. Dean, the Woman Suffrage Party; Miss Maud Younger, the Wage Earners' League and Mrs. Deering the College League.

<sup>1</sup> Among the names that constantly occur in the State work as speakers, writers, on committees, etc., besides those specially mentioned, are Mrs. Emma Shafter Howard, Miss Mary S. Keene, Mrs. J. A. Waymire, Mrs. Isabel A. Baldwin, Mrs. Ella E. Greenman, Miss Mary Fairbrother, Dr. Sarah I. Shuey, Miss Anna Chase, Mrs. Abbie E. Krebs, Miss Ina Coolbrith, Mrs. Nellie Blessing Eyster, Mrs. Frances Williamson.

The comprehensive booklet published by Miss Selina Solomons, "How We Won the Vote in California," preserves scores of these names and contains a wealth of details in regard to this interesting campaign.

This committee was formed at the suggestion of Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw of New York, who visited San Francisco with her husband in January, for the purpose of having all the organizations share in the money and workers sent by the New York Woman Suffrage Party. Over \$1,000 were received from it, of which \$500 came from General Horace Carpentier, a former Californian and ex-mayor of Oakland, sent through Mr. Laidlaw. The Men's New York League sent \$200; the Rochester Political Equality Club, \$280; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt \$300. New York suffragists also paid the railroad expenses of the three organizers and speakers whom they sent and Chicago suffragists paid the travelling expenses of Mrs. McCulloch, who contributed her services.

From outside States came Miss Helen Todd, former factory inspector of Illinois; Miss Margaret Haley of Chicago; Miss Jeannette Rankin of Montana; Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley, Mrs. A. C. Fisk and Mrs. John Rogers of New York; Mrs. Mary Stanislawsky of Nevada; Mrs. Alma Lafferty, member of the Colorado Legislature. These speakers were sent throughout Northern California.

The chairman of the Press Committee, Mrs. Deering, had been carrying on the press work steadily for the past five years and hundreds of papers were ready to support the amendment. Before the end of the brief campaign, under her efficient management, almost every paper of prominence either endorsed it or remained silent. The *Los Angeles Express*, *Sacramento Bee*, *Star* and *Union*, the *San Jose Mercury*, the *Oakland Enquirer*, the *San Francisco Bulletin* and the *Daily News* were especially helpful. James H. Barry, editor of the *Star*, was an unflinching advocate. The *Call* made a sustained fight for it and the *Examiner* and *Post* advised a vote in favor. The German papers were outspokenly opposed. The *Chronicle* in San Francisco, owned by M. H. De Young, and the *Times*, in Los Angeles, by Harrison Grey Otis, were relentless opponents. Much assistance was rendered in the Legislature and the campaign by E. A. Dickson, a prominent journalist of Los Angeles. The women connected with the press were sympathetic and helpful.

A most important feature of this remarkable campaign was

the work of the College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California, which had been organized in 1909 for educational work among college women. When the suffrage amendment was submitted in February, 1911, the league decided to go actively into the campaign. The officers elected in May were as follows: Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney (Wellesley), president; Dr. Adelaide Brown (Smith), first vice-president; Miss Caroline Cook Jackson (Cornell), second; Miss Lillian J. Martin (Vassar), third; Miss Belle Judith Miller (California), recording secretary; Miss Genevieve Cook (California Woman's Hospital), corresponding secretary; Mrs. Genevieve Allen (Stanford), executive secretary; Dr. Anna Rude (Cooper Medical College), treasurer; Dr. Rachel L. Ash (California), delegate to Council. Directors: Miss Ethel Moore (Vassar); Mrs. Mabel Craft Deering (California); Miss Kate Ames (Stanford); Mrs. Carlotta Case Hall (Elmira); Miss Frances W. McLean (California); Mrs. Thomas Haven (California); Dr. Kate Brousseau (University of Paris); Mrs. C. H. Howard (California).<sup>1</sup>

Altogether \$2,075 were sent to the league from the East. Its total receipts were \$11,030 in fixed sums and the personal donations of its working members in telegrams, postage, car fare, expressage, use of automobiles, etc., amounted to thousands. At a meeting held in Oakland Miss Sylvia Pankhurst spoke to more than a thousand persons who had paid for their seats.

Every legitimate method of campaigning was used, beginning with the printing of 900,000 leaflets. There were posters and all kinds of designs; city circularizing of the most thorough kind in many languages; pageants, plays, concerts and public social functions; the placarding of city bill boards over miles of country; advertising of every possible kind; huge electric and other signs; long weeks of automobile campaigning in the country and the villages; special speakers for all sorts of organizations; a handsome float in the labor day parade; speaking at vaudeville shows—there was no cessation of these eight months' strenuous work. The campaigning in Sacramento was in charge of Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> After the election was over the College League at a general request issued a pamphlet of 139 pages, edited by Louise Herrick Wall, describing in detail its many activities during the campaign, every page of which is a record of marvelous work.

Mary Roberts Coolidge, assisted by Mrs. E. V. Spencer, against great odds, but the city gave a small favorable majority, due chiefly to the union labor vote.

During the last six months the College League held more than fifty public meetings in halls in San Francisco, the audiences at the larger ones varying from 1,300 to 10,000 with hundreds turned away. The Rev. Charles F. Aked, the brilliant English orator, had just come from New York and he made his first appearance outside of his pulpit at a suffrage mass meeting in Savoy Theater, donated by the John Cort management, and afterwards he could not refuse to speak at other meetings. His debate with Colonel John P. Irish in the Valencia Theater just before election was one of the great features of the campaign. One of the most important meetings, with 1,500 present, was addressed by the eloquent young priest, the Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, with the boxes reserved for prominent Catholics. Rabbi Martin H. Meyer was one of the strong speakers. At the meeting in the beautiful new auditorium of Scottish Rite Hall Mrs. Alexander Morrison, president of the National Collegiate Alumnae, was in the chair and among the speakers were Dr. Aked, William C. Ralston, U. S. Sub-Treasurer; Mrs. W. W. Douglas and Albert H. Elliott. In the Italian theater was held the largest meeting of a political nature known to that quarter, addressed by Emilio Lastredo, a prominent banking attorney; Ettore Patrizi, editor of the daily *L'Italia*; Mr. Elliott, Miss Margaret Haley and Mayor J. Stitt Wilson of Berkeley. A second great suffrage meeting assembled there again, at which Mme. Adelina Dosenna of La Scala, Milan, sang. The culmination was the mass meeting in Dreamland Rink, the largest auditorium in the city. Mrs. Lowe Watson, president of the State association, introduced by George A. Knight, was in the chair. There were 6,000 in the audience and 4,000 on the outside, whom Mrs. Greeley and other speakers kept in a good humor. These were Mrs. McCulloch, Dr. Aked, John I. Nolan, union labor leader; Mr. Wilson, Miss Todd, Miss Laughlin and Rabbi Meyer.

The campaign closed with a "business men's meeting" in Cort's Theater from 12 to 1:30 p. m. the day before election. The theater was crowded and it was necessary to begin before noon.

For several hours the speakers held forth to an audience changing every half hour. Mr. Elliott presided and the speakers were F. G. Athearn of the Southern Pacific R. R.; Dr. Aked, Mr. Wilson, R. C. Van Fleet, Miss Todd and A. L. Sapiro. Then came the climax to the campaign when Mrs. Ernestine Black stepped forward and announced that Mme. Lilian Nordica would speak for woman suffrage and sing in Union Square that evening!

The great prima donna had come to San Francisco to sing at the ground-breaking for the Panama Exposition and in an ever-generous spirit agreed to give her matchless services to the cause in which she was deeply interested. The crowds were packed for blocks in every direction and suffrage speakers were addressing them from automobiles when Madame Nordica stood up in masses of flowers in Union Square opposite the St. Francis Hotel and very simply made her plea for the enfranchisement of California women. Then her glorious voice rang out to the very edges of the throng in the stirring notes of the Star Spangled Banner. The campaign was over.

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The amendment went to the voters Oct. 10, 1911. It was most important to watch the vote in San Francisco and Oakland, as their expected adverse vote would have to be counteracted by the rest of the State if the suffrage amendment carried. Oakland was put in charge of Mrs. Coolidge, who had a corps of efficient helpers in the members of the Amendment League, composed of old residents of Oakland, who had been engaged for many years in church, temperance and other social work, among them Mrs. Sarah C. Borland, Mrs. Agnes Ray, Mrs. A. A. Dennison, Mrs. Emma Shirtzer, Mrs. Jean Kellogg, Mrs. F. M. Murray and Mrs. F. Harlan. Of these league members 240 stood at the polls twelve hours, not half enough of them but they were treated with the greatest respect and undoubtedly they helped reduce the adverse majority. This work was paralleled in Berkeley, Alameda and other places around the bay.

Four weeks before election two representatives of each of the nine suffrage associations of San Francisco met and placed in the capable hands of Miss Laughlin the difficult task of looking



after the election in that city and this committee of eighteen acted as an executive board for carrying out her plans. Her management received the highest commendation from political leaders. Dr. Mary Sperry and Misses Miriam and Julie Michelson were a permanent office force and Miss Schlingheyde, Mrs. Chapin and Miss Sullivan carried much of the work. The Woman Suffrage Party gave the use of its headquarters in the Lick building. The State association and the clubs of San Francisco contributed about \$1,500. A captain was appointed for each district who selected her precinct captains and was supplied with an automobile. Connection was established with the chairmen throughout the counties and all were charged to "watch the count." On election day and the next day \$94 were spent for telegrams. To nearby places experienced workers were rushed when the word came of dishonest election officials. There were 1,066 volunteer workers in San Francisco, 118 of them men. On election day hundreds reported for duty before 6 o'clock and after standing at the polls twelve hours many went into the booths and kept tally of the count until midnight. In Oakland Pinkerton men were hired to watch it and in San Francisco the vault where the ballots were deposited was watched for two days and nights.

The vote in San Francisco was 21,912 ayes, 35,471 noes, an adverse majority of 13,559, and even the imperfect watching of the women detected a fraudulent count of 3,000. In Oakland there were 6,075 ayes, 7,818 noes, an adverse majority of 1,743. Berkeley alone of the places around the bay came in victorious with 2,417 ayes, 1,761 noes, a favorable majority of 656. Los Angeles, which in 1896 had given a majority of about 4,600 in favor, returned 15,708 ayes, 13,921 noes, a majority of only 1,787. On election night and for two days following the suffragists judged from the vote in the cities that they were defeated but the favorable returns from the villages, the country districts and the ranches came slowly in and when the count was finally completed it was found that out of a total of 246,487 votes the suffrage amendment had been carried by 3,587, an average majority of one in every voting precinct in the State.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The consideration of Secretary of State Frank Jordan was appreciated in placing the amendment on the ballot with an explanatory footnote that would prevent any one from not recognizing it. The victory was partly due to this advantage.

With the winning of this old, wealthy and influential State the entire movement for woman suffrage passed the crisis and victory in the remaining western States was sure to be a matter of a comparatively short time. As soon as the result was certain Mrs. Watson, the State president; Mrs. Sperry and Miss Whitney, representing Northern, and Mr. and Mrs. Braly, Mrs. Ringrose and Mrs. French, Southern California, went to Louisville, Ky., to carry the report to the convention of the National Association, of which this State had forty-five life members, more than any other except New York.

No State convention had been held in 1911 but one was called to meet in San Francisco in January, 1912, and it was decided to maintain the State association to assist the work in neighboring States. Mrs. William Keith was made president and the officers and executive committee held all day monthly meetings in her home for several years. After the National League of Women Voters was formed in 1919, when Congress was about to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment, a meeting was held on Feb. 12, 1920, and a California branch was formed with Mrs. Robert J. Burdette as chairman.

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The demand of the newly enfranchised women for guidance and knowledge was met at once by the College League, which reorganized in November, 1911, and became the California Civic League for social service, education for citizenship and the promotion of just legislation. The excellent work of Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney was recognized by continuing her as president of the new league from 1911 to 1914. It is composed of about twenty-five centers in the cities and towns of Northern California, with a membership of nearly 4,000 and many centers wield a strong influence in municipal affairs.

The Women's Legislative Council of California was organized in December, 1912, the outgrowth of the Legislative Committee of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. This council, which is non-sectarian, non-partisan and non-political, is in reality a Central Committee of State, county and some local organizations—about sixty in all—representing a membership of over 100,000 women. Its purpose is to coordinate the efforts and concentrate

the influence of women's organizations behind a legislative program, especially for the benefit of women and children. A list of at least thirty excellent laws since the enfranchisement of women have been either directly sponsored by this council or greatly aided by the efforts of women.<sup>1</sup>

Space can not be given for local societies but the suffrage history of California seems to require the mention of one—the Susan B. Anthony Club. It was formed in the hour of defeat in 1896 in honor of the great pioneer, who had worked with the California women through all that long campaign, and in order to hold together some of those who had shared in the toil and the disappointment. The club was formed in the home of Mrs. Mary S. Sperry in San Francisco and she was its president many years. Other presidents were Mrs. Sargent, wife of U. S. Senator Sargent, who in 1878 first introduced the Federal Suffrage Amendment; Mrs. Swift, wife of John F. Swift, Minister to Japan; Mrs. William Keith, wife of the distinguished artist; Mrs. Isabel A. Baldwin and Mrs. Nellie Holbrook Blinn, all officers of the State Suffrage Association also at different times. Dr. Alida C. Avery was its treasurer and Mrs. Sarah G. Pringle its press representative for a number of years. Its membership comprised many influential women, it held regular meetings and was a liberal contributor to suffrage work in California and other States. In 1911, when all the suffrage clubs were disbanding, this one remained in existence and continued to hold social meetings for many years.

In 1916-17 the Committee of Political Science of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Seward A. Simons, president, made a Survey of the results of five years of woman suffrage in California, which was widely circulated. It was a most valuable résumé of the registration and the vote of women, the legislation they had obtained, the offices they had held, their service on juries, their political work and the effect of the suffrage on women and on public life. A very complete report was made also by Mrs. Coolidge, president of the Civic League.

<sup>1</sup>The very complete résumé of the activities of these organizations made by Miss Martha A. Ijams, Council Secretary, had to be much condensed for lack of space.

LEGISLATIVE AND CONVENTION ACTION. 1901. A bill for School suffrage was defeated.

1905. A resolution to submit a constitutional amendment was defeated in both Houses by large majorities. A bill legalizing prize fighting was passed the same day.

1906. A Suffrage State Central Committee of twenty-one competent workers was organized, Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, chairman, Mrs. Katharine Reed Balentine, secretary, and it continued its activities in behalf of an amendment to the State constitution for the next five years. The plan was to secure its endorsement by all conventions and organizations and have it incorporated in the platforms of the political parties and the Central Committee was divided into sub-committees with representatives in every part of the State. The Executive of this Central Committee, Mrs. Mary S. Sperry, Mrs. Nellie Holbrook Blinn, Mrs. Helen Moore and Mrs. Coffin, were the delegates to the State Republican convention in Santa Cruz in 1906, which was completely under the control of the "machine." It was at this convention that the "insurgent" sentiment began to crystallize into the "progressive" movement. Woman suffrage was not put in the platform. James G. Gillette, nominated for Governor, approached the women and pledged himself, if elected, to do all he could to carry through the amendment. Later, at Sacramento, the Democratic convention, under the leadership of Thomas E. Hayden, Albert Johnson, Max Popper and John Sweeny, incorporated the amendment in the platform. It was placed in the platform of the Labor party, Miss Maud Younger and Mrs. Francis S. Gibson assisting the Legislative Committee.

1907. The Legislature of this year was the last under the complete domination of the corrupt political forces. The graft prosecution in San Francisco was in full swing, the result of which was an awakened public conscience. Every legislator had been interviewed and the San Francisco delegation was pledged in favor of the suffrage amendment. It was introduced by Senator Leroy Wright of San Diego and in the House of Grove L. Johnson of Sacramento the first week of the session. Mrs. Coffin, Mrs. Moore and Thomas E. Hayden, an attorney retained by the State association, were the lobby maintained in Sacra-

mento during the entire session. The amendment was reported favorably out of committee in both Houses. When the roll was called in the House it was discovered that the San Francisco delegates had received orders and the entire delegation voted "no." The result was a bare majority and not two-thirds. On demand of the suffrage lobby Mr. Johnson obtained reconsideration. When the vote was next taken it showed that the San Francisco delegation had been again instructed and voted solid for the amendment, giving the necessary two-thirds, 54 to 16. Thus was this city able to control every measure.

Then began the long struggle in the Senate. President pro tem. Edward I. Wolf of San Francisco and Senator J. B. Sanford of Ukiah, Republican and Democratic senior Senators, were bitter opponents of the amendment of long years' standing. After weeks of effort, with a deadlock of constantly changing votes and always "one more to get," it was decided to appeal to Governor Gillette to redeem his pledge of help and Mrs. Coffin and Mr. Hayden called upon him at the Capitol. He received them without rising or inviting them to be seated and wholly repudiated the promises he had made to the women at the Republican convention, saying he was only fooling! The amendment went down to defeat, lacking two votes.

1908. The Democratic convention in Stockton in 1908 again incorporated the amendment in the platform. The Labor convention did likewise, Mrs. Edith DeLong Jarmuth rendering valuable service on the committee. The convention of the Republican party, the dominant one, was held in Oakland. The Suffrage State Central Committee opened headquarters at the Hotel Metropole simultaneously with the Republicans, much to their chagrin. Rooms were also opened in the Bacon Block, financed by the Oakland Amendment League, who were coming to lobby. Three hundred women marched in the first suffrage parade in the State behind a yellow silk suffrage banner, with the State coat of arms richly embroidered on it by Mrs. Theodore Pinther, who carried it to reserved seats in the front of the gallery of the McDonough Theater, where the convention was held. Mrs. Sperry, Mrs. Pease of Colorado and a committee of eight women representing as many separate interests had spoken before the

Resolutions Committee the evening before, with two minutes allotted to each. Mrs. Josephine Manahan, Miss Younger, Mrs. LaRue, Mrs. Barron and Mrs. O'Donnell composed the labor committee. Filling the galleries and boxes the suffragists waited for the result. In lieu of a suffrage plank the Republican chairman stepped forth and in his pleasantest manner thanked the women for their attendance, assuring them that by their grace and beauty they had contributed materially to the success of the convention. Mrs. Pease, who was seated in the front row, rose and answered that the women were not there for bouquets but for justice and declined their thanks.

1909. This year the amendment was in the middle of the stream. It had the promise of support from individual members but the party leaders had declined assistance. The Progressives felt topheavy with reforms and feared to be overbalanced if it were adopted as part of their program. They had the majority in both Houses but failing to secure any part of the organization they were left off of all important committees and were on the outside. Apartments for the suffrage lobby, under the care of Mrs. E. L. Campbell, were opened near the Capitol. Delegates from many parts of the State were constantly arriving to relieve the others, with the exception of Mrs. Coffin and Mrs. Moore, who were in constant attendance and with other members of the committees and Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, the president, carried the burden of the work. Assemblyman Johnson again introduced the amendment. A ruling was made, aimed at the women, that no lobbyists should be permitted on the floor of the Assembly. To the amazement of every one the women began to secure votes. The Judiciary Committee recommended the amendment and it came up as a special order. Speaker Philip A. Stanton was an avowed opponent, as was Assemblyman J. P. Transue, floor leader, both of Los Angeles. The San Francisco delegation, under the direction of Assemblyman J. J. McManus, lined up with them. The debate lasted an hour. Assemblymen Otis, Telfer, Juilliard and Hinkel were among those speaking for the amendment. The atmosphere seemed favorable but at 12 o'clock, when the vote should have been taken, to the amazement of its friends, Mr. Johnson moved for a recess until one

o'clock. In that hour every possible pressure was brought to bear against the amendment. When the session reconvened the galleries were packed with persons there in the interest of the race-track bill and the suffrage lobby were compelled to sit on the steps. Without preliminaries the amendment went down to defeat, Mr. Johnson refusing to ask for reconsideration.

The members of the suffrage lobby toured the State, telling the story of the legislative defeat and showing what would be the benefits of a direct primary law. During the Chautauqua meeting in the Yosemite in July, through the efforts of Assemblyman Drew of Fresno, an entire day and evening were granted for an excellent suffrage program of a strong political flavor with Mrs. Ray, Mrs. Coffin and Mrs. Gamage in charge.

1910. The reform element in the Legislature did succeed in enacting a direct primary law, which, although imperfect, enabled the voters for the first time in the history of the State to speak for themselves. Stimulated and encouraged the Republican State convention of 1910 met in San Francisco and was dominated by the progressive element. The good government forces had been successful in Los Angeles and had unanimously included the suffrage plank in their county platform, J. H. Braly assisting in this result. Santa Clara county under the leadership of Charles Blaney had done likewise, and the delegates came to the State convention prepared to force its adoption. It needed that solid front of eighty-three votes from south of the Tehachapi and the militant argument of the sturdy Santa Clara delegation to bring the San Francisco leaders into line. The amendment plank was taken up by the Resolutions Committee, of which Harris Weinstock was chairman, and given the same careful consideration accorded every other proposed plank. The women attended the convention in numbers but were not required to go before this committee, which adopted it unanimously. It was adopted as part of the platform by the convention with three cheers. Thus it became a man's measure and the policy of the Progressive Republican party. To the regret of many prominent supporters of the amendment in the Democratic ranks the convention of that party failed to endorse it. The reason was simple—the "machine" forces which had hitherto dominated the

Republican conventions now concentrated their strength on the Democratic. A progressive Legislature was nominated and a man for Governor who had sufficient courage to carry out a progressive program—Hiram W. Johnson—the women contributing to his success in not a few counties. The election was a Progressive victory and the chairman of the Republican State Central Committee called a meeting of its members and the members elect of the Legislature for 1911 at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco and appointed committees for assisting the legislators in carrying out the promises of the platform. A committee of the leading legislators was appointed to see that a woman suffrage amendment to the constitution was submitted.

1911. The action taken in 1911 has been described.

In 1915 the Legislature by unanimous vote of both Houses passed resolutions which said in part :

Resolved, That so successful has been the operation and effect of granting political rights to women that it is generally conceded that, were the question to be again voted on by the people of this State, it would be reendorsed by an overwhelming majority; and be it further

Resolved, That the adoption of woman suffrage by California is one of the important factors contributing to the marked political, social and industrial advancement made by our people in recent years.

In 1917 in the midst of the war, when the Federal Suffrage Amendment was hanging in the balance in Congress, a petition from the State Federation of Women's Clubs was sent to the Legislature through Mrs. Alfred Bartlett of Los Angeles that it would memorialize Congress on the subject. Without a dissenting vote the following passed both Houses in just twelve minutes: "Whereas, the women of the United States are being called upon to share the burdens and sacrifices of the present national crisis and they are patriotically responding to that call, be it Resolved by the Senate of California with the Assembly concurring that the denial of the right of women to vote on equal terms with men is an injustice and we do urge upon Congress the submission to the Legislatures of the States for their ratification of an amendment to the U. S. Constitution granting women the right to vote."

RATIFICATION. Governor William D. Stephens called the



Legislature to meet in special session Nov. 1, 1919, for the one purpose of ratifying the Federal Amendment, which had been submitted June 4. The Women's Legislative Council had unanimously urged this action in convention. More than a hundred members of the various suffrage societies went to Sacramento and before the vote was taken they gave a luncheon for the legislators, which was attended by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and State officials. The speakers were the Governor and the presidents of many State organizations of women. The ratification was not a matter of controversy and the vote in favor was unanimous in the Senate, 73 to 2 in the House—Robert Madison of Santa Rosa and C. W. Greene of Paso Robles.

Mrs. Mary L. Cheney, secretary of the University of California, prepared for this chapter a complete list of the offices filled by women and the positions held by women in the universities, which the lack of space compelled to be omitted. In 1918 for the first time four were elected to the Legislature and received important committee appointments and there have been a few other women legislators. In San Francisco a Doctor of Jurisprudence of the University of California, Mrs. Annette Abbott Adams, was the first in the country to hold the position of U. S. District Attorney. In 1920 another, Miss Frances H. Wilson, was assistant district attorney. On the teaching force of the State University at Berkeley were ninety-three women in December, 1919, including Dr. Jessica Peixotto, full professor of economics, three associate and seven assistant professors and two assistant professors in the medical college. At Leland Stanford Junior University are one woman professor emeritus (psychology); two associate professors, eight assistant professors—over 40 women on the teaching force.

## CHAPTER V.

### COLORADO.<sup>1</sup>

In Colorado the period from 1900 to 1920 began and ended with a victory for equal suffrage. In 1901 the woman suffrage law of 1893 was by vote of the people made a part of the State constitution. In 1919 a special session of the Legislature ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment. A half-century ago, Jan. 4, 1870, Governor Edward M. McCook in his biennial report to the Territorial Legislature had urged it to be a leader in this "movement of progressive civilization," but it was twenty-three years later when the lone example of the sister State, Wyoming, was followed and Colorado became the second State to enfranchise woman.

When Colorado was admitted into the Union in 1876 a strong effort was made to have its constitution provide for equal suffrage but it was not successful. School suffrage was given and provision was made that the Legislature might at any time submit a measure to the voters for the complete franchise, which, if accepted by the majority, should become law. This was done in 1877 and defeated. It was submitted again in 1893 and adopted by a majority of 6,347. Women were thus entitled to vote on the same terms as men but it was by law and not by constitutional amendment. Aliens could vote on six months' residence and on their "first papers," without completing their citizenship. In 1901 the Legislature submitted the following amendment: "Every person over the age of twenty-one years, possessing the following qualifications, shall be entitled to vote at all elections: He or she shall be a citizen of the United States and shall have resided in the State twelve months immediately preceding the election at which he or she offers to vote." It is

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Katherine Tipton (Mrs. George E.) Hosmer, president of the State Equal Suffrage Association. Mrs. Hosmer wishes to express her obligation for assistance in securing data to the past presidents and executive officers of the association.

worthy of note that Casimero Barela, known as the perpetual Senator who had opposed equal suffrage since the question was first raised in Territorial days, esteemed it a privilege to introduce the resolution for this amendment. The vote on Nov. 4, 1901, stood, ayes, 35,372; noes, 20,087; carried by a majority of 15,285, which was nearly 64 per cent. of the vote cast. After a trial of eight years the voters, men and women, thus securely entrenched woman suffrage in the State constitution.

The Equal Suffrage Association has continued its existence in order to assist the women in other States to get the franchise and also to look after legislative and civic affairs at home. It has not held annual conventions but its regular monthly meetings have taken place for years at the Adams Hotel in Denver where they could be attended by members from all parts of the State and strangers within the gates from this or other countries. The presidents after Mrs. John L. Routt retired were, Mrs. Katherine T. Patterson, Mrs. Amy K. Cornwall, Professor Theodosia G. Ammons, Mrs. Minerva C. Welch, Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright (8 years), Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, Mrs. Honora McPhearson, Mrs. Lucy I. Harrington, Mrs. Katherine Tipton Hosmer, 1918.

Three of these presidents have passed over the range, Mrs. Routt, wife of the former Governor; Mrs. Patterson, wife of U. S. Senator Thomas M. Patterson, and Professor Ammons, who established the department of domestic science in the Colorado Agricultural College. Two eminent and highly valued suffragists who have passed away are Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker and the Hon. Isaac N. Stevens. Mrs. Decker, one of the most accomplished and forceful of women, was president of the State Board of Charities and Corrections and vice-president of the first State Civil Service Commission from 1909 until her death July 7, 1912, in California during the biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, of which she had been president. Mr. Stevens, editor for years of the Colorado Springs *Gazette* and later of the *Pueblo Chieftain*, member of the Legislature and prominent in politics, was always an ardent and influential supporter of woman suffrage. Among the pioneer workers who are still living are Mrs. Ione T. Hanna, the first woman elected member of a school board in the State; Mrs. Alma V. Lafferty

and Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright, former members of the Legislature; Dr. Mary Barker-Bates, Dr. Minnie C. T. Love, Mrs. William N. Byers, Mrs. James B. Belford and Mrs. Celia Baldwin Whitehead.<sup>1</sup>

The State Association has been non-partisan but its members personally have been connected with the various parties. This does not mean that they always have voted a straight party ticket; they have not, neither have men, and scratched tickets are common. Women do not necessarily "vote just as their husbands do" but many a pair go amicably to the polls and with perfect good feeling nullify each other's vote. It is a noteworthy fact that during all the years no bill which the State association actively opposed has been passed by the General Assembly and every bill which it actively supported has been enacted into law. It has thus conclusively been proved that, while women must band themselves together for bettering the condition of their sex and for the general good of the State, yet having planned together they must work out their problems through their political parties. The association has consistently opposed the so-called National Woman's Party with its "militant" methods, giving wide publicity to resolutions adopted Oct. 2, 1917, which said: "We denounce the methods and actions of the women 'picketing' the White House as unpatriotic and not in accord with the principles of this association; we declare they have impugned the good faith of the United States in the eyes of Russia and other foreign nations . . . and we request the Attorney General of the United States to institute an investigation of the association supporting the 'pickets' and the sources of its money supply. . . ."

Though actively engaged with serious problems of State government, of city administration and of home economics, the association has never overlooked the fact that social activities

<sup>1</sup> Among those who worked in the first decade of this century were: Helen L. Grenfell, Mary C. C. Bradford, Ellis Meredith, Hattie E. Westover, Mrs. John F. Shafroth, Minnie J. Reynolds, Gail Laughlin, Drs. Elizabeth Cassady, Jean Gale, Mary Long, Mary E. Bates, Rose Kidd Beere and Sarah Townsend; Lillian C. Kerns, Martha A. Pease, Alice Polk Hill, Mrs. A. C. Sisk, Mrs. A. L. Cooper, Bessie Lee Pogue, Helen Wixson, Anna M. Scott, Carrie Marshall, Nora B. Wright, Laura Holtzschneider, Hattie Howard, Rosetta Webb, Sarah Purchase, Helen Bedford, Inez Johnson Lewis, Eva Rinkle, Evangeline Heartz, Louisa M. Tyler, Mary Nichols, Helen Miller, Louise Blanchard, Margaret Keating, Lillian Hartman Johnson.

are essential to good government and right living and has made its social affairs a noteworthy feature during the past years.

There has never been any question among the people generally in Colorado as to the benefit of woman suffrage. Sanitary conditions are improved, beginning at everybody's back yard and extending through every business place and every public domain in the State. Business methods are different. Visiting women say they can tell when in the large department stores, groceries, etc., that the women are voters. Political campaigns are very differently conducted since women have a part in them. Election methods have changed to make election day what the men deem fitting since their wives, mothers and sisters are voters and the polling places are unobjectionable. Not only has it been conceded that the commonwealth has been blest by the votes of the women but also that the women themselves have been benefited; their lives have been enriched by their broadening experiences; their larger vision has made possible greater culture; their wider opportunity for doing has led to more deeds of kindness; their interest in State government and civic economics has improved their ideas of home government and domestic economy; their assistance in State and civic "house-cleaning" has imbued them with a higher sense of duty to society and their own homes.

From time to time wholly unwarranted attacks were made on the effects of woman suffrage in Colorado in order to prevent its adoption in other States. During 1908-9 the misrepresentations became so vicious there was a general feeling that as the men voters largely outnumbered the women they should not remain silent. Through the efforts of Assistant District Attorney Omar E. Garwood the Equal Suffrage Aid Association of men was formed with former Governor Alva Adams president; Isaac N. Stevens, vice-president, and Mr. Garwood secretary. Prominent men joined it and it rendered such excellent service in giving authoritative information that in a few years the attacks and misrepresentations almost wholly ceased. Mr. Garwood went on to New York, where the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage was organized with James Lees Laidlaw of New York City as president and Mr. Garwood as secretary. He aided in forming similar leagues in other States and for several years

participated actively in the suffrage campaigns of Kansas, Michigan, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska and South Dakota, and lectured as far south as Mississippi, finding much interest in Colorado's experiment. It was believed that the men's organizations, actively taking the stand for the enfranchisement of women, contributed substantially to the ultimate success of the movement. In 1915 and following years an obscure lawyer employed by certain vested interests in Colorado and elsewhere went into eastern States where suffrage amendments were pending and scattered false statements about the situation in this State. The newspapers of the East were flooded with denials by Colorado men, women and organizations and when they published these he filed suits for libel but never allowed one of them to come to trial.

Again and again the Legislature has given official testimony in favor of woman suffrage when it would be helpful. On Jan. 2, 1919, when the U. S. Senate was about to vote on submitting the Federal Amendment, Mrs. Hosmer, president of the State Association; Mrs. Anna M. Scott, first vice-president, and Mrs. Sarah K. Walling, a member of the board of directors, went before the Legislature at the opening of the session, asking for a memorial to the Senate urging favorable action. In less than an hour the rules had been suspended in both Houses and the following resolution passed unanimously:

Whereas, Colorado has long enjoyed the help and counsel of its women in all political matters of citizenship and by these years of experience demonstrated the benefit to be derived from equal suffrage; and whereas, there is now pending in the Senate of the United States a constitutional amendment providing for national woman suffrage; therefore be it

Resolved, that we urge the United States Senate to take up and submit this amendment at the earliest possible date in order that all the women of the nation may have the right of suffrage and the nation may have the benefit of their citizenship.

Both Democratic and Republican parties, and the Populist and Progressive parties when they existed, have stood for equal suffrage and unequivocally endorsed it in their platforms. The appointment of vice-chairwomen of the political State Committees is a foregone conclusion. During the memorable campaign of 1914, Mrs. Steele, wife of the late Chief Justice Robert W.

Steele, successfully filled this place in the Democratic party during a time fraught with difficulties, as the then Congressional Union opened headquarters in Denver to oppose every Democratic candidate for Congress under the excuse of holding the party in federal power responsible. The injection of such a movement in a State where equal suffrage had long been in force and the women had allied themselves with the parties of their choice, created among them a keen resentment and acrimonious controversy. The Democratic Senator, Charles S. Thomas, and Democratic Representatives who had always been friends of woman suffrage, were re-elected.

Beginning with 1908 the following women were sent as delegates or alternates to the presidential nominating conventions: Mary C. C. Bradford, Katherine Cook, Anna H. Pitzer, Eugenia Kelley, Nancy Kirkland, Helen L. Grenfell, Alice B. Clark, Mary Nichols and Anna M. Scott. The following have served as presidential electors: Gertrude A. Lee, Sarah K. Walling, Adella Bailey, Julie Penrose, Anna Wolcott Vaile.

On Jan. 1, 1919, one of the most important receptions in Denver was given by the State Equal Suffrage Association to the new Governor, Oliver H. Shoup (Republican) and his wife, and the retiring Governor, Julius C. Gunter (Democrat) and his wife. Both were on the board of directors of the association. It was held in the roof ballroom of the Adams Hotel and was a most democratic affair, all classes being represented, as all had found a common interest in public welfare. A few months later the association gave a handsomely appointed luncheon at the Adams with Senator Agnes Riddle as guest of honor. Its purpose was to show appreciation of her heroic stand for women when she voted against the male appointee of the Governor of her own party to take the place of a woman expert (a member of the other party) on the Board of Charities and Correction.

In May, 1919, when it was known that the Federal Suffrage Amendment was certain to be submitted in a short time, the State Association requested Governor Shoup to be in readiness to call a special session of the Legislature so quickly that Colorado might be the first State to ratify. It offered to supply without

salary or compensation of any kind all necessary clerks, stenographers, pages and sergeants-at-arms in order that the State should be put to no expense except for the mileage of the legislators, whose salaries are paid by the year. When the amendment was finally submitted on June 4 the newspapers, which had been loyal to the cause all these years, and the men and women whose interest and support had never flagged, were overjoyed with thanksgiving and jubilation. The *Rocky Mountain Herald* of Denver was one of the first papers to support the Equal Suffrage Association in asking for an immediate ratification by a special session of the Legislature. The Governor promised to call one eventually but would not consent to do it at once, claiming that legislators from the farming districts asked for delay. Every possible influence was brought to bear on him but the situation remained unchanged. "For reasons" the party in power (Republican) decreed that, while of course the special session must be held, this could not be done until fall or winter. The members of the association, knowing the futility of further effort, proceeded to arrange for a public jubilee.

The meeting was held in the City Park of Denver on the night of June 25 in connection with a concert by the city band. Mrs. Hosmer presided and prayer was offered by Mrs. Almira Frost Hudson. Jubilant speeches were made by Mrs. Harrington, State Senator E. V. Dunkley and Captain Morrison Shafroth to an audience of about 1,500. Governor Shoup was out of the city but sent a letter to be read. The Mayor was represented by Commissioner J. W. Sharpley. At the Fourth of July celebration held under the auspices of the Colorado Patriotic League at the same place, the president of the State suffrage association was one of the speakers. Her subject was "Woman's First Fourth of July" and so this celebration also took on the nature of a rejoicing over the new women electorate of the nation.

**RATIFICATION.** The Legislature met in special session Dec. 8, 1919, and a resolution for ratification was introduced in Senate and House, in the latter bearing the names of the two women Representatives, Dr. May T. Bigelow and Miss Mable Ruth Baker, and that of the Senate the name of the one woman member, Senator Agnes Riddle, and as passed it bore



all three names. It requires three days for action on a resolution and the ratification was completed on the 12th, both Houses voting unanimously in favor. The day of the final passage was made a great occasion for the Equal Suffrage Association. Legislators referred to it in their speeches and Mrs. Walling, one of its board of directors, was escorted to a seat beside Speaker Allyn Cole. Mrs. Hosmer was out of the city. A short recess was taken that the first vice-president, Mrs. Anna M. Scott, might be heard, who made a brief but eloquent speech. When the time came for the final vote Speaker Cole surrendered his place to Representative Bigelow, so that a woman might wield the gavel when the result was announced.<sup>1</sup> The bill went immediately to the Governor, who signed it on the 15th. Colorado had by this ratification placed the seal of her approval on the twenty-six years of woman suffrage in the State.

During the war, the Woman's State Council of Defense was a most efficient organization, Governor Gunter saying that he ascribed its remarkable work to the experience which the women had gained by their quarter-of-a-century of active citizenship. On June 17, 1920, the State Equal Suffrage Association became incorporated under the name of the League of Women Voters with Mrs. Scott as chairman. A number of prominent eastern women en route to the Democratic national convention in San Francisco stopped at Denver and were guests at the banquet in celebration of the new league.

The legislative council of the State Federation of Women's Clubs holds weekly meetings during the sessions of the Legislature and takes up bills for consideration, particularly those relating to women and children, education and public health. After discussion and study these bills are approved or not approved and the legislators, the club women and the general public are informed as to their action.

There is no law prohibiting women from filling any offices in the State and it has been said that a really determined effort could place a woman even in that of chief executive. The office

<sup>1</sup> The day before a joint session of the two Houses had been held that they might listen to the reading of a poem written for the occasion by one of the oldest members of the association, Mrs. Alice Polk Hill.

of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has been filled by a woman since 1894 and no man has been nominated for it. Those who have held this important office are Antoinette J. Peavey, Grace Espey Patton, Helen L. Grenfell (three terms), Katharine Craig, Katharine Cook, Helen M. Wixson (two terms), Mary C. C. Bradford from 1915 to the present time. During her second term she was elected president of the National Education Association. Mrs. Walling succeeded Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker as vice-president of the Civil Service Commission and served six years. In 1913 Mrs. Alice Adams Fulton became secretary and chief examiner of the commission. Mrs. Mary Wolfe Dargin was appointed register of the U. S. Land Office in 1915 and Miss Clara Ruth Mozzer to the office of Assistant Attorney General in 1917. There have been women clerks, auditors, recorders and treasurers in seventy-five cities and towns, including Denver, and several aldermen. Mrs. Lydia Tague was elected judge in Eagle county. A few years ago 600 women were serving on school boards.

Prior to the year 1900 nine women had sat in the House of Representatives—three in each Legislature after the passage of the equal suffrage law, and there have been nine or ten since then, a number of them re-elected. In 1913 Colorado's first woman Senator, Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, was elected. She was the second in the equal suffrage States, Mrs. Martha Hughes Cannno of Utah the first. In 1917 Mrs. Agnes Riddle was elected.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CONNECTICUT.<sup>1</sup>

In 1901 the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association had been in existence for thirty-two years, and, except for the first two years, Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, who had led the movement for its organization, had been its president. Closely associated with her during all these years was Miss Frances Ellen Burr, who was recording secretary from 1869 to 1910. Under her leadership and with the aid of her husband, John Hooker, an eminent lawyer, legislation had been secured giving mothers equal guardianship of their children and wives full control of their property and earnings. The only concession that had been made to the steady demand of the women for suffrage was the grant of the School franchise in 1893 and eligibility to the school boards. Interest in woman suffrage was at a low ebb when the new century opened. The membership of the association had decreased and at the State convention in Hartford in 1901 the treasurer's report for the year showed an expenditure of only \$21.75. The report of the president and secretary said: "The work of the association is confined to the annual fall convention and the legislative hearing."

A convention for the revision of the State constitution was to meet in Hartford at the opening of 1902, whose delegates from the towns and cities were chosen in the fall of 1901. Little was done to secure pledges from the candidates but the association obtained the concession of a room at the Capitol for its use. The National American Woman Suffrage Association sent an organizer—Mrs. Mary Seymour Howell of New York—into the State and paid her salary for four weeks and she spent seven weeks in Hartford, living with Mrs. Hooker and giving her time

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, journalist, author and lecturer, officially connected with the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association from 1910 as corresponding, recording and press secretary.

to the convention. Mrs. Hooker prepared a Memorial that was presented and referred to a committee, which refused not only to grant a hearing to the suffragists but even to receive for distribution in the convention the copies of the Memorial which had been printed. Charles Hopkins Clark, editor of the *Courant*, was chairman. Two suffrage resolutions were presented in the convention at the request of the State association, by Daniel Davenport of Bridgeport and Colonel Norris Osborn of New Haven, and were defeated without debate.

In 1902 the State convention was held at Collinsville, in spite of some unwillingness of local suffragists to "shock the town" by having such a meeting there. By this time Mrs. Hooker, though still president, had largely relinquished the work to Mrs. Elizabeth D. Bacon, the faithful vice-president. A general feeling of discouragement was perceptible in the reports to the convention of 1903, which was held at Mrs. Hooker's home in Hartford with only 21 delegates present; also to the convention of 1904 in New Haven. Nevertheless it was voted to ask the Legislature for Municipal suffrage for women.

During these years the annual expenditures never amounted to \$200. In 1905 at the convention in Hartford on November 1 the treasurer reported that \$137 had been spent. In 1906, when the convention was held at Meriden, November 2, the disbursements were reported as \$162. There were only nine delegates and Mrs. Hooker, who had not attended the meetings for two years, was made honorary president, and Mrs. Bacon was elected to the presidency. Mrs. Hooker died in January, 1907, at the age of 85, thus taking from the movement one of the most brilliant figures of the early period.

The convention of 1907 was held in Hartford October 29, and the following year it met in New Haven on October 1. A slightly increased membership was reported and some younger women had come into the movement, including Mrs. Jessie Adler of Hartford, who was responsible later for the candidacy of Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn. The expenditures for 1908 were \$265. In 1909 the convention was held at Meriden. It was reported that the National Association had sent a request to Connecticut for a petition to Congress with a quota of at least

30,000 signatures but that the number collected had fallen considerably short of 5,000. Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees, principal of a flourishing girls' school in Greenwich, attended as a delegate from a newly formed Equal Franchise League in that town and several young and enthusiastic suffragists, including Mrs. Hepburn, who had lately come into the State, were in attendance with the delegation from the Equal Rights Club of Hartford.

In October Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, whose "militant" movement in England was attracting world-wide attention, spoke in Hartford. At this meeting Mrs. Hepburn met Miss Emily Pier-son of Cromwell, a teacher in the Bristol High School. Both received an inspiration from Mrs. Pankhurst and they began a campaign in Hartford, organizing public meetings for which they obtained speakers of national reputation. To support this work the Hartford Political Equality League (afterwards the Equal Franchise League) was formed with a membership at first of four, all of whom were officers. It quickly attracted members and got into touch with the equally vigorous and enthusiastic young league in Greenwich.

In the fall of 1910 the State convention was held at Greenwich, with a large delegation from these leagues. These younger members had come to the decision that if any active work was to be done there must be a complete change in the management of the State Woman Suffrage Association, an idea that was warmly endorsed by some of the older leaders. A new "slate" of officers was presented headed by Mrs. Hepburn, who had consented to nomination on condition that the Greenwich and the Hartford leagues should each pledge \$1,000 for the work of the coming year. Miss Burr had resigned three months before the convention the secretaryship which she had held over forty years. The treasurer, Mrs. Mary Jane Rogers, who had been in office for sixteen years, was re-elected and continued to serve until 1913. Then on her refusal to accept another term she was elected auditor and held the office until her death in 1918. In 1912 ex-presidents were put on the executive board and Mrs. Bacon regularly attended the meetings and aided the newer workers with her experience and advice until her death in 1918. The income for 1910 had been \$400, the largest ever received.

The convention of 1911, held in Bridgeport, showed great advance in organization and general activity. Miss Pierson was elected State organizer and an automobile tour of one of the eight counties was undertaken in August under her spirited leadership. Thirty-one meetings were held and fourteen new leagues were formed and affiliated with the State association. The income was reported at the convention as having been \$3,966 and the enrolled membership had increased to over 5,000. At this convention Mrs. Hepburn declined re-election on account of family duties and Mrs. William T. Hincks, president of a new and active league at Bridgeport, was chosen. Mrs. Hepburn remained a useful member of the board.

In 1912 the annual convention was held at New Haven, where after much difficulty Miss Pierson had organized a flourishing Equal Franchise League with Mrs. Carlos F. Stoddard president. A Political Equality Club had existed here from before the opening of the century but its membership was small and it made no appeal to a large number of women who were ready to come out for suffrage. It seemed better, as in Hartford in 1909, to form a new organization with younger leaders.

The annual convention in 1913 was held in Hartford. Mrs. Hincks refused re-election and Mrs. Hepburn was again chosen, with Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett as treasurer. The work accomplished during the year, as reported at the convention, had included the collection of 18,000 names to a petition to the Legislature for full suffrage for women, while campaigns had covered the smaller cities and towns and resulted in the organization of all the State except one county.

The convention of 1914 again took place in Hartford and Mrs. Hepburn, with practically the whole board, was re-elected. The work of the year included a "ward campaign," in which a beginning was made of organizing on the lines of a political party, automobile campaigns completing the organization of the whole State; the first suffrage parade took place in Hartford on May 2. Political work had resulted in obtaining a woman suffrage plank in the Democratic State platform. The total income for the year was \$17,779.

In 1915 at the State convention in Hartford Mrs. Hepburn was

again re-elected. The reports included accounts of the activities of the sixty-nine clubs and leagues affiliated with the State association. In the Legislature not only had the suffrage measures been turned down but almost all of those favored by the women, owing to the bitter hostility of the Republican "machine," by which it had long been dominated. This convention declared in favor of concentrating on State work, the majority opinion being that it was as yet of no use to work for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The income for the year was reported as \$19,476; this being entirely apart from the money received and spent locally by the affiliated leagues. During the year a petition to submit a State amendment with over 43,000 names of men and women had been collected and presented to the Legislature.<sup>1</sup>

The convention of 1916 was held at New Haven and Mrs. Hepburn was re-elected. The reports showed that the year then ended had been the most active in the history of the association. In the winter of 1915-16 work had been undertaken in the counties whose Representatives had made the worst showing in the preceding Legislature. Miss Helen Todd, who had worked in California in 1911 when its victory was gained, was secured as the principal speaker for a campaign organized for her by Miss Catharine Flanagan of Hartford. Other organizers were Miss Alice Pierson of Cromwell, Miss Katherine Mullen of New Haven and Miss Daphne Selden of Deep River, Miss Emily Pierson remaining State organizer and directing the work. In the spring of 1916 Miss Alice Pierson married Ralph Swetman and during the summer both undertook a house to house campaign, with numerous open air meetings in the smaller towns of Hartford county. The income for the year was \$27,442, nearly all of which was expended. The membership of the State associa-

<sup>1</sup> In June, 1915, a branch of the Congressional Union (later the National Woman's Party), was organized with Mrs. William D. Ascough as chairman. At that time the Woman Suffrage Association was giving its attention almost exclusively to State work and the new organization began by sending deputations to each of the Congressmen and Senators to ask support for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Meetings and a press service to promote the amendment were carried on until ratification was completed. Connecticut members took part in every national demonstration of the Union and eleven suffered terms of imprisonment. Annual conventions were held each year and in 1918 Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn was elected chairman, Mrs. Ascough having removed from the State. The Union raised money for the ratification campaigns in New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, West Virginia, Delaware and Tennessee and sent workers to assist them and also to secure a special session in Vermont.

tion by careful count was 32,366 and the affiliated leagues and clubs numbered eighty-one. During the year a bulletin from headquarters was sent twice a month to each dues-paying member. In June a delegation went to Chicago and marched under the leadership of Mrs. Grace Gallatin Seton in the great parade of the National Suffrage Association that braved the rain and wind on its way to the Coliseum, where the cause of woman suffrage was presented to the Resolutions Committee of the Republican National Convention.

The State convention of 1917 was held in Hartford November 7, 8, and the reports showed that attention had been concentrated on the three measures before the Legislature—a bill for Presidential and Municipal suffrage; a bill for Excise suffrage (a vote in local option), and a resolution for a State constitutional amendment also but both bills were defeated in House and Senate. The amendment resolution, however, secured a majority in the House and as the constitution provides that the House alone shall consider an amendment on its first presentation, this victory insured that it should pass to the next Legislature for final action. Through the whole of 1917 much work also was done for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, deputations being sent to each of the U. S. Senators and Representatives from Connecticut.

The suffragists felt the urge of patriotism and Mrs. Hepburn in the name of the association offered its services to Governor Marcus A. Holcomb. The offer was graciously received though not definitely accepted but requests for clerical help came to suffrage headquarters. In response some 540 hours of work were given by volunteers. A Central War Work Committee, under the auspices of the association, was formed in April, immediately after the declaration of war, the chairmanship held first by Miss Ruutz-Rees, who had been a member of the executive board of the association from 1910. When she was made chairman of the Woman's Division of the State Council of Defense, the chairmanship was taken by Miss Katharine Ludington and other leading suffragists gave their services. The War Work Committee had chiefly to do with food conservation and \$5,350 were collected by it for this purpose.

In addition to the money contributed by suffragists for war



work, the income of the association for the year was \$29,933. At this convention Mrs. Hepburn, who had been strongly stirred by the jailing of the members of the National Woman's Party at Washington, announced her intention of working with that organization and Mrs. Bennett refused re-election for the same reason. Miss Ludington was elected president, with Miss Mabel C. Washburn as treasurer. Mrs. Seton, who had been vice-president since 1910, retained her position and Miss Ruutz-Rees remained. Miss Ludington had shown her qualifications for the State presidency, first as president of the Old Lyme Equal Franchise League, then as chairman of New London county and during 1917 by her organizing and executive ability as chairman of the War Work Committee. At the annual convention of 1918, held at New Haven, she was re-elected. The year had been a peculiarly difficult one on account of the absorption of many women in war work but the income was \$30,085, of which \$1,879 had been contributed for the oversea hospitals of the National Suffrage Association. The work of the year had been directed towards (1) the Federal Suffrage Amendment and the securing of a favorable Connecticut delegation to Congress; (2) influencing the two major parties in the State to include suffrage planks in their platforms; (3) securing the election of members of the Legislature who would be favorable to ratification.

At the jubilee convention of 1919, held at Bridgeport after the Federal Amendment had been submitted in June, a new constitution was adopted, which provided for the election of five political leaders in addition to the other officers and an organization of the State by counties and districts, looking towards the forming later of a League of Women Voters. During the year there had been a financial campaign, which was carried on under the direction of Mrs. Nancy Schoonmaker, resulting in gifts and pledges amounting to \$30,993, of which \$25,813 were paid at the time of the convention. The total income for the year was \$63,398. Miss Ludington was again elected and most of the other officers remained on the board. After thorough discussion it was resolved that the policy of the association for 1919-20 should be to oppose especially the small group of Republican politicians who had blocked and were persistently blocking the

progress of woman suffrage. This resolution pledged the association to a fight against the Republican "machine," which was made with intense determination.

RATIFICATION. The final struggle came in 1920 over ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Great efforts had been made to obtain a majority favorable to it in the Legislature that would meet in 1919 and had Congress submitted it in time to be voted on at the regular session it would doubtless have been ratified, as both parties knew it was inevitable. It was not passed by Congress, however, until June 4, and by this time the Legislature had adjourned, not to meet again for two years unless called in special session. All that the suffragists were able to do during the winter of 1919 was to press for a Presidential suffrage bill such as had been adopted by a number of States. In support of this a petition signed by over 98,000 women—increased afterwards to 102,000—was presented to the Legislature when the bill came up for consideration. Nevertheless, through the intense hostility of the Republican "machine," the bill was defeated by a single vote in the Senate after having received a large majority in the House.

When Congress finally sent the amendment to the Legislatures most of them had adjourned and would not meet again until 1921. If women were to vote in the general election of November, 1920, ratification would have to be by special sessions. The suffragists of Connecticut were determined that it should be one of the States to hold an extra session. Deputations from the State Association and the National Woman's Party waited upon Governor Holcomb in the summer of 1919 to ask that he call one in order to ratify the amendment. He refused on the ground of a constitutional limitation of the Governor's power. The State constitution provides that the Governor may convene the General Assembly "on special emergencies" and he held that no special emergency existed. The association then concentrated on the Republican State Central Committee and the other leaders whom they considered the chief opponents of suffrage. A petition signed by 478 prominent members of the Republican party was presented to the chairman of this committee on Feb. 11, 1920, by the Men's Ratification Committee—a committee friendly to

woman suffrage and anxious for the ending of the long struggle, which had been formed with Colonel Isaac M. Ullman chairman. No effect was produced by this petition nor by an interview with John Henry Roraback, the State chairman, by Miss Ludington, in which he was urged to put Connecticut among the 36 States necessary for ratification, in order that the women might be able to feel that suffrage had been granted them by their own State.

By March 35 Legislatures had ratified and only a group of three or four States held out any hope of the 36th and final ratification, of which Connecticut was one. Leading Republicans in and out of Congress tried to impress upon those in Connecticut that this was no longer a State but a national issue. At their State convention in March the Resolutions Committee gave a hearing to the suffragists and reported a resolution in favor of a special session, which was passed by the convention and presented to the Governor. It then returned to power the very men who would prevent it. The Governor remained obdurate. To the first petition he had replied that the desire of a few women did not create an emergency. Then he had argued that suffrage was not an issue when the Legislature was elected and therefore the legislators were not authorized by the voters to act upon it. A little later he gave it as his opinion that persistent appeals do not constitute an emergency. Finally on April 10, in reply to a letter from Colonel Ullman, he stated that he was ready to receive proof of the existence of an emergency. The Connecticut women decided to give him the proof and the National Suffrage Association offered its cooperation by sending women from all over the country to Connecticut to join in a great protest against the blocking of woman suffrage for the whole nation. May 3-7, 1920, was declared "emergency week" and a Suffrage Emergency Corps was organized of 46 eminent women from as many States. They assembled in New York the evening of Sunday, May 2, as dinner guests of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the national president, and received their "marching orders and field instructions" from her and Miss Ludington.

The Emergency Corps arrived in Hartford Monday morning and were guests at a luncheon given in their honor at the Golf Club, whose rooms were crowded with men and women to meet

these doctors, lawyers, professors, scientists, officials, business women, presidents of organizations—a remarkable gathering. There were roll call and speeches and then they separated into four groups and departed by motors for the four largest cities, where they spoke at mass meetings in the evening. A carefully planned tour was made of thirty-six towns with a total of forty-one meetings, at which they were introduced and assisted by prominent men. Mrs. Catt spoke to a large audience in Woolsey Hall, New Haven, with Mayor Fitzgerald presiding. The object of the campaign was to show the sentiment in the State for a special session of the Legislature and a resolution calling for it was enthusiastically adopted at each meeting.

The Governor appointed Friday morning at 11:30 for the interview and the visitors and the officers and staff of the State Suffrage Association were at the Capitol. Every possible point bearing on the case was brought out by the speakers and they pleaded with the Governor to settle this question of ratification by a stroke of his pen for the women of the whole nation. He said he would reserve his decision till he had carefully considered their arguments, and they went out to report to the mass meeting in progress on the grounds of the Capitol. The following Tuesday he made public his answer, which was that, while the arguments proved that there was a strong desire for a special session, they did not prove the existence of the "special emergency" mentioned in the constitution and he felt compelled to decline.

A petition asking for a special session was then sent to the Governor signed by a majority of both parties in both Houses of the Legislature, which had not the slightest effect. The State association held a meeting and resolved to try to defeat those Republican candidates who were opposed to ratification and especially the little group who composed the Republican "machine." Miss Ludington issued a manifesto giving in detail their action which had determined this policy and saying:

Our fight now is "November, 1920." One of the most important presidential elections in years is to be held then. Women are just as vitally affected by it and as deeply interested in it as men. Although 35 out of the necessary 36 States have ratified, no women can vote in this election under the Federal Amendment until the 36th State

has ratified. It is curious how slow the public—women as well as men—have been to realize this. They talk of our being “almost” voters. They do not seem to understand that although Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, etc., have ratified the amendment, the women of these States will not vote until the 36th State ratifies. Who is responsible for the delay which may keep over 10,000,000 women from the vote for President and about 20,000,000 from the vote for members of Congress, State officials, etc.? Both political parties but the Republican in greater degree. . . . It lies in the power of this party to speak the word that will fully enfranchise the women of this country and where there is power there is responsibility.

“But,” the Republicans say, “we have given you 29 States. Think of that! You ought to be grateful to us.” “Exactly,” we answer, “but you have withheld that one State which would make just the difference between our voting or not voting. And by the way you didn’t ‘give’ us those 29 States—we had to work pretty hard to get some of them!” An emancipator is not the man who takes the prisoner all the way to the door and lets him look out but the man who actually unlocks the door and lets him go free. Once in history the Republican party played the part of a genuine emancipator. Now it looks very much as if it was playing petty politics. . . . At the time of the last State Republican convention the *Hartford Courant* obligingly explained that the suffrage resolution it passed was a pretense and really meant nothing—a statement, it is only fair to say, repudiated by many honorable Republicans. Now it is Chairman Roraback, who, with happy unconsciousness that he is exhibiting his party in a “yellow” light, tells the public that the national Republican platform should not be taken seriously. . . . “The leaders of the party,” he says, “put in the suffrage plank to please women in the voting States but they meant nothing by it.” Are the men who are to lead a great party as double-faced and untrustworthy as Mr. Roraback paints them? Were they laughing in their sleeves as they wrote the solemn pledges in the rest of the national platform? We wonder if Connecticut Republicans will let Mr. Roraback smirch the party honor unchallenged.

The course for the State Suffrage Association is clear. We must play our part in this sector of the national suffrage struggle and we must let our opponents see that they can not keep American citizens out of their fundamental rights with impunity.

A committee of Republican women circulated a pledge to give no money or work for the Republican party as long as women had no votes. Three influential Republican women travelled to Columbus, O., to put before the Republican National Executive Committee the opinions of Republican women who were questioning the sincerity of the party in regard to woman suffrage. In August thirty Connecticut women, headed by Miss Luding-

ton, went to New York by appointment to call upon Will Hays, chairman of the National Republican Committee, and ask him what the party was doing to secure ratification in Connecticut. He received them in the national headquarters and Miss Huntington, who spoke for the deputation, reminded him that his party was taking the credit for the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment thus far but not bringing any effective pressure on the Republican Governors of Connecticut and Vermont, each of whom could insure its full success, and said: "What the women want is the vote in November. What the parties apparently want is a good record as a talking point on the coming campaign. What to the women is the supremely important thing is that 36th State. What to the parties seems to be most important is to exact their full due of gratitude from women who have not as yet received the gift that was promised. . . . In our own State, where the Republican party is responsible, the women are actually being called upon to aid its campaign while it is repudiating the policy and promises of the national party in regard to ratification."

The speaker then quoted the resolution adopted by the National Republican Committee Dec. 10, 1919, calling for special sessions before February to complete ratification, accompanied by the public statement: "The party managers will cooperate with the women in a determined effort to bring about the calling of special sessions." She quoted the resolution passed by this committee June 1, 1920: "Such Republican States as have not already done so are urged to take such action by their Governors and legislators as will assure the ratification at the earliest possible time." She then gave a part of the plank in the national Republican platform adopted two months ago: "We earnestly hope that Republican Legislatures which have not yet acted will ratify the 19th Amendment to the end that all women may participate in the election of 1920," and said: "We have had no proof as yet that the party means to make good on these declared intentions—in fact many things seem to point the other way; first, the Republican failure to ratify in Delaware; second, the weak plank in the Republican national platform, which was emascuated at the request of the Connecticut delegates until it was

an affront to the intelligence of women and a mockery of the Connecticut and Vermont Legislatures; third, the present situation in Connecticut.

"From the time when suffrage became an issue," Miss Ludington continued, "it has had the opposition of the leaders of the Republican party in this State. Since the amendment passed Congress they have resisted every expression of public opinion, every plea for ratification on grounds of justice and fair play. For a year the suffragists have tried sincerely and patiently to work in and with the Republican party to overcome this opposition, and have been cooperating with a Republican Men's Ratification Committee formed for this purpose, but we are apparently no nearer a special session than we were a year ago." She then concluded:

During all this time we have had no evidence that the National Republican Committee was really working in the State. We have found it very difficult to reach you personally and our appeals for specific help have been ignored. Mr. Roraback and Major John Buckley, secretary to the Governor, have stated that he has never been asked by you to call a session. They evidently feel, and wish the public to understand, that the National Republican Committee has given them a free hand to pursue their obstructionist course. And to confirm this comes President-elect Harding's refusal to attempt to persuade Governor Holcomb.

In the meantime, we women are being told that the Republican party can not be held responsible, because the Governor stands alone in his opposition! We submit that so long as the official leaders of the party in the State are in entire harmony with him in opposing us and the national party keeps hands off, they are accomplices in his opposition and must be held responsible accordingly. And we further submit that if a national party is to come before the voters on the basis of its policies and promises, then it must be held responsible for making those promises good through its State branches. . . . If the Connecticut Republican leaders can play a free hand without interference from the national party, then that party faces the alternative of either admitting powerlessness and disintegration or of being an accomplice in the State's attitude of repudiation.

Connecticut women will remain voteless unless their State or Vermont or a southern State ratifies. The Republican party can help us in two ways—either by giving a solid Republican vote in Tennessee or by putting forth a really vigorous effort in a New England State.

The situation in Connecticut remained unchanged but about two weeks after this interview the Tennessee Legislature ratified

by means of both Republican and Democratic votes. This made the 36th State and Secretary Colby proclaimed the Federal Suffrage Amendment a part of the National Constitution. The Democrats were claiming the credit and the general election was only two months away. The Republicans, especially those in Connecticut, keenly felt the situation. Governor Holcomb was obliged to call a special session to enact legislation for registering the women. The Legislature was called to meet September 14 and the Governor warned it that it must restrict itself to the business outlined in the call. No such restriction had ever before been laid upon a Connecticut Legislature and the Governor himself two years before had urged that he was powerless to prevent it from enacting any bills that it pleased when once it had been called in special session. The members of House and Senate were almost unanimous in resenting this attempt to fetter their action and plans were laid to ratify the Federal Amendment.

Before September 14, however, developments in regard to the Tennessee ratification seemed to threaten its validity and Governor Holcomb and the Republican leaders perceived that there was an emergency which called for ratification by Connecticut to prevent difficulty in the coming elections. This was especially apparent to U. S. Senator Frank B. Brandegee, who had been an uncompromising opponent of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and voted against it every time it came before the Senate. He sent an urgent letter to Colonel Ullman, chairman of the Men's Ratification League, in which he said: "In view of the fact that the validity of the ratification of the amendment by the State of Tennessee has been questioned and that the result of the entire election throughout the country may be imperilled thereby, and in consideration of the fact that the amendment is certain to be ratified by more than the required number of States as soon as their Legislatures assemble in 1921, I earnestly hope that the Legislature of Connecticut will ratify it."<sup>1</sup>

As soon as the special session opened Governor Holcomb went before it and asked it to adjourn without action, as he intended

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this letter the State Suffrage Association used its whole strength against Senator Brandegee's election on November 2. It was estimated that 90 per cent. of the women voted. Although the big Republican landslide elected him he received 12,446 fewer votes than the Republican candidate for President.



to issue another call for it to meet a week hence to ratify the amendment as well as to enact the necessary legislation. Both House and Senate refused to accede to his request but by unanimous vote in the Senate and by a vote of 216 to 11 in the House, the Federal Suffrage Amendment was ratified, although the Governor had not submitted the certified copy to them.<sup>1</sup> After passing a number of other bills, all of which were outside of the limits set by the Governor, the Legislature adjourned to September 21, when the second session had been called.

When the Legislature met on September 21 the Governor appeared before the two Houses and asked them to ratify the amendment which he now laid before them. Many of the members were unwilling to do this, as it seemed a confession that their former action was invalid. Wiser counsels prevailed, especially as Miss Ludington and the State Board strongly urged them not to allow their scruples to stand in the way when there might be a possible doubt as to whether the first ratification was legal. The amendment was again ratified, by the Senate unanimously, the House 194 to 9. Later in the day a motion was made to reconsider and confirm the action of the first session. This was done to satisfy the members who were determined that the first record should stand as authentic. Thus after a struggle lasting over fifteen months, the Legislature at its first opportunity ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment, once, twice and thrice, and if there was any doubt about Tennessee there was none whatever about Connecticut.

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The long fight for ratification and the contest against Senator Brandegee made it impossible to organize a League of Women Voters in 1920. On November 8 and 9, after the election was over, the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association held its last convention in Hartford. It voted to keep the organization in existence for a couple of months until a league could be formed and then, without further ceremony, to dissolve. Preliminary organization work was continued and on Jan. 18, 1921, at a

<sup>1</sup>A certified copy of this vote was immediately dispatched to Washington by Miss Flanagan, one of the National Woman's Party workers, and Secretary of State Colby accepted it as valid. It is therefore on record in Washington that Connecticut ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment on September 14, 1920.

convention in New Haven the League of Women Voters came into existence with Miss Mabel C. Washburn chairman.<sup>1</sup>

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. The Connecticut Legislature has only a melancholy record of defeats, having given the women nothing except a vote for school trustees and on some school questions in 1893.

1901. A bill for Municipal suffrage was adversely reported from committee and defeated.

1903. The same bill was defeated in the House on roll call by 105 noes, 40 ayes; in the Senate without roll call.

1905. The same measure had a favorable report from the Joint Woman Suffrage Committee but it was not accepted by House or Senate.

1907. In addition to the Municipal suffrage bill the association presented one for Presidential suffrage. The Senate rejected both without a roll call; House vote on Municipal suffrage, noes, 86; ayes, 56; on Presidential, noes 93; ayes, 55.

1909. For the usual bill the Legislature substituted one giving women a vote on levying a tax for maintaining a public library, which passed the Senate without roll call and the House by 82 ayes, 50 noes. It never was put into operation.

1911. The two usual bills received unanimous favorable reports from committees. The Municipal passed the Senate but was defeated in the House, both without roll call. A resolution to submit an amendment was defeated in the House, not voted on in the Senate.

1913. State constitutional amendment defeated in the Senate by 20 noes, 9 ayes, and in the House without roll call.

1915. The above action was repeated except that both Houses defeated without a roll call.

<sup>1</sup> The officers of the State Association from 1901 to 1920, besides the presidents, not already mentioned, were as follows: Vice-presidents, Mrs. Annie C. S. Fenner, 1906-1910; corresponding and recording secretaries, Mrs. Ella B. Kendrick, Mrs. Marcia West, Mrs. Jessie Adler, Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, Miss Mabel C. Washburn, Mrs. Frederick C. Spencer, Mrs. Hiram P. Maxim, Mrs. William H. Deming, Mrs. Samuel T. Davis, Jr., Mrs. S. H. Benton, Mrs. William C. Cheney.

Among those who served in other official capacities were Mesdames E. J. Warren, Cynthia B. Fuller, Henrietta J. Pinches, A. Barton Hepburn, Julius Maltby, H. H. DeLoss, Carlos F. Stoddard, Henry Townshend, Jonathan A. Rawson, T. S. McDermott, Ruth McIntire Dadourian; Misses Emily Whitney, Mary A. Goodman, Mary Bulkley, Frances Osborn.

The names of the many women who gave devoted service to this cause during this score of years can never be recorded.

1917. Three measures were introduced—a bill for Presidential and Municipal suffrage, a bill giving women a vote in local option elections and the amendment resolution. The two bills were fought with great determination. The first was defeated in the Senate by 19 noes, 13 ayes; in the House by 149 noes, 85 ayes. The Excise bill was tabled in the Senate, rejected in the House by 139 noes, 69 ayes. The resolution passed the House by 138 ayes, 96 noes and was referred to the next Legislature for final action, as required by law.

1919. The State constitutional amendment came automatically before the Legislature but a legal opinion given by former Governor Baldwin held that it would sweep away the literacy test for voters and the suffrage leaders, who doubted the wisdom of going to the work and expense of a referendum campaign when the Federal Amendment was so near, were glad to have so good a reason for not pressing the matter. The Presidential suffrage bill secured a majority favorable report from the Joint Woman Suffrage Committee and it passed in the House by a majority of 27. In the Senate the Republican "machine" was determined to defeat it. In the first vote there was a majority of two against it but on reconsideration there was only one. The "machine" only defeated it by winning a few Democratic votes. The fight over this measure had been made with skill and courage by the women against the most determined opposition on the part of the Republican "machine," which since 1900 had completely controlled both Houses.

The chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, John Henry Roraback, and Major John Buckley, secretary to the Governor, were accounted by the women their most bitter enemies and Speaker of the House James F. Walsh used his large powers to defeat the suffrage bills. Of the fifteen important House committees anti-suffragists held eleven of the chairmanships. The chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, Admiral William S. Cowles, was an "anti" but in spite of his influence the committee report was favorable. This was due to the progress of public sentiment, accelerated by the work of women during the war and to the organization for suffrage which had been going forward. Of the more progressive group

of Republicans in the Legislature who fought for suffrage may be mentioned Lieutenant Governor Clifford Wilson, Senators John B. Dillon, Charles E. Williamson, William H. Heald, Arthur E. Bowers and Representative Harry R. Sherwood. Senator Charles C. Hemenway, Democratic leader and editor of the *Hartford Times*, was one of its most valuable supporters.

The liquor forces always employed lobbyists against the suffrage bills and fought the movement secretly and openly. There were a number of prominent women opposed but they were not organized until aroused by the activity that followed the election of Mrs. Hepburn as president in 1910. The State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was then formed with Mrs. Daniel Markham as president and she held the office until the proclamation of the Federal Suffrage Amendment put an end to her organization. It held occasional meetings with speakers from outside the State. The members attended legislative hearings and at the large one on the Municipal and Excise bills in 1917 they occupied the right of the chamber with row on row of the liquor men back of them wearing the red rose which was their emblem.

As the Democrats constituted a minority party it was always easier to secure from them expressions favorable to woman suffrage and in 1916 and 1918 such planks were placed in their platform. In 1918 they declared for the Federal Suffrage Amendment and a majority of those elected pledged themselves to vote for ratification, if it came before the Legislature, and did vote for the Presidential suffrage bill. The women went to the Republicans conventions each year to ask for a suffrage plank but were steadily unsuccessful. In 1916 the State platform reaffirmed the national one, which declared in favor of woman suffrage. In 1918 the Republican platform included a plank approving the principle of woman suffrage but leaving it to the States for action and not to a Federal Amendment.

## CHAPTER VII.

### DELAWARE.<sup>1</sup>

During the past twenty years the advocates of woman suffrage have continued to suffer from the handicap peculiar to Delaware—no referendum to the voters possible on constitutional amendments—and therefore it never has had the advantage of a State-wide educational campaign. An amendment must be passed by two-thirds of each branch of the Legislature at two successive sessions and it then becomes a part of the constitution. However, the State Equal Suffrage Association has held conventions every year. Many distinguished advocates from outside the State, including Miss Susan B. Anthony, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip and Mrs. Borden Harriman, have been among the speakers. Prominent endorsers of woman suffrage have been the State Grange, Grand Army of the Republic, Ministerial Union, Central Labor Union and Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The last is the only leading woman's organization to give official sanction.

The annual State convention was held Nov. 6, 1901, at Newport, with three clubs—Wilmington, Newport and New Castle—under the presidency of Mrs. Martha S. Cranston. Dr. Shaw, vice-president-at-large of the National Association, was the speaker and the presence of reporters was an encouraging feature.

The convention of 1902 took place November 8 in Wilmington. Miss Jane Campbell, president of the large Philadelphia county society, and Henry W. Wilbur of the Friends' society, New York, were the speakers from outside the State. During this year the W. C. T. U. and the Wilmington District Epworth

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Mary R. de Vou, corresponding secretary of the Delaware Equal Suffrage Association fourteen years; also treasurer and auditor.

League passed suffrage resolutions. The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony was placed in travelling libraries. Women were urged to pay their taxes "under protest." The Newport Club petitioned that the word "male" be omitted from the new town charter but without success. Governor John Hunn in his Message to the Legislature said: "The time is coming when the participation of women in all our civil affairs will be voluntarily sought as an infusion of indispensable new elements into our citizenship."

The convention of 1903 was held November 28 at Newport, with Miss Harriet May Mills of New York as the chief speaker. The master of the State Grange declared his belief this year in the equality of the sexes and urged that some provisions be made for the higher education of Delaware women. The convention of 1904 was held November 22 in Wilmington with an address by Dr. Shaw and \$25 were pledged to the National Association. In 1905 the convention was held November 4 in New Castle, with Dr. Shaw the speaker. A pledge of \$25 was again made to the National Association and Delaware's quota to the Oregon campaign was subscribed. The State convention took place at Newport on Nov. 6, 1906. This year the G. A. R. endorsed both State and national suffrage.

The convention held Oct. 2, 1907, in Wilmington, arranged to send the State president to the congressional suffrage hearing at Washington. The outside speaker was Mrs. Susan S. Fessenden of Massachusetts. A chairman of church work was appointed. Reports showed that much suffrage sentiment was now manifested in the State.

The convention of Nov. 12, 1908, at Newport, was addressed by Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery and Miss Lucy E. Anthony, the latter describing the great suffrage parade in London in which she had taken part. A memorial to David Ferris, a prominent friend of woman suffrage, was read by Miss Emma Worrell. The Higher Education of the Young Women of Delaware was discussed by Professor H. H. Hayward, dean of Agriculture in Delaware College.

The convention of Nov. 29, 1909, in Wilmington, was addressed by Miss Campbell and Miss Mary Winsor of Haverford,

Penn. Memorials to Henry B. Blackwell and William Lloyd Garrison were read by Mrs. Gertrude W. Nields. The national petition work for a Federal Amendment was undertaken in Wilmington with Miss Mary R. de Vou and Mrs. Don P. Jones in charge; in the rest of the State by Mrs. Cranston. Legislators and the State at large were deluged with literature. Miss Perle Penfield, a national organizer, was sent for one week by courtesy of Mrs. Avery, president of the Pennsylvania association. A hearing was arranged by Professor Hayward before a Senate committee in the interest of the higher education of women in Delaware, without result.<sup>1</sup> A telegram and a letter were sent by the State president and corresponding secretary to President Theodore Roosevelt, asking him to remember woman suffrage in his message to Congress.

The annual convention held Nov. 10, 1910, in Wilmington, was addressed by Miss Lida Stokes Adams of Philadelphia and Frank Stephens of the Arden Colony near by. A fine tribute to Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, who had recently passed away, was given by Miss Worrell. The Newport and other clubs sent \$30 for the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund and a contribution was made to the South Dakota campaign.

In March the society of Wilmington, the largest branch, began holding monthly meetings. In response to a letter from the National Association, Miss Mary H. Askew Mather, Miss de Vou and Miss Emma Lore were appointed to investigate the laws of Delaware affecting the status of women in regard to their property rights and the guardianship of their children. A committee was appointed to support the candidacy of Dr. Josephine M. R. White deLacour for membership on the school board of Wilmington, where women had school suffrage. This year woman suffrage in Delaware lost another friend by the death of former Chief Justice Charles B. Lore, who framed the petition to the State constitutional convention in 1897 and who stood unflinchingly for the equality of men and women before the law. The State convention met Nov. 9, 1911, at Newport.

At the State convention held Nov. 20, 1912, in Wilmington,

<sup>1</sup> The Women's College affiliated with Delaware College at Newark, the State College for men, was opened in September, 1914.

addresses were made by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, State president of Ohio, and Miss Harriet May Mills, State president of New York; and on the subject Why Delaware Needs a College for Women by Mrs. Emalea P. Warner and Dr. Hayward. It was decided to have a bill presented to the Legislature of 1913 for striking the word "male" from the constitution of the State. A branch club had been formed at the Arden Single Tax Colony. The State association had held 22 meetings.

On Jan. 4, 1913, a delegation from the Wilmington club was granted a hearing before the Charter Commission and asked for a clause in the proposed new city charter giving Municipal suffrage to women. Nine of the ten commissioners were present and arguments were presented by Miss Worrell, Mrs. Margaret H. Kent, Mrs. Cranston, Arthur R. Spaid, county superintendent of schools; George B. Miller, president of the board of education; Miss Grace B. Tounsend and Miss de Vou. This was refused and the charter was defeated by an overwhelming majority with no suffrage clause to handicap it. In February the club held a large public meeting at the New Century Club with the Rev. Dr. George Edward Reed, former president of Dickinson College, as the speaker. The club organized a municipal section to study the work of the city boards and to offer assistance in forwarding civic improvement, which was addressed by the Mayor and heads of departments. The State association was represented in the great suffrage parade in New York City on May 4 by Mrs. J. R. Milligan and Miss Tounsend.

At the State convention in Wilmington Nov. 6, 1913, fraternal delegates were present from the W. C. T. U., Consumers' League and Juvenile Court Association. Addresses were made by Irving Warner, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, corresponding secretary of the National Association, and Miss Mabel Vernon, of the Congressional Union. The music was generously furnished as usual by the treasurer, Miss Lore. There were now 174 dues-paying members and 560 registered sympathizers; 12 executive sessions had been held and 35 meetings, 18 outdoors, and 10,000 fliers and leaflets distributed. On February 18-20, the association was sponsor for "General" Rosalie Jones and her Pilgrim Band en route from New York to Washington, D. C. Mayor Howell of



Wilmington welcomed them in the City Hall and they were guests at the Garrick Theater, where they spoke between acts to an overcrowded house. The State association was well represented in the famous parade in Washington, D. C., on March 3, and again on April 7 when 531 women from various States marched to the Capitol bearing special messages to members of Congress, urging their support of the Federal Amendment. A tent was established at the State Fair in September, realizing a long cherished desire of the president, with Miss Ella W. Johnson in charge. The two organizations joined forces and opened headquarters in Wilmington, from which petitions to Congress were circulated and much literature sent out.

The annual convention was held Oct. 30, 1914, at Dover, the State capital but with no suffrage club. Secretary of State James H. Hughes welcomed the convention for vice-Mayor McGee, who refused to do so. The speakers were Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley of New York, Samuel H. Derby of Kent county and Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware chairman of the Congressional Union. In Wilmington a meeting was held February 15 in honor of Miss Anthony's birthday, with Miss Anna Maxwell Jones of New York as the speaker. In April on Arbor Day a "suffrage oak" was planted, Mayor Howell presiding. In May a successful parade, the first, was given in Wilmington with Mrs. Hilles in command. In September both political State conventions were asked to endorse woman suffrage but refused. Two rooms were furnished by and named in honor of the State association, one at the Industrial School for Girls in Claymont and one at the College for Women in Newark. It again had a tent at the State Fair; prizes were given in the schools for the best essays on woman suffrage; Lucy Stone's birthday was honored in August 13; members were enrolled by the hundreds and fifteen executive meetings were held. The City Council's invitation was accepted to march in the Old Home Week parade.

The convention for 1915 took place on November 11, in Wilmington, with speakers, Dr. Shaw, Miss Worrell on Elizabeth Cady Stanton's 100th Birthday; Miss Ethel Smith of Washington, D. C., on National Work. Mrs. Cranston, "the Susan B. Anthony of Delaware," the association's first and only president

since January, 1896, retired and was made honorary president. Mrs. Mary Clare Brassington was elected her successor. This year connection was severed with the Congressional Union, which unexpectedly announced its purpose of forming another State society, while the old association continued its affiliation with the National American. Three mass meetings were held with Miss Janet Richards, Mrs. Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale and Mrs. Bayard Hilles the speakers. The association was represented in May in the parade of the Woman Suffrage Party in Philadelphia, under the auspices of the National Association.

The annual convention met Nov. 10, 1916, in Wilmington, with Chas. A. Wagner, State Commissioner of Education; Chas. W. Bush and Dr. Shaw as speakers. Mrs. Brassington had been appointed to take part in the suffrage demonstrations at the Republican and Democratic national conventions in Chicago and St. Louis. The State Central Committees were again petitioned in vain for an endorsement of woman suffrage.

At the State convention held in Newport, Nov. 22, 1917, a \$500 pledge was made to the National Association. A telegram of congratulation had been sent to Governor John G. Townsend, Jr., upon the declaration for woman suffrage in his inaugural address. Miss Lola Trax, a national organizer, was in the State five weeks, forming centers, and many meetings were held. Federal Amendment Day was observed by tableaux on the Court House steps in Wilmington, with Mrs. Florence Updegraff, national organizer, and Miss Ospina, local congressional chairman, in charge, Mrs. Brassington presiding, to whom a farewell luncheon was given, as she was removing from the State. She was succeeded by Miss Agnes Y. Downey, first vice-president.

The annual convention in Wilmington Nov. 29, 1918, was addressed by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president and Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, recording secretary of the National Association. Mrs. Albert Robin was elected president. In May a congressional petition campaign was launched at a large subscription luncheon given in Hotel DuPont, Wilmington, with Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Frank Vanderlip, Mrs. Maud Wood Park and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman guests of honor and speakers. Mrs. J. Frank Ball, State vice-president, presided. Miss Mabel Wil-

lard, acting for the National Association, conducted the petition "drive" and secured 175 volunteer workers, who enrolled 11,118 names to influence the votes of Delaware's U. S. Senators on the Federal Amendment. Mrs. Robin being absent from the State, Mrs. Ball became acting president. A conference with U. S. Senator Josiah O. Wolcott was held at her home in June, a large number of prominent persons being present, at which the Senator declared himself open to conviction. Mrs. Halsey Wilson gave a week in September to work in the State. An active educational campaign was carried on until the November elections and suffrage literature was distributed at the polls.

The State convention took place in November, 1919, at Dover, with Mrs. Raymond Brown, national vice-president, as the principal speaker. A memorial address for Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was presented by Mrs. Cranston. At the reception given in the State House by Governor Townsend and Secretary of State Everett C. Johnson the Governor said in his welcome: "I feel more than ever since the war that women should have the ballot. I will be glad at any time to use my influence toward giving those of Delaware the right of suffrage." A luncheon followed at the Hotel Richardson, attended by the Governor, Secretary of State and other officials. All of the legislators were invited. The guests were welcomed by Mrs. Roswell P. Hammond, president of the Dover society, and James H. Hughes. Mrs. Robin, who presided, spoke of ratification as the one goal of their efforts and Secretary Johnson endorsed it. The Opera House was crowded in the evening to hear the address of Mrs. Brown.

Reports showed that in January the National Association sent an organizer, Mrs. Maria McMahan, and with the financial assistance of the Wilmington society she opened headquarters in Dover, organized a number of towns and won many friends for the cause. Later Mrs. Halsey Wilson gave another week to the State. About 600 telegrams were sent in February to the Delaware Senators urging them to vote for the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment but Senator Wolcott and Senator Willard Saulsbury both voted "no" on February 10, when it went to defeat. In May Mrs. Robin circularized the Delaware representatives in Congress and on the 21st, when the amend-

ment was passed by the Lower House, Caleb R. Layton, Delaware's one member, voted "aye." In the Senate, the newly elected Senator, L. Heisler Ball, was paired in favor, Senator Wolcott again voting "no." At a meeting of the State Board a resolution was passed rejoicing over the success and calling for a special session of the Legislature to ratify the amendment. A Ratification Committee was appointed with Mrs. Robin chairman for Wilmington and the State; Mrs. Cranston for rural New Castle county; Mrs. Henry Ridgely for Kent county; Mrs. Robert G. Houston for Sussex county; Miss Leah Burton, legislative chairman; Miss deVou, press chairman and Mrs. Brassington chairman of literature. Mrs. Ridgely of Dover was elected president and activities for the campaign were soon centralized.

RATIFICATION.<sup>1</sup> When it became evident that the Federal Suffrage Amendment would be submitted by the next Congress, the presidents of State associations began to plan for ratification and many asked help from the National American Association. In response to a request from the president of Delaware Mrs. McMahon was sent, arriving the last of June, 1919, and beginning an active campaign of organization. T. Coleman du Pont placed a motor at the disposal of the suffragists and in a few weeks Newcastle county had been covered with the assistance of Miss Downey and Mrs. J. W. Pennewell. Working out from Rehoboth with the assistance of Mrs. Robin, Mrs. Ridgely, Mrs. Houston, Mrs. John Eskridge and others, Sussex county was organized and later Kent with the help of Mrs. James H. Hughes, Mrs. Roswell Hammond, Mrs. Emma Burnett, Miss Winifred Morris and others. The interviewing of influential men was carried on with the organizing through the autumn.

Headquarters were opened in Dover in January, 1920, and effort from that time was for a special session. Resolutions endorsing ratification were secured from State and local Granges, from the State Federation of Women's Clubs, State Methodist convention, State Federation of Labor, State committees of Republican and Democratic parties, and the Wilmington City Republican Committee, the largest in the State. No

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted to Miss Winifred Morris, secretary of the State Equal Suffrage Association, for much of the material in this story of the effort for ratification.

opposition was expressed by any organization. Each of the fifty-two legislators was interviewed either by Miss Leah Burton, Mrs. Ridgely or members of the Legislative Committee, Mrs. Harmon Reynolds, Mrs. Cummins Speakman, Mrs. Hughes or Miss Morris, and by Mrs. McMahan. Assurances were given by the majority in both parties that their votes would be cast in favor of ratification. Governor Townsend and Secretary Johnson were constantly helpful. The Republican National Committee, through its chairman, Will Hays, and the Congressional Committee, through its chairman, Simeon D. Fess, rendered every possible assistance and the latter sent a representative to work in Dover. On January 15 a delegation headed by Mrs. George Bass, chairman of the Woman's Division of the National Democratic Committee, appealed to this committee to take some action toward ratification and it gave its endorsement. Mr. Isaacs, chairman of the State Democratic Committee, asked the women to appear before it and on January 22, after an address by Mrs. Ridgely and full discussion, it endorsed ratification. The Republican State Committee endorsed it after Governor Townsend had called the special session for March 22. Only one Legislature was now needed to give the 36th and final ratification.

All looked so favorable that the women were little prepared for the weeks of intrigue and double dealing into which they were thrust immediately upon the convening of the Legislature. Personal and factional fights entered into the question, while the School Code played a prominent part and complicated the situation. It was briefly this. A very large sum had been offered to the State by Pierre du Pont for the much needed extension of Delaware's public school facilities contingent upon the raising of a like sum by the State. The gift was accepted by the Legislature and the people must raise the State's share of the fund. This meant taxes and taxes meant opposition. Those who wanted the School Code repealed or modified were inclined to try to make terms on the suffrage measure. The men of Sussex, the most southern county, were particularly hostile and at a meeting in Georgetown hundreds of them protested not only against the School Code but also against prohibition and woman

suffrage. It was the representatives of these men who eventually blocked ratification in the House and it was their two leaders, Daniel Layton, chairman of the State Central Committee, and former Governor Simeon S. Pennewell, whose influence caused much of the opposition. Governor Townsend, who aimed to raise Delaware from thirty-second place in educational ranks by the new code had aroused the personal antagonism of some of the leaders, but when it became apparent that Delaware was vitally needed to complete ratification he laid aside his fears that the code would be repealed and called a special session.

Suffrage mass meetings were held in all parts of the State and the week before the Legislature met Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, addressed large audiences in Wilmington and Dover. The Ratification Committee appealed for more help and Miss Marjorie Shuler, national director of field publicity, was sent and later Miss Betsy Edwards for political work. When the special session opened not one of the three daily papers was supporting ratification, public meetings were being held by the "antis," their publicity was being sent broadcast to the metropolitan press of the country and the impression was created that the whole State was opposed to ratifying. To counteract this situation required weeks of hard work by the suffragists. Outside correspondents were secured who would send out the true story of the political intrigue underlying the failure to ratify. The *Wilmington Morning News*, under the ownership of Alfred I. du Pont, came out for ratification and made a strong fight for it to the end.

In his message to the two Houses in joint session the Governor said: "Woman suffrage has been a subject of public discussion for over half a century. It is not an agitation of the moment, it is a world wide question of right and wrong. Your supreme duty is to think and act for the good of your State and nation." Separate resolutions were introduced in Senate and House, the former by a Republican, John M. Walker of Hockessin, the latter by Walter E. Hart, Democrat, of Townsend, the only one of eleven Democrats in the House who favored it.

On March 25 there was a hearing before the General Assembly. The opponents had rushed into town every farmer and small politician they could secure and the women "antis" pinned

a red rose in his buttonhole. The suffragists had given a yellow jonquil to every friend. Behind the Speaker's desk hung a huge yellow banner inscribed "Votes for Women," and so crowded was the room with determined men and eager women that the sergeant-at-arms had to clear a space for the Senate. The suffragists had two hours in the morning and the "antis" the same amount of time in the afternoon, with thirty minutes each for rebuttal. Mrs. Catt, at the earnest request of the State association, spoke at this hearing, and its president, Mrs. Ridgely; also Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, president of the Delaware branch of the National Woman's Party. (Congressional Union), United States Senators McKellar of Tennessee and Stirling of South Dakota came from Washington to urge ratification. People crowded into Dover from over the State and hot arguments took place in hotel lobbies and on the streets. The State anti-suffrage association was represented by Miss Charlotte Rowe of Yonkers, N. Y., employed by their national organization. Mrs. Catt closed the argument and her speech was considered by the hundreds who heard it, according to the staff correspondent of the *Wilmington Evening Journal*, "one of the clearest, strongest and most reasonable arguments for votes for women ever heard in Delaware."

From this time until the vote was taken telegrams from outside the State urging ratification were poured into the Legislature. They came from the President of the United States; from Attorney General Palmer and Secretaries Daniels, Houston and Meredith of his Cabinet; from Republican Governors, State chairmen and party leaders throughout the country, urging Daniel Layton to see that enough votes be given by the Republican legislators to assure a majority in both Houses. In the Senate all but five of the seventeen members were Republicans; in the House, all but twelve of thirty-five. If they had adhered to the expressed policy of their party the amendment could have been ratified the first day of the session. On March 30 word was received that the Mississippi Senate had ratified the Federal Amendment. This was followed by a telegram from Mississippi to the anti-ratificationists in Delaware that this Senate vote was only "a flash in the pan" and would be reconsidered. A

meeting of the Republican opponents telegraphed to the Speaker of the House in Mississippi: "Stand firm against ratification. Delaware Legislature still firm for State's rights and will not ratify." A hasty call was made for a meeting of all the Republican members of the Senate and House favorable to ratification. This was addressed by the Governor, by United States Senator Ball, and by Congressman Layton, father of "Dan" Layton, who had always heretofore favored woman suffrage. By this time, however, the whole question had narrowed to his personal fight against Governor Townsend and at this conference he publicly announced that he would oppose ratification.

The Governor did everything possible to make it easy for the leaders of the southern part of the State to bring over its representatives to the amendment. In a noble speech he offered to withdraw his candidacy for delegate to the National Democratic convention if the Sussex county members would vote for it. John E. McNabb, the Democratic floor leader, boldly repudiated the telegrams from President Wilson, his Cabinet, Homer Cummings, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and other party leaders. He said that not twenty-five persons in his district favored ratification and in two days a petition from five hundred was handed to him by Mrs. F. E. Bach and Mrs. Pennewell of Wilmington. Alexander P. Corbitt, Speaker of the House, was indirectly connected with the Pennsylvania railroad and to him was due a large share of the responsibility of its defeat. Prominent among the lobbyists were Henry B. Thompson of Wilmington, husband of the president of the Anti-Suffrage Association; Major Edmund Mitchell, former Republican State chairman; George Gray, former Federal Judge; George A. Elliott, Mifflin Wilson, George W. Sparks and Henry P. Scott of Wilmington, chairman of the State Republican Ways and Means Committee. His argument, widely circulated, was as follows: "If the Legislature will refuse to ratify the proposed amendment and thus prevent the hysterical rout of the politicians of the country to make shreds and patches of our sacred Constitution, the State of Delaware will receive in the near future the greatest possible glory."

Governor Townsend went to New York and laid the danger



of the situation before T. Coleman du Pont, whose influence in the State was very great. He came to Wilmington, interviewed various men, wrote letters and then went to Dover where he worked for the amendment. Gradually there was a weakening in the opposition with the gain of a vote here and there, but the southern part of the State remained solidly opposed. On March 23 Senator Thomas F. Gormley (a "wet" Democrat) introduced a bill providing for the submission of every constitutional amendment to the electorate before ratification or rejection by the Legislature, which was defeated by 9 noes and 5 ayes.

The date for the vote was finally fixed for March 31 and as its defeat seemed certain, Assemblyman Hart, who, according to the rules, must agree to have it brought up, held off heroically under political threats and intimidations of every kind and at last left the Capitol for home. After a conference with "anti" members, Representative Lloyd introduced an exact copy of the Hart resolution. Mr. Hart then brought up his resolution the next day, April 1, and it was defeated by 23 noes to 9 ayes, with 2 not voting. Meanwhile the lobbying went madly on. Much of the opposition came from notable "wets"; and many of the opponents were connected with the Pennsylvania railroad.

The Republican State convention met in Dover April 20 and the Equal Suffrage Association made one of the most remarkable demonstrations the State had ever seen. Every road was ablaze with decorated automobiles and hundreds of suffragists arrived on every train. They marched and they talked and in themselves they constituted the best argument that could be made for ratification. American flags and suffrage banners were used all over the town. With Mrs. Ridgely presiding, speeches were made all day on the green in front of the State House, and from an automobile in front of the Republican convention hall Miss Shuler and others spoke. Long petition sheets with the names of 20,000 Delaware women asking for ratification were exhibited. The crowning feature of the day was a parade of "suffrage children"—the children of suffragists—a long line mounted on ponies and bicycles down to the babies in the "go carts."

The speech of the permanent chairman of the convention, a staunch suffragist, Robert Houston of Georgetown, Sussex

county, was a strong appeal for ratification and it called out the greatest outburst of enthusiasm of the day. The convention unanimously passed a resolution calling on the Legislature to ratify the amendment. On the table was a vase of jonquils, and when the president of the anti-suffrage association rushed to the platform and demanded that they be removed or that red roses be added she was met by the chairman of arrangements with the quiet answer, "We are not complimenting the 'antis' today, we are using the Republican color and that is the suffrage color." The jonquils largely outnumbered the roses on the coats of the delegates.

While no Republican could now vote against ratification without repudiating his party it was plainly evident that the majority of Democrats were opposed to it and on the day of their State convention their party leaders, including United States Senator Wolcott and the chairman, Josiah Marvel, blossomed in red, the "anti" color. Former United States Senator Saulsbury's paper printed editorials of violent opposition throughout the struggle.

The resolution to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment was called up in the Senate by Senator Walker Wednesday, May 5. Senator Gormley, Democratic leader, offered as a substitute a referendum to the voters, which was defeated by a solid Republican vote of 13 to 4. The roll was called on the resolution to ratify and it was adopted by 11 ayes, 6 noes—ten Republicans and one Democrat voting for and two Republicans and four Democrats against it. The House had adjourned when the vote was taken and the plan was to send the resolution to it Thursday morning and attempt action Friday, but Thursday morning revealed a clear intention to defeat it and it was therefore placed under lock and key in the Senate. Senator Gormley attempted to offer a motion ordering its delivery to the House but was ruled out of order by the president pro tem. J. D. Short, whose recent accession to the suffrage ranks had made the Senate victory sure.

In the House "Bull" McNabb launched an attack on those who were withholding the resolution, using freely the words "bribery," "cajoling," "threats" and much profanity. Mrs. Thompson, the anti-suffrage president, kept calling out encour-

agement to him until the Republican floor leader, William Lyons, had to ask her to stop.

The Senate refused to send the resolution to the House and finally the Republicans succeeded in forcing an adjournment of the Legislature until May 17, hoping to bring about a change of sentiment. Some of those who were interested in the ratification were asked to meet at the capital that day. Among those who responded were Alfred I., T. Coleman and Pierre S. du Pont, Governor Townsend, Senator Ball, Representative Layton, former United States Senator J. F. Allee, Secretary of State Johnson, Charles Warner, former Congressman Hiram R. Burton, Speaker Charles Grantland and others. These men argued and pleaded with the Republican legislators to give the 36th and final ratification of the 19th Amendment but without effect.

On May 28, twenty-three days after the resolution had passed the Senate, it was sent to the Lower House. In the interval the Labor Union of Wilmington passed resolutions unanimously calling upon their three Representatives, McNabb, Mulvena and Mulrine, to vote for ratification. President Wilson was assured that only three Democratic votes were needed and he, therefore, telegraphed these three: "May I not as a Democrat express my deep interest in the suffrage amendment and my judgment that it would be of the greatest service to the party if every Democrat in the Delaware Legislature should vote for it?" Speaker Corbit was interviewed by members of the Republican National Committee and Republican leaders from within and without the State and strongly urged to stand with his party, but to no avail. The resolution was read twice and a motion was unanimously carried that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole. Representative Lyons here offered a motion to vote on the resolution, which was defeated by 24 noes, 10 ayes. A motion was then put to adjourn until 12.30, June 2, on which day it had been previously voted to adjourn sine die at noon, and it was carried! The House thus again placed itself on record against ratification and ended all further legislative action.

The causes that led to the defeat were briefly: 1. Factional differences in the Republican party; antagonism toward Governor Townsend; half-hearted interest and even treachery on the

part of certain Republican leaders. 2. Democratic opposition either because of the negro question or for national political reasons. 3. Influence of the liquor interests. The cost of the campaign to the National American Suffrage Association was approximately \$4,500. The financial cost to the suffragists of the State could not be estimated and even more impossible would be an estimate of time and labor during many months. [Long list of names of workers omitted for lack of space.]

Following the final ratification of the Federal Amendment by the Tennessee Legislature the Executive Board, which was in session at Rehoboth, on August 27, 1920, merged the State Equal Suffrage Association into the League of Women Voters and elected Mrs. Ridgely chairman. This action was confirmed at a State convention held in Wilmington September 29, 30.

Among men and women not elsewhere mentioned who have been helpful to woman suffrage are Mrs. Mary T. Challenger, Lea Pusey, George B. Miller, Lewis W. Brosius, Mrs. J. R. Milligan; the Reverends Frederick A. Hinckley, Thomas P. Holloway, Adam Stengle, Alexander T. Bowser, Joel S. Gilfillan; Mrs. John F. Thomas, Congressman Thomas W. Miller, George Carter, editor *Evening Journal*; Mrs. Samuel H. Derby, Frank C. Bancroft, master of the State Grange; Mrs. Samuel Bancroft, Mrs. Francis I. du Pont, Mrs. Victoria du Pont, Sr., Mrs. Philip Burnett, Sr., and others mentioned in the chapter.

State officers not named otherwise were Mrs. William L. Duggin, Mrs. Alfred D. Warner, Mrs. Willard Morse, Mrs. Mary H. Thatcher, Miss Elizabeth S. Gawthorp, Mrs. Mary Price Phillips, Mrs. Frederick L. Steinlein, Mrs. R. Barclay Spicer, Mrs. Harry Hayward, Mrs. George Newcombe, Miss Willabelle Shurter.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION, 1913. A bill to strike from the suffrage clause of the State constitution the word "male" was for the first time presented to the Legislature. It was introduced in the Senate January 7, by David J. Reinhardt; in the House by Albert I. Swan. The members had been previously circularized by the corresponding secretary, Miss Mary R. de Vou, announcing this action in the spirit of the age, in the name of justice and democracy and for the credit of the State. On Feb-

ruary 26 a hearing was granted at a joint session, with the House chamber crowded. Mrs. Cranston introduced the speakers, headed by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, national president. Miss Jeannette Rankin of Montana, a field worker sent by the National Association, spent two weeks in Dover, canvassing the legislators, assisted by members of the State association. At the Senate hearing March 14 strong speeches were made by Senators Reinhardt, John M. Walker, and a number of leading women. Senators Zachary T. Harris and Dr. George W. Marshall worked for the bill, which was endorsed by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Ministerial Union, State Grange, Central Labor Union and Socialist Party, but it was lost the same day by 11 noes, 6 ayes. The bill was reported favorably by the House committee and Dr. John H. Hammond declared that it was time to quit playing politics with it and pass it but on March 19 it was defeated without debate by 23 noes, 8 ayes.

1915. A full suffrage bill was presented jointly by the State association and the Congressional Union, introduced by Senator Harris and Representative Frank M. Saulsbury. The Campaign Committee representing the two associations and headed by Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles opened headquarters at Dover with Miss Mabel Vernon in charge. Expenses of maintenance were paid by Mrs. George Day of Connecticut, a member of the advisory council of the Union. A suffrage procession headed by Mrs. Hilles and Mrs. Victor du Pont, Jr., marched to strains of martial music from the station to headquarters on its opening day early in January and gave the stately old capital a decided innovation. Speaking followed from a gaily decorated automobile. "Suffrage fliers" (motor cars) carrying able speakers and workers, made whirlwind trips throughout the State. The anti-suffragists organized as a committee, with Mrs. Henry B. Thompson chairman and Mrs. David J. Reinhardt secretary.

On January 21, before the Revised Statutes Committee of the House, all of the Representatives and many of the Senators, a hearing was given to the suffragists. The speakers were Mrs. Cranston, Miss Leila Aaron of Dover, Miss Vernon and Mrs. Hilles, whose argument was nearly flawless. On February 3 the "antis" spoke before practically the same audience and the

enthusiasm equalled that of the suffrage hearing. Thomas F. Bayard, brother of Mrs. Hilles, opened the hearing and introduced Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Grace W. Goodwin of Westfield and Mrs. Preston Lea, wife of a former Governor. On February 9 the suffragists were granted a second hearing, all members of the Senate and several of the House being present. On February 16 the House Committee reported the bill favorably. On March 8, with an hour's interval between, the House killed it by a vote of 22 noes to 8 ayes; the Senate by a vote of 11 noes to 6 ayes. Legislative friends were Senators Edward Hart, John A. Barnard and Speaker Charles H. Grantland.

Preceding the vote was a gay and colorful parade of suffragists, followed by speechmaking outside the State House. Able speakers and workers from other States had spoken during the campaign, among them United States Representatives J. A. Falconer of Washington and William Kent of California; Mrs. Kent, Mrs. Thomas R. Hepburn, president of the Connecticut Equal Suffrage Association and Miss Anne Martin, president of the Nevada association. Among local speakers were Dr. George Edward Reed, D.D., former president of Dickinson College; John S. Hamilton of Wilmington and Mrs. Cranston. On March 11, three days after the defeat, at a well-attended luncheon in Hotel du Pont, Wilmington, was opened the campaign for 1917 in true Bunker Hill spirit.

1917. A full suffrage bill was presented, the Congressional Union in charge. The State was canvassed for and against. Before the joint hearing on February 16 the bill had been reported favorably by committees of both House and Senate. It went to defeat, however, on February 23 by a vote in the House of 21 noes to 12 ayes, in the Senate on February 26 by a vote of 6 noes to 8 ayes. Among the anti-suffrage leaders were Judge George Gray, General James H. Wilson, Miss Emily P. Bissell, Mrs. George A. Elliott and Mrs. Henry P. Scott.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.<sup>1</sup>

While the women in the District of Columbia rejoiced with those in the States over the successful end of the long, hard fight for the Federal Suffrage Amendment their joy was tempered by the fact that they still had before them a struggle for an amendment which would enfranchise the residents of the District—one really for equal suffrage, men and women alike being without the vote. The Congress itself now has entire jurisdiction, each branch appointing a committee for the purpose.

The district is a municipal corporation, administered by a Board of three commissioners, two of whom are appointed by the President of the United States from civil life, confirmed by the Senate, the third being detailed by him from the engineer corps of the army. The argument for the citizen's franchise is that representation in Congress for the residents of the District would only give them a voice in the governing body without impairing the "exclusive jurisdiction" given to Congress by the National Constitution. It has a population greater than six of the States and pays taxes in excess of twenty-two States—each of which has two Senators and Representatives based on its population. Local self-government also is advocated by some residents but the majority are behind the movement to obtain representation in Congress and the vote for presidential electors. From the time this matter was first agitated the woman suffrage association of the District has insisted that women should have the same rights granted to men.

Although the suffragists of the District had no hope of enfranchisement from the Federal Amendment, nevertheless their interest in the cause never flagged and they gave freely of their time and money to aid the movement for it. From 1869 to

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Mary O'Toole, attorney and counsellor at law, president of the District of Columbia State Equal Suffrage Association from 1915 to 1920, when the Federal Amendment was ratified. Appointed Judge of the Municipal Court by President Harding, Aug. 4, 1921.

1895 they assisted every year the convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, and afterwards whenever it was held in this city. Its great celebration of Miss Susan B. Anthony's 80th birthday in February, 1900, gave a new impetus to the cause. The various societies had been organized in 1898 into the District of Columbia State Equal Suffrage Association, corresponding to those in the various States. The old parent society formed in 1868 and the first Junior Club were augmented by the Political Study Club organized in 1900, to study the origin, growth and government of cities and later agitating the question of placing women on boards of charities, schools, etc.; by the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Club, organized in 1901, to take up the study of general taxation, methods of carrying on the public schools, tariff, finance and city government; by the College Equal Suffrage League, organized in 1909 and doing excellent work, and in 1916 by the Anthony League, organized in 1911 primarily for suffrage, but taking up civic affairs. The Woman Suffrage Council was formed from these societies in 1914 to aid the Congressional Committee of the National Association at its branch headquarters in Washington. The name was afterwards changed to Equal Franchise League when it was decided to keep the organization intact for the purpose of working for suffrage in the district. Mrs. Glenna Smith Tinnin was the first chairman, followed by Mrs. George A. Mosshart and Mrs. Louis Brownlow.

The D. C. State Association held regular meetings about four times a year and some special sessions. It kept the woman suffrage sentiment active and was responsible for a great deal of progressive work. The following served as presidents: Mrs. Helen Rand Tindall, 1898; Mrs. Ellen Powell Thompson, 1899; Mrs. Carrie E. Kent, 1900; Mrs. Tindall, 1901; Mrs. Kent, 1902-3; Mrs. Mary L. Talbott, 1904-5; Mrs. Jessie Waite Wright, 1906-7-8; Miss Harriette J. J. Hifton, 1909-10; Mrs. Le Droit Barber, 1911; Miss Florence Etheridge, 1912; Mrs. Nina E. Allender, 1913; Mrs. Kent, 1914; Miss Mary O'Toole, 1915 to 1920.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vice-presidents: Justice Wendell P. Stafford, Commissioner Henry B. F. McFarland, Dr. William Tindall, Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Mrs. Philander P. Claxton, Mrs. Wesley, M. Stoner, Mrs.



A number of prominent women in the District were officers of the local suffrage clubs and worked under their auspices, being connected through them with the D. C. State Association. A part of the program of the latter in 1904-5 was a study of Fisk's Civil Government of the United States, Laws affecting Women and Children, taxation and other subjects of public interest. There was also discussion of bills before Congress of special interest to women and the association supported those for the protection of neglected and delinquent children, compulsory education and restriction of child labor. A bill to raise the salaries of public school teachers was strongly pressed. Among those especially active were Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, Dr. Emily Young O'Brien and Mrs. Alice Stern Gitterman. Through their efforts two truant officers were appointed, one white and one colored. During this period the work was being done which led to the establishment of a Juvenile Court with one probation officer, Mrs. Charles Darwin. In 1906 and 1907 the suffragists were active in agitating for women on the Board of Education and succeeded in having two white women and one colored woman appointed, as well as thirty women supervisors of the public playgrounds. In 1908, also as a direct result of the efforts of Mrs. Helen Rand Tindall and other members of the association, two public comfort stations were built at a cost of \$35,000, with bath, rest rooms and all sanitary conveniences, the first in

Anna E. Hendley, Miss Helen Jamison, Miss Gertrude Metcalf, Miss Catharine L. Fleming, Miss Annie Goebel, Miss Bertha A. Yoder, Mrs. C. C. Farrar, Dr. Margaret S. Potter, Mrs. Monroe Hopkins, Mrs. Caleb Miller, Mrs. Henry Churchill Cooke, Mrs. Ruth B. Hensey, Mrs. George Eastment. There were few years when Dr. and Mrs. Tindall did not occupy some official position.

Corresponding secretaries: Miss Henrietta Morrison, Mrs. B. B. Cheshire, Mrs. Jennie L. Monroe, Mrs. L. M. Coope, Mrs. Ida Finley McCrille, Miss Lavinia H. Engle, Miss Abbie R. Knapp, Miss Helen M. Calkins, Francis Scott, Mrs. Rachel Ezekiel, Mrs. Edna V. Bryan.

Recording secretaries: Miss Emma M. Gillett (8 years), Miss Mary H. Williams, Mrs. Jeannette M. Bradley, Miss Josephine Mason, Mrs. Sarah Newman, Mrs. Louis Ottenberg.

Treasurers: Mrs. Kate Ward Burt (5 years), W. G. Steward, Mrs. Alice P. Rand. Mrs. Kent served in some official capacity from 1898 until her death in 1918.

Auditors: George A. Warren, Miss Edith Harris, William Lee, Mrs. R. G. Whiting, Mrs. F. M. Gregory, Mrs. Jessica Penn Hunter, Miss Audrey Goss, Mrs. L. Aveihle, Miss Alice Jenkins, Mrs. Jeanne F. Brackett, Mrs. Sarah Beall, Mrs. Frank Pyle. Many of the above named also filled other offices.

Among the names which appear in the records of the years as chairmen of committees, in addition to many of the above, are those of Miss Helen Varick Boswell, Dr. Clara McNaughton, Miss Nettie Lovisa White, Mrs. Katharine Reed Balentine and Miss Abby T. Nicholls.

the city. The association and the College Equal Suffrage League sent representatives to a hearing before the Commissioners to ask that if a referendum on the excise question should be taken women should have a vote as well as men. In 1909 the association assisted in the petition work of the national organization and paid the secretary who was in charge of their headquarters in Washington for keeping them open evenings. Under the auspices of the association lectures were given by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and Mrs. Ethel Snowden of England.

In 1910 at a hearing granted to the National Association by the Judiciary Committee of Congress the District was represented by Miss Emma M. Gillett and Mrs. Katharine Reed Balentine, who overheard one of its members say that if the women really wanted suffrage they should do something more than come up there to make speeches so as to have them cheaply printed and mailed without postage. Miss Gillett, who soon afterwards was made chairman of the National Congressional Committee, was so stimulated by this remark that at her request the D. C. State Association raised \$100 and she herself contributed \$100 and used the fund to circularize every candidate for Congress in the 1910 campaign. She appealed through the *Woman's Journal* for contributions, but only \$14 were received. The circular asked seven searching questions covering all forms of woman suffrage. The answers were tabulated and sent out by the Associated Press. [See Chapter X, Volume V.]

President Seth Low, of the National Civic Federation, called a conference in Washington Jan. 17-19, 1910, of delegates to be appointed by the Governors of States and "presidents of commercial, agricultural, manufacturing, labor, financial, professional and other bodies national in extent." The program was to include discussions of "public health, pure food regulations, uniform divorce law and discrimination against married women as to the control of their children and property." The suffragists asked the Commissioners to appoint women among the twelve delegates to represent the District, but this was not done. Mr. Low in answering Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt's criticism that women delegates had not been invited, said it had not occurred to him that women would be interested but that he would place

the name of the National Suffrage Association on the list for future calls of a like character.

This year the clergymen of Washington were circularized to ascertain their position on woman suffrage and the great field of usefulness it would offer for women in moral and social reforms was pointed out. Miss Hifton and Miss Anna C. Kelton (afterwards Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley) took charge of this work and the 129 letters they sent received only eight answers, five in favor, two non-committal, one opposed. For the first time permission was obtained from the school board to post notices of the national suffrage convention in the school buildings, Miss Anna MacLaren arranging for it.

In 1911 representatives of the association addressed many conventions in Washington and asked that resolutions favoring suffrage for women be passed. They were not successful but presented their cause. In 1912-13 the suffragists were busy among other things in agitating the question of having a woman as Juvenile Court Judge. President Taft practically promised the appointment, but the male incumbent was allowed to hold over another year. A meeting of women lawyers was held and a committee appointed to call on Attorney General Wickersham to urge the name of Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, then Dean of the Washington College of Law. She was endorsed by several thousand men and women, over six hundred of whom were teachers in the public schools and familiar with Mrs. Mussey's excellent work on the Board of Education, but no woman was appointed. (In 1918 Miss Kathryn Sellers, president of the College Women's Equal Suffrage League, was appointed by President Wilson.)

On March 3, the day before the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson, for the first time women marched on Pennsylvania Avenue. The parade was arranged by the Congressional Committee of the National Association, of which Miss Alice Paul was chairman. Objection being made by Superintendent of Police Sylvester to giving a permit, the women appealed to the Senate Committee for the District on the ground that as citizens and tax-payers they had the right to use the avenue, and a joint resolution was passed by Congress granting it. Adequate

police protection, however, was not given, indeed some of the police themselves hooted and jeered with the mob which attacked the paraders. Doubtless it was composed of persons who had come from outside to the inauguration. It took three hours to march the mile from the Peace Monument to the Treasury, where tableaux were given on the steps. Finally it was necessary to call the troops from Fort Myer. The Senate ordered an investigation and the Police Superintendent resigned. It was said that this parade won thousands of friends for the cause of woman suffrage.

This year the Congressional Union was organized to work in the District and the States solely for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, with Miss Paul chairman, Miss Lucy Burns, Mrs. Crystal Eastman, Mrs. Mary Beard and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis the other officers. It had its own headquarters and was not affiliated with the National American Association.

In 1914 the suffragists protested again, this time to the Chamber of Commerce, against a constitutional amendment sponsored by it to enfranchise the residents of the District, because it did not definitely state that women should be included. This protest was also taken up in the Federation of Women's Clubs through the auxiliaries of the State Suffrage Association, which were affiliated with it. During 1915 and 1916 suffragists addressed all the civic bodies in Washington on the necessity of including women in any measure looking to the enfranchisement of the residents of the District. As a result of this continuous agitation a compromise was reached to hold the question in abeyance until a constitutional amendment was passed enabling Congress to grant suffrage to the District. The association as usual participated in commemorating the birthdays of Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony and placed wreaths on the bust of Lincoln in the rotunda of the Capitol. It joined in the contest with the school board which tried to exclude married women as teachers.

During the closing years of the long campaign for woman suffrage street meetings were held. Among those who helped in this work were Mrs. Frank Hiram Snell, Miss Florence F. Stiles, Miss Elizabeth Eggert, Miss O'Toole and Miss Sellers. Receptions were given to the "yellow flier," the automobile sent

across the continent by the National Association, and to the "prairie schooner," the car sent by the Just Government League of Maryland to tour its southern counties. Miss O'Toole travelled with the "schooner" two weeks, speaking several times a day. A delegation from the College League met it at the District line and a procession accompanied it into the city under police escort. In the evening a public reception was given at the Washington College of Law. From 1916 the association assisted the National Association at its new headquarters, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, by serving tea afternoons and raising money through bazaars, rummage sales, card parties, etc.

During 1918 all the suffrage societies in the District devoted their energies to war work and co-operated in every possible way with the Woman's Committee of National Defense, whose headquarters were in Washington, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw chairman. They rejoiced in the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by Congress in 1919 and its ratification in 1920, although notwithstanding their many years of loyalty and assistance to the National Association they could receive no benefit from the victory.

More women hold office in Washington than in any city in the world because of their very extensive employment by the National Government. When Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage was written in 1900 an official statement gave the total number of government employees in the District as 20,109 men, 7,496 women, a total of 27,600. At the request of Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, a vice-president of the National Woman Suffrage Association and a member of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, the following information was sent in 1920 to be used in this volume, by the president of the commission, Martin A. Morrison:

In 1907 the Bureau of the Census issued a report in which it was stated that men outnumbered women in the Government service by about eleven to one in Washington, D. C., and outside. The percentage of women in the District was much larger than outside for the reason that the great bulk of the employees in field branches are in services the duties of which are not ordinarily performed by women—the mechanical forces at navy yards, ordnance establishments, engineer departments, reclamation service projects, lighthouse

service and the like; also the letter-carriers, city and rural, railway mail clerks and such classes.

It is believed that the proportion of women to men in the entire service did not change materially until the beginning of the war. When the United States entered the war, there were approximately 38,000 employees in the executive civil service in the District of Columbia, approximately two-fifths of them women. The force was increased by 80,000 during the war, of whom approximately 75 per cent were women. The force has now been reduced to about 90,000, of whom approximately 50,000 are women. The proportion of women is being constantly reduced by the return of former soldiers and sailors to civilian employment, who are allowed preference under the law. The Federal Civil Service outside the District of Columbia increased by approximately 280,000 during the war period, possibly one-third of this increase made up of women. That force numbers now about 550,000 as compared with 450,000 before the war and it seems safe to say that twenty per cent. are women.

These positions are open to any who pass the civil service examinations but the chiefs of the bureaus and departments are appointed by the President, and Secretaries of Departments, and they have always been men. Men have succeeded also in getting the highly paid positions under civil service.

No law excludes women from the District offices. There are, of course, no elections. Some officials are appointed by the President, some by the Commissioners, and the Supreme Court of the District appoints the Board of Education, three of whose members must be women. In 1920 President Wilson appointed Miss Kathryn Sellers, a member of the District bar, to be Judge of the Juvenile Court. This was largely due to the efforts of Justice William Hitz, of the District Supreme Court. The President appointed also Mrs. Clara Sears Taylor a member of the Rent Commission, created to consider rent problems growing out of the war, and Miss Mabel T. Boardman as Commissioner of the District. The Commissioners appointed two women trustees of the public library. Formerly it was necessary to make an effort to get women on the boards of charities, hospitals, etc., but now such places are seeking the women. Within the past ten years many women graduates of the law schools have been appointed as law clerks in various departments, War Risk, Treasury, especially the income and customs divisions, and in the Solicitor's office for the State Department. The Interior Department appointed Miss Florence Etheridge, at one time president of the D. C. State Equal Suffrage Associa-

tion, probate attorney for the Cherokee Indians. Miss Marie K. Saunders was the first woman appointed patent examiner, as the result of a competitive examination, and she has been advanced until the next step is that of principal examiner. Women hold important positions as secretaries of committees at the Capitol.

The Board of Commissioners appoint the Superintendent of Police and under Major Raymond J. Pullman a Woman's Bureau was established in 1918, after several women had been serving on the force. Mrs. Marian C. Spingarr was made director. When she left Washington the following year Mrs. Mina C. Van Winkle was appointed and continues to hold the position. To give her power she was made Detective Sergeant and in 1920 was promoted to a Lieutenancy, so that she might legally be in command of a precinct where the Woman's Bureau is on the first floor of the house of detention and the preventive and protective work for women and children is directed. The functions of this bureau are very wide and very important and the work of the women police covers the entire city.

The national appointments of women have attracted the attention not only of this but of other countries. They began in 1912 with the selection of Miss Julia C. Lathrop of Hull House, Chicago, by President Taft as Chief of the newly created Federal Children's Bureau, which position she still holds (1920). President Wilson appointed Mrs. Frances C. Axtell in 1916 a member of the Federal Employees' Compensation Commission; in 1920 Mrs. Helen H. Gardener a member of the Civil Service Commission; Mrs. Annette A. Adams, U. S. Attorney in San Francisco, Assistant Attorney General; Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the Women's Division of the Department of Labor.

## CHAPTER IX.

### FLORIDA.<sup>1</sup>

With the removal from the State of Mrs. Ella C. Chamberlain in 1897 and no one found to take the leadership, the cause of woman suffrage, which was represented only by the one society at her home in Tampa, languished for years. In 1907 John Schnarr, a prominent business man of Orlando, circulated a petition to Congress for a Federal Suffrage Amendment which was sent down by the National Association and obtained numerous signatures. It is interesting to note that, from the beginning of the suffrage movement in Florida, men as well as women have been its active supporters.

As the years passed and the movement waxed strong throughout the country and important victories were won, the women of Florida imbibed the spirit of their day and generation. It became a frequent topic of discussion and women in various places began to realize the need of organization. On June 15, 1912, the Equal Franchise League was organized at Jacksonville in the home of Mrs. Herbert Anderson by herself and Mrs. Katherine Livingstone Eagan, with about thirty ladies present. Monthly meetings were held in a room in a large new office building given them for headquarters by the owners and forty-five members were enrolled. Mrs. Eagan, the president, soon went to Paris and her duties fell upon the vice-president, Mrs. Roselle C. Cooley; the secretary, Miss Frances Anderson, and the other officers. In the autumn two leading suffragists, who were attending the National Child Labor Convention, were invited to address the League, but neither the Board of Trade nor the Woman's Club would rent its auditorium for a suffrage meeting, so they had to open a door between their headquarters and an adjoining room and a large audience was present. The

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Alice G. (Mrs. George) Kollock, prominent in the work for woman suffrage in Florida, with thanks to others who assisted.



league affiliated with the National American Suffrage Association, which the next year sent a field worker to help in legislative work. In 1914 it published a special edition of *The State*, which was put into the hands of all the Florida members of Congress and the Legislature. Mrs. Medill McCormick, chairman of the National Congressional Committee, sent one of the national workers, Miss Lavinia Engle, to assist. This year Mr. Heard, president of the Heard National Bank, gave the league the use of a large front room on its first office floor.

On Feb. 13, 1913, the Political Equality Club of Lake Helen was formed with Mrs. S. A. Armstrong president and Mrs. Irene Adams secretary. On the 27th the Equal Suffrage League of Orlando was organized with the Rev. Mary A. Safford president, and in October the first demand for suffrage was made here. The Mayor issued a notice that all freeholders must register for the sewerage bond election by the 9th, and a few suffragists saw their opportunity. Very secretly and hurriedly, before the Mayor could get word of it and give notice that the election was meant for men only, Miss Emma Hainer and Mrs. Helen Starbuck gathered together several women who owned valuable property and they went to the city clerk's office and announced that they had come in response to the Mayor's call to register for the coming election. He referred them to the Mayor, who referred them to the Council, which referred them to the city attorney. He told them that the law did not permit women to register. This they knew, but their action caused a discussion of the question and disclosed a widespread belief that women should have the right to vote.

At a meeting of the executive board of the Orlando league in the home of Mrs. J. C. Patterson April 21 the question of forming a State Association was earnestly considered and Miss Safford was requested to prepare a "call" for this purpose. Soon afterwards she and Mrs. Starbuck were sent to Tallahassee by the league to aid the suffrage work being done in the Legislature. Here the great need of a State organization was very apparent, as legislators constantly asked, "Where are the suffragists from my district?"

During the summer through conversation with interested

suffragists and correspondence with Mrs. Cooley, president of the Jacksonville league, arrangements were made for calling a convention to organize a State association at Orlando at the time of the meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. This took place Nov. 4, 1913, Miss Safford was chairman, Mrs. Isabel Stanley secretary of the convention and addresses were made by women from half a dozen towns. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws which reported at an adjourned meeting on the 6th, when they were adopted and the following officers for the State Equal Suffrage Association were elected: President, Miss Safford, Orlando; first vice-president, Mrs. C. J. Huber, Webster; second, Mrs. Ella Chamberlain, Tampa; third, Miss Caroline Brevard, Tallahassee; corresponding secretary, Miss Elizabeth Askew, Tampa; recording secretary, Miss Frances B. Anderson, Jacksonville; treasurer, Mrs. John Schnarr, Orlando; auditors, Mrs. Anna Andrus, Miami, and Mrs. J. M. Thayer, Orlando.

In 1914 Miss Safford published a bulletin, showing that the State Association had auxiliaries in Jacksonville, Lake Helen, Orlando, Zellwood, Pine Castle, Winter Park, Pensacola, Milton, Miami, Tampa, and a Men's Equal Suffrage League in Orlando with Mayor E. F. Sperry as president and Justin Van Buskirk as secretary. Miss Kate M. Gordon, president of the Southern Woman's Suffrage Conference, had held a successful meeting in Jacksonville. The Orlando League had had a float in the trades' parade of the midwinter fair and a booth at the fair where the names of voters in favor of submitting a State suffrage amendment were obtained. It had had "teas" for replenishing the treasury and closed the year with a banquet complimentary to the Men's League. A committee was preparing a program on the laws of the State for the next year's work. The Pensacola league was arranging to issue a special edition of the *Journal* and have a booth at the tri-county fair. Most of the leagues had formed classes to study history and the duties of citizenship and had distributed literature and some of them had held a celebration on May 2, as the National Association had requested.

The first annual convention, held at Pensacola, Dec. 8-10, 1914, stressed the pledging of candidates for Congress and

Legislature and securing signatures to petitions. The second, at Orlando, Feb. 3, 1915, formed congressional districts, according to the plan of the National Association. The third, at Miami, March 15-16, 1916, arranged for suffrage schools and planned to assist work outside the State. The fourth, at Tampa, Nov. 20, 1917, found the members busy with war work. The fifth, at Daytona, Nov. 19, 1918, planned to introduce a bill for Primary suffrage in the Legislature and co-operate with the Federation of Women's Clubs to secure it. The sixth, at Tampa, Oct. 30-31, 1919, was devoted to plans for ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and citizenship.

While the State association could show no definite accomplishment, its work had been largely educational and a considerable public sentiment in favor of woman suffrage had been created. Its organization and growth center about the name of the Rev. Mary Augusta Safford, a pioneer worker in the suffrage cause in several States. She came in 1905 to make Florida her home from Des Moines, Iowa, where she had been pastor of the Unitarian church for eleven years. Her energy, enthusiasm and devotion carried all before her and but for her organization might have been delayed for years. For four years she was the untiring State president, then Mrs. Frank Stranahan served in 1917, Miss Safford again in 1918. The following, in addition to those elsewhere mentioned, are among those prominent in the suffrage work in the State: Mrs. A. E. McDavid, Miss Minnie Kehoe, Pensacola; Mrs. Susan B. Dyer, Winter Park; Mrs. H. W. Thompson, Miss C. H. Day, Milton; Mrs. S. V. Moore, Coconut Grove; Mrs. Kate C. Havens, Miami; Miss Pleasance Baker, Zellwood; Mrs. Grace Hanchett, Orlando.

From its beginning the association worked for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, although it tried also to obtain from the Legislature the submission of a State amendment to the voters. In 1915 Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, the national president, assisted Miss Safford and the other workers in holding conventions in several congressional districts. Many local meetings were held, much literature distributed, resolutions secured and legislators interviewed. The Federation of Women's Clubs, the largest organization of women in the State, endorsed the movement.

In 1916 Miss Safford went for a month to assist the campaign in Iowa, to which the association sent \$100, and the vice-president, Mrs. Frank Tracy, directed the State work. New leagues were formed, delegates to the national presidential conventions were interviewed and Florida women attended those in Chicago and St. Louis. Dr. Shaw was present at the State convention where 550 members were reported and the distribution of 750 packages of literature. A series of meetings was held in co-operation with the Congressional Committee of the National Association and work in the Legislature was done.

By 1918 a number of counties had been organized and the State convention, encouraged by the granting of Primary suffrage to women in Arkansas and Texas, decided to make this its legislative work for 1919, and plans were made to raise \$5,000 through local conferences. A State organizer was put into the field and the National Association sent its recording secretary, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, a trained worker, to assist the State organization. In January, 1919, Dr. Shaw attended a conference at Orlando and \$1,000 were raised; later at a conference in Tampa, \$198 and at one in Miami and West Palm Beach \$260. Miss Elizabeth Skinner was appointed State organizer and the National Association sent one of its most capable organizers, Mrs. Maria McMahan. The 38 county chairmen had obtained nearly 2,500 signatures to petitions to the Legislature and an active campaign was undertaken for Primary suffrage.

In January, 1919, the National Association's Congressional Committee sent its secretary, Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham of Arkansas, and its press secretary, Miss Marjorie Shuler of New York, to spend several weeks in a quiet campaign to influence U. S. Senator Park Trammell to cast his vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, this being considered useless in the case of Senator Duncan U. Fletcher. They secured newspaper comment in favor, interviews with prominent people and resolutions from conventions, but these had no effect. At the annual convention in October the following officers were elected: President, Mrs. John T. Fuller, Orlando; first vice-president, Mrs. Edgar A. Lewis, Fort Pierce; second, Miss Elizabeth Skinner, Dunedin; third, Dr. Minerva B. Cushman, St. Peters-

burg; corresponding secretary, Mrs. W. R. O'Neal, Orlando; recording secretary, Mrs. C. E. Hawkins, Brooksville; treasurer, Mrs. Clara B. Worthington, Tampa; auditors, Mrs. J. W. McCollum, Mrs. J. D. Stringfellow, Gainesville; Legislative Committee, Mrs. Amos Norris, chairman, Tampa. A memorial meeting was held for Dr. Shaw, who had died July 2.

The annual meeting in 1920 took place in Orlando. Mrs. Fuller was re-elected and plans for extensive work were made but the association was not quite ready to merge into a League of Women Voters. This was done April 1, 1921, and Mrs. J. B. O'Hara was elected chairman.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. Before the State Association was organized the Equal Franchise League of Jacksonville decided to ask the Legislature, which met in April, 1913, to submit to the voters a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution. A bill was prepared and an appeal for assistance made to the National American Association. In response it sent its very capable field worker, Miss Jeannette Rankin, who went with the executive officers of the league to Tallahassee. Its president, Mrs. Roselle C. Cooley, said in her report: "The House of Representatives decided to hear us in a Committee of the Whole, at an evening session. In this case it meant the whole House, the whole Senate and the whole town. Seats, aisles, the steps of the Speaker's rostrum were filled, windows had people sitting in them and in the hall as far as one could see people were standing on chairs to hear the first call for the rights of women ever uttered in the Capitol of Florida. Four women and three men spoke, the vote of the committee was publicly called at the close of the speaking and the bill passed into the House of Representatives without recommendation. Weary days and weeks of waiting, time wasted on petty legislation, members going home for week-ends and not returning for Monday work kept us still anxious. At length the bill was called and the vote was 26 ayes to 38 noes.

"As we were leaving for our homes on Saturday evening a Senator said: 'If you will come into the Senate we will show those men how to treat ladies.' So we went back on Monday and were fortunate in having for our sponsor Senator Cone of

Columbia county, the leader of the Senate. He took up our bill, placed it on the special calendar and advised us in our procedure, the bill having come into the Senate with favorable recommendation from the committee. Again the weary waiting, the petty legislation, the filibustering of the 'corporation' members and the whisky men, and at last a motion to postpone indefinitely was carried by one majority, 15 to 16, the sixteenth man being one who had been with us from the first until this moment."

The Legislature meets every two years and in 1915 the State association, which had now sixteen well organized branches, was sponsor for the bill, or resolution, and a large number of legislators had promised their support. Hearings were granted by both Houses, but it was defeated.

In 1917 strenuous efforts were again made in behalf of a State constitutional amendment. Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, who now had a winter home in Florida, was among those who addressed the Legislature in favor of it, and on April 23 the resolution to submit the amendment passed the Senate by 23 to 7. The struggle was then begun in the House but the corporate and liquor interests combined with the non-progressive character of many of the members accomplished its defeat.

In April, 1919, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, which now had a suffrage chairman, co-operated with the State Equal Suffrage Association in the effort to obtain a Primary Suffrage Bill, such as had been passed by the Legislatures of Arkansas and Texas. Mrs. McMahan, a national organizer, and Miss Skinner did organizing and legislative work from March 6 to April 22. The former was sent to work for Presidential suffrage, but the State Board believed that Primary suffrage had a better chance. This, however, met with so much opposition that it was never brought up. The moment the Federal Amendment was submitted by Congress a delegation of women—Mrs. Frank Stranahan, chairman of the Legislative Committee; Dr. Safford, Mrs. W. S. Jennings, Mrs. Edgar A. Lewis—went to Tallahassee to try to have the Legislature ratify it, arriving one day before adjournment. They quickly canvassed the members and found a small majority willing to vote for it but there was

no time. Governor Sidney J. Catts could have called a special session for the next day but insisted that there was no assurance of ratification, as some of the men listed as favorable were in the habit of changing their vote, and he did not want to put the members on record. Some of them who were alleged to be supporters declared that they would not stay over even for one day. It was impossible to persuade the Governor to call a special session at any time afterwards, but in 1920 Florida women were enfranchised by this amendment.

SUFFRAGE. By special acts of the Legislature, charters were granted to various cities giving Municipal suffrage to women and the voters accepted them. Sixteen towns had such a charter: Felsmere, Aurantia, Cocoa, Orange City, Deland, West Palm Beach, Delray, Florence Villa (where Dr. Anna Howard Shaw had a winter home for a number of years), Miami, Fort Lauderdale, Moore Haven, Orlando, Clearwater, Dunedin, St. Petersburg, Tarpon Springs. Felsmere was the pioneer, receiving its charter in 1915.

## CHAPTER X.

### GEORGIA.<sup>1</sup>

The first suffrage society in Georgia was formed at Columbus in 1890 and the second in Atlanta in 1894. Here the first State convention was held in 1899 and the State association, auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, never ceased its labors until the year following the ratification of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment.

Mrs. McLendon became an officer in 1892 and held official position during the entire twenty-nine years. For thirteen years she was vice-president or honorary president and for the remainder of the time president of the association. Mrs. Thomas was second honorary president for five years before her death in 1906. The following served as presidents: Miss H. Augusta Howard, 1890-1895; Mrs. Frances Cater Swift, 1895-1896; Mrs. Mary L. McLendon, 1896-1899; Mrs. Gertrude C. Thomas, 1899-1901; Miss Katherine Koch, 1901-1904; Mrs. Rose Y. Colvin, 1904-1906; Mrs. Mary L. McLendon, 1906-1921.<sup>2</sup>

In 1900 the same suffrage measures presented the year before were again offered to the Legislature with the same barren result. The Southern Chautauqua invited the association to hold an all day meeting and also engaged Miss Frances A. Griffin of Alabama to lecture. F. Henry Richardson, editor of the *Atlanta Journal*, and Lucian Knight, editor of the *Atlanta*

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Mary Latimer McLendon, a resident of Atlanta over 60 years, who also wrote the Georgia chapter for Volume IV. Before the absolutely necessary condensation of the present chapter it included 22,000 words and was a most remarkable production for a woman in her 81st year. It will be preserved intact in another place.

<sup>2</sup> During the years from 1901 the following held office in the State association: honorary vice-president, Miss Madeline J. S. Wylie; vice-presidents, Mrs. P. H. Moore, Miss S. A. Gresham, Miss Rebecca Vaughn, Miss H. Augusta Howard, Mrs. Emma T. Martin, Mrs. J. Dejournette, Mrs. W. Y. Atkinson; corresponding secretaries, Mrs. Mamie Folsom Wynne, Miss Katherine Koch, Mrs. DeLacy Eastman, Mrs. Amelia R. Woodall; recording secretaries, Miss Willette Allen, Mrs. Alice C. Daniels; treasurers, Mrs. E. O. Archer, Mrs. Mary Osborne, Mrs. M. K. Mathews, Mrs. E. C. Cresse; auditor, Mrs. W. H. Felton.



*Constitution*, brought the "woman's rights movement" as prominently before the public as they were permitted to do by the managers of those newspapers.

On Nov. 25, 26, 1901, the State convention was held in the Universalist Church of Atlanta. Addresses were made by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Association; Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Alice Daniels and Mrs. McLendon. The meeting adjourned early in the afternoon to go to the Atlanta Women's Club room, where Mrs. Catt was invited to address that body. The night meeting was held in the hall of the House of Representatives, where Mrs. Catt, Mr. Richardson and the Hon. Robert R. Hemphill of South Carolina addressed a large and appreciative audience. The convention decided to employ a State lecturer and organizer.

With but two exceptions State conventions or conferences were held every year, always in Atlanta until 1919, in the Congregational and Universalist churches, in the Grand Building; the hall of the Federation of Labor, the Carnegie Library, the Hotel Ansley and the Piedmont Hotel. The membership gradually increased, a series of literary meetings in the winter of 1902 adding fifty names. This year a committee was appointed to revise the charter of Atlanta and the officers of the association appeared before it and asked that it include Municipal suffrage for women. The sub-committee on franchises recommended that instead it provide for women on school, hospital, park and health boards, but the general committee reported adversely. The Atlanta branch protested to Mayor Livingstone Mims against the injustice of not allowing women taxpayers to vote on the proposed \$400,000 bond issue. He expressed himself in favor of woman suffrage and promised to bring the matter before the city council, but there was no result.

Miss Kate M. Gordon, national corresponding secretary, gave a most convincing address in the Carnegie Library the next year, 1903, on how the taxpaying women of Louisiana won the right to vote on questions of taxation; strong articles were published, but all the women were able to do was to post large placards at the polls, "Taxpaying women should be allowed to vote at this bond election." Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, national

vice-president-at-large, came to assist at the State convention and delivered her famous lecture, "The Fate of Republics." This year the association distributed 10,000 pages of suffrage literature at the Interstate Fair. It attempted to bring a bill before the Legislature for police matrons but not a member would introduce it.

During these years the suffragists found it very difficult to persuade a legislator to present a bill for raising the age of consent or compulsory education in order to take the young children out of the factories or for the enfranchisement of women. In 1905, at the request of the National Association that fraternal greetings should be sent to various organizations, Mrs. McLendon, who had been a member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union since 1890, carried them to its convention and made an earnest but unsuccessful effort to have it adopt a franchise department. Thousands of pieces of suffrage literature were distributed at the State Fair. In 1906 memorial services were held for the great leader, Susan B. Anthony, and the association carried out to its full power all the State work planned by the National Board, including a petition to the Legislature to pass a resolution asking Congress to submit a Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The membership of the association was increased in 1907 by the addition of three prominent W. C. T. U. officials, Mrs. J. J. Ansley, Mrs. Jennie Hart Sibley and Mrs. L. W. Walker, who were promptly appointed superintendents of Church Work, Legislation and Petition and Christian Citizenship. Miss Jean Gordon of New Orleans and Mrs. Florence Kelley of New York made splendid addresses in favor of woman suffrage when they came to Atlanta in April to attend the Child Labor Convention. Dr. Shaw gave a stirring suffrage speech in the hall of the House of Representatives on May 4.

The evening sessions of the annual convention in 1908 were held in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol. Miss Laura Clay, Mrs. Sibley, Miss H. Augusta Howard and W. S. Witham were the speakers, with Mrs. McLendon presiding. Miss Clay's address, entitled Who Works Against Woman Suffrage? created a profound impression and she was of much assist-

ance. Mrs. McLendon was invited to speak before the convention of the Georgia Agricultural Association, one of the oldest in the State, on Woman's Education and Woman's Rights. A rising vote of thanks was accorded her and the address ordered printed in the minutes. The State Prohibition convention placed a strong woman suffrage plank in its platform and the delegates to the national convention were instructed to vote for one if it was offered. Mr. Witham, the Rev. James A. Gordon and Mr. Barker, editor of *The Southern Star*, worked faithfully for this plank.

In 1909, at the request of the National Association, letters were written to Georgia's Senators and Representatives in Congress, asking them to vote for a Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. Polite but non-committal replies were received from Senators Clay and Bacon and Representatives Griggs and Lewis. The other eight evidently did not consider disfranchised women worthy of an answer. The city council of Atlanta decided that its charter was forty years behind the times and again a committee of forty-nine men was appointed to draw up a new one. The Civic League, an Atlanta auxiliary to the State Suffrage Association, set to work to have this new charter recognize the rights of the women taxpayers. It was discovered that the women paid taxes on more than \$13,000,000 worth of real and personal property in the city. Several hundred personal letters were written to leading taxpaying women asking their opinion of the league's movement; only favorable replies were received and many friends of the cause developed among the influential women. Strong articles were published in the city papers and widely copied throughout the State, but the charter entirely ignored the claims of women. Many letters were written to Republican and Democratic delegates asking them to vote for a suffrage plank in their platforms. The annual convention was not held in Macon, as intended, because there was so much sentiment against it in that city. This year women in the Methodist Church South became active to secure laity rights, which had been granted to women members in the North, East and West after they had worked years for it, but the bishops in the South were bitterly opposed to it. Mrs. Mary Harris Armor,

the well-known national organizer and lecturer for the W. C. T. U., and four years president for Georgia, joined the suffrage association.

The National Association's petition to Congress had been distributed throughout the State for signatures and returned to Washington. In 1910 letters were written to President Taft, to the members of Congress from Georgia and to Governor "Joe" Brown, as requested by Dr. Shaw, national president. Senator Clay and Representatives W. C. Brantley, S. A. Roddenberry and W. C. Adamson were the only ones who could spare time to answer. Atlanta was to have an election for a three-million dollar bond issue on February 15, Susan B. Anthony's birthday, and the Mayor and president of the Chamber of Commerce had appealed to the City Federation of Women's Clubs to "make the men go to the polls to vote for bonds." The suffragists distributed broadcast a poster headed by a cartoon by Louis Gregg representing women of all sorts, armed with brooms, umbrellas, rolling pins, etc., driving the men to the polls.

Over 6,000 pages of suffrage literature were distributed in the State, a considerable amount of it to young people engaging in debates or writing essays. Dr. James W. Lee and Dr. Frank M. Siler, Methodist ministers of Atlanta, fearlessly expressed themselves in their pulpits as in favor of the enfranchisement of women, regardless of the fact that Bishop Warren A. Candler was bitterly opposed to it. Dr. Len G. Broughton of the Baptist church and Dr. Dean Ellenwood of the Universalist also declared themselves as favoring equal rights in Church and State for women. Judge John L. Hopkins, one of Georgia's foremost lawyers, who codified the laws, proclaimed himself a believer in equal rights for women in a letter to the *Constitution*. In June when it was again proposed to revise the charter of Atlanta, a committee from the Civic League went before the charter committee and presented a petition asking Municipal suffrage for women. Later at a meeting of the city council the petition was brought up for consideration and was treated with ridicule and contempt. On August 8 the association held its convention in the hall of the Federation of Labor, its true friend. Walter McElreath of Fulton county offered a resolution that the House

of Representatives should be tendered for the evening session, but Joe Bill Hall, a noted anti-prohibitionist and anti-suffragist, marshalled the liquor men and they defeated it.

In 1912 the State association conformed to the plan of the National and appointed a committee of education, who would offer money prizes for the best essays on woman suffrage by the seniors of the high schools, with Mrs. Helmer chairman and Miss Koch secretary. It worked vigorously for the bill to permit women to practice law. Mrs. Rebecca Latimer Felton became a member and was elected a delegate to the national suffrage convention in Philadelphia. Attorney Leonard J. Grossman joined the association and was made general counsel.

In 1913, while Mr. Grossman was attending the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association as a delegate, he was requested by James Lees Laidlaw, president of the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage, to undertake the organization of a Georgia Men's League. He did so immediately on returning home, with the following officers: President, Mr. Grossman; vice-presidents, the Rev. Fred A. Line, the Rev. J. Wade Conkling, C. W. McClure, Dr. Frank Peck, E. L. Martin, ex-president Macon Chamber of Commerce; S. B. Marks and L. Marquardt, ex-presidents of the State Federation of Labor. Mr. Grossman toured the State on behalf of woman suffrage under the joint auspices of the Men's League and the State association. He drafted, at their request, proposed bills and ratification resolutions; appeared before the annual conventions of the Federation of Labor, obtaining their formal endorsement of woman suffrage; secured also the endorsement of the Civic Educational League, comprising a great majority of the Jewish citizens of Atlanta; occupied church pulpits and addressed women's clubs, civic bodies, city councils and legislative committees. The members of the Men's League gave whatever assistance was required.

The many State victories in 1912 put new life into the movement in 1913. The Georgia Young People's Suffrage Association was organized with Miss Ruth Buckholz as president. To represent the association Mrs. Amelia R. Woodall, corresponding, and Miss Katherine Koch, recording secretary; Miss Mamie

Matthews, treasurer of the young people's society, Mrs. Landis Sanna, Mrs. Margaret Gardner, editor Trox Bankston of West Point and J. J. Williams of Chatterton, were sent to Washington to march in the parade on March 3. They carried the suffrage flag made for the national convention in Atlanta in 1895, with two handsome yellow banners prepared especially for the parade. Five bills before the Legislature were supported this year as well as the Federal Amendment. When Presidential suffrage was given to Illinois women in 1913, the *Atlanta Constitution* was so impressed with the "nearness" of woman suffrage that it created a suffrage department and offered the editorship to Mrs. McLendon. U. S. Senators Hoke Smith and Augustus O. Bacon had been obliged to present the petition of Georgia suffragists asking for the Federal Amendment, but no beautiful speeches were made by them. Senator Smith had been on record all his life as being "unalterably opposed to woman suffrage" and voted against it whenever he had opportunity, adding insult to injury by declaring, "Our best women do not want it." Senator W. S. West, who succeeded Senator Bacon, was more amenable to reason, but Senator Thomas W. Hardwick, who followed after Mr. West's death, has been an implacable opponent. For the second time the Atlanta Federation tendered the use of its beautiful Temple of Labor for the day sessions of the State convention which met July 9, 10. The Legislature was persuaded by John Y. Smith of Fulton county to permit an evening session in the House of Representatives. Senator Starke opposed the use of the Senate Chamber "because Christ did not select women for his Disciples" but saner counsels prevailed and it was opened for a session.

During 1914 there were 275 meetings in Atlanta, Rome, Athens, Decatur, Macon and Bainbridge by the auxiliary societies, with five open air meetings. On March 1 a mass meeting was held in the Atlanta theater to which members of the Legislature were especially invited. The speakers were officers of the National Association, including the vice-president, Miss Jane Addams. To enlarge the scope of the work there was organized in February the Woman Suffrage Party Incorporated, as a branch of the State association, with Mrs. McLendon president.

It secured a charter and prepared for an aggressive state-wide suffrage campaign. A chairman for each of the twelve congressional districts was appointed and instructed to organize in her district. This year for the first time a hearing was granted before the House Committee on Constitutional Amendments. Mrs. Felton and Mrs. Rose Ashby spoke for the association, Mrs. Cheatham and Mrs. Frances Smith Whiteside for the Woman Suffrage League. The association distributed 40,000 pages of leaflets, fliers, newspapers, etc.; about a dozen of the leading newspapers were supplied with local and national suffrage news and members of the Legislature with suffrage literature. In 1900, when the first National W. C. T. U. convention was held in Atlanta, woman suffrage was a forbidden subject at all temperance meetings in Georgia. In 1914, when the second was held, Mrs. McLendon, president of the State Suffrage Association, was selected to welcome the White Ribboners in behalf of the suffragists of the State.<sup>1</sup>

The annual convention of the State association was held July 21, 22, in the ballroom of the Hotel Ansley, beautifully decorated for the occasion. Miss Kate M. Gordon aided largely in making it a success. Mrs. Annie Fletcher of Oldham, England, visited Atlanta this year and spoke on the suffrage situation there. Mrs. Georgia McIntyre Wheeler, a practicing attorney of West Virginia, helped greatly in securing the Woman Lawyer Bill. Atlanta and Waycross suffragists applied to the city governments to grant women Municipal suffrage. The association did not parade on May 2, as requested by the National Board, but the president made a suffrage speech on the steps of the State Capitol and members sold copies of the *Woman's Journal*. The Rev. A. M. Hewlett, pastor of St. Marks Methodist Church South, accompanied Mrs. McLendon and Attorney Grossman to Cox College in March and by invitation of its president they gave addresses in favor of suffrage for women before the student body.

<sup>1</sup> In October, 1919, when Mrs. McLendon attended the W. C. T. U. convention, she was called to the platform on the opening night, presented as a "brave pioneer" and highly eulogized by the present and former State presidents. The audience gave her the Chautauqua salute and the White Ribbon cheer and in return she gave them a woman suffrage speech, which was enthusiastically received. Nevertheless the State society never endorsed votes for women, although local societies did so.

There was a growing sentiment in favor of it among clergymen of various denominations.

The State convention was held in Atlanta Nov. 15-20, 1915, at the same time as the harvest festival, and the first suffrage parade took place, led by Miss Eleanor Raoul on horseback. Mrs. McLendon followed in the little yellow car which once belonged to Dr. Shaw, driven by Mrs. Loring Raoul. As a protest against taxation without representation Dr. Shaw allowed it to be sold for taxes and it was bought by Miss Sallie Fannie Gleaton of Conyers, who walked behind it in the parade. The suffrage carriages were decorated with yellow, those of the W. C. T. U. with white. Mrs. William R. Woodall, president of the Atlanta association, and Miss Katherine Koch had carried on a suffrage school the first and second Wednesdays from February 24, to December 1. The motion picture suffrage play *Your Girl and Mine* had been put on in the Grand Opera House. The branch in Rome published an official organ called *The Woman's Magazine*.

In February, 1916, the State association and its three auxiliaries in Atlanta worked with the Equal Suffrage Party and the Woman Suffrage League to secure 10,000 names to a petition to the city council asking for the Municipal franchise. State Senator Helen Ring Robinson of Colorado and Mesdames Brooks, Kenney and Horine of Washington, D. C., came to their assistance. There were street speaking from automobiles at night and meetings at private residences and they secured over 9,000 names. The city council gave a hearing, the Hon. Claude Peyton making the presentation speech. The members listened apathetically and appeared much relieved when Attorney Robert M. Blackburn assured them they could not give women Municipal suffrage, as the State constitution declared only male citizens could vote. Letters were sent to the delegates to the two national conventions of the dominant political parties, asking them to put a strong suffrage plank in their platforms and Mrs. Woodall and Mrs. Laura Couzzens responded to Mrs. Catt's call for marchers at the Chicago and St. Louis conventions. Governor N. E. Harris refused to include woman suffrage in the call for the special session of the Legislature which made the State "bone dry," but



this year it enacted a number of laws for which the association had long worked.

On Feb. 12, 13, 1917, officers of the National Association held a suffrage school in Atlanta. When the Legislature assembled in June all the members found on their desks a notice that bills granting Municipal suffrage to women, also full suffrage, and one to raise the age of consent from 10 years to 18 would be introduced. The State association sent the national suffrage organ, the *Woman Citizen*, for a year to the United States Senators and fourteen Representatives in Congress; to the members of the Legislature and all State officials. The Atlanta association again conducted a three months' suffrage school. The State convention in December in the Assembly Hall of the Piedmont Hotel closed with a luncheon at which many prominent men and women were present. Representatives John C. White and John Y. Smith at that time pledged themselves to introduce and work for suffrage bills. During this and the following year the suffrage associations did their full share of war work. Mrs. McLendon represented the State association on the Women's Council of National Defense, and Mrs. Martin, first vice-president, was chairman of the State Americanization Committee.

In 1918 the Parent-Teacher Association adopted strong suffrage resolutions. The Baptist and Methodist churches South granted laity rights to women. State suffrage headquarters were deluged with requests for literature by educational institutions for debates. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Professor M. L. Brittain, had been an advocate of votes for women many years. The *Atlanta Journal* gave the State association a column in its Sunday issues, which Mrs. Martin edited. Raymond E. White wrote a number of fine suffrage editorials for the *Constitution*. In July the Hearst papers circulated a petition for a Federal Suffrage Amendment and the Atlanta association secured 5,000 names and other auxiliaries 1,000.

On May 3, 1919, a progressive city Democratic Central Committee gave Atlanta women the right to vote in the Municipal primary election to be held September 3. A Central Committee of Women Citizens was at once elected at a mass meeting of

women to see that they registered and nearly 4,000 did so, paying one dollar for the privilege.

Mrs. McLendon represented the State Association at the convention of the National Association in St. Louis in March, 1919. On May 21 she and her sister, Mrs. Felton, sat in the House of Representatives in Washington and had the pleasure of hearing W. D. Upshaw, member from the fifth congressional district of Georgia, vote for the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, the only Representative from the State to do so. On June 4 the new U. S. Senator, William J. Harris of Georgia, voted for the submission of this amendment, giving one of the long needed two votes. The official board of the State Association through Mrs. McLendon mailed to each member of the Legislature a personal letter with copies of letters from Mrs. J. K. Ottley, the Democratic Executive Committee woman from Georgia, and the eminent clergyman, Dr. J. B. Gambrell, urging the members to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The annual convention of 1919 was held in the auditorium of the Hotel Piedmont, Atlanta, on December 5.

A League of Women Voters was organized in Atlanta in March, 1920, out of the Equal Suffrage Party, but the State association decided that this action was premature, since there were no women voters in Georgia, and that the old association, organized in 1890, would never disband until women could vote on the same terms as men.

On June 1, in response to a petition of fifty representative women of Atlanta, a hearing in charge of Mrs. McLendon was granted by the chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee, at the request of Mayor Key. After a number had spoken a motion was made to let the women vote in the white municipal primary in Atlanta and was carried with only four negative votes. The Atlanta and the Young People's Suffrage Associations endorsed the re-election of Mayor Key and worked for him, and he was returned by a majority of three to one on July 28. Afterwards several other cities and villages permitted women to vote in the primaries and on bond issues.

After the Federal Suffrage Amendment was ratified in August 1920, it was announced that women would not be permitted to

register and vote in the primary on September 8 and the run-over primary of October 6 for the general election because they had not registered for it in April and May, which they had no right to do. When the Legislature had assembled June 23, Mrs. McLendon, Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Woodall had called on Representatives Covington and John Y. Smith and Senators Elders Dorris and Pittman and begged them to introduce an Enabling Act to provide for the women to vote in November if the 19th Amendment should be ratified. They promised faithfully to do this and the Senators did so, but it was held back. The Representatives never did introduce it. Mrs. McLendon then appealed to Governor Dorsey, but he was candidate for U. S. Senator and had no time to attend to it. The Legislature adjourned and the women were left in the lurch.

Then Mrs. McLendon decided to make a test and see if women could not vote in the primary on September 8, as the returned soldiers who did not reach Georgia before May were allowed to vote in all elections without registering. She wired to Senator Fermor Barrett of Stevens county, chairman of the sub-committee of the State Democratic Executive Committee, asking him to call it together and see if it could provide some way. He called it to meet in Atlanta on September 3, and he and H. H. Dean made speeches and voted to try to arrange it, but the other five members voted against it. Mrs. McLendon then went to the chairman of the County Democratic Executive Committee and he refused to take any action, saying, "Our committee is only the agent of the State committee and must obey its mandates." Then she and Mrs. Julia H. Ellington, Mrs. Jane Adkins and Mrs. Nancy Duncan called on the tax collector and asked to be allowed to pay their State and county taxes and to register. They were sent to the chairman of the Registration Committee and he also refused to enroll their names. Then they went to the polls September 8 and were told, "No women voting here."

Mrs. McLendon telegraphed to Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, who answered: "The matter to which you refer is not within the province of this Department and I am not in a position to give you any advice with regard thereto." She next asked Governor Dorsey to call an extra session of the Legislature

to provide some way for the women to vote in the general election, but he said he could not. Then she went to a full meeting of the State Democratic Executive Committee, held September 16, but no chance to be heard was given her. The next day she attended a meeting of the Fulton County Commissioners, who declared their willingness but their inability to do anything. She then called on Attorney General R. A. Denny, who advised her to go to the polls and make the effort, saying: "The 19th Amendment is above the laws of any State." Women in Georgia, however, were not permitted to vote at the Presidential election two months after they had been enfranchised by this amendment.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. The first request for woman suffrage was put before the Legislature in 1895, the last in 1920, and in the interim every session had this subject before it, with petitions signed by thousands of women, but during the quarter of a century it did not give one scrap of suffrage to the women of the State. From 1895 bills for the following measures were kept continuously before it: Age of protection for girls to be raised from 10 years; co-guardianship of children; prevention of employment of children under 10 or 12 years old in factories; women on boards of education; opening of the colleges to women. Year after year these bills were smothered in committees or reported unfavorably or defeated, usually by large majorities. In 1912 a bill was passed enabling women to be notaries public; in 1916 one permitting women to practice law, which the suffragists had worked for since 1899; in 1918 one raising the age of consent to 14. The suffrage association had worked for it twenty-three years and always asked that the age be 18.

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In 1912 another association to further the movement for woman suffrage was formed in Atlanta, the Woman Suffrage League, and Mrs. Frances Smith Whiteside, who had been from early days a member of the old association, was elected president. Mrs. Whiteside was for thirty years principal of the Ivy Street school and during the first ten years of the existence of the State Association she was the only teacher who dared avow herself a member, as the very name of suffrage was so odious to the public. Through her family connections and wide acquaintance

she was able to exercise a strong personal influence in bringing well-known men and women to a belief in this cause. The league did active work among teachers and business women and converted some of the leading legislators. It inaugurated an educational campaign in the schools and gave business scholarships for the best essays on woman suffrage. In co-operation with the other associations it obtained signatures to petitions for the Municipal franchise. The first street speaking was done under its auspices.

When Leagues of Women Voters were authorized by the National American Suffrage Association in 1919, the organization disbanded and the members entered the league formed in Georgia. Mrs. Whiteside had been continually the president and there had been only two changes in the board of the following officers: First vice-president, Mrs. Elizabeth McCarty; second, Miss Laura Barrien; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Jack Hawkins; recording secretaries, Mrs. William H. Yeandle, Mrs. Mary Peyton; treasurer, Miss Ethel Merk; auditors, Mrs. A. G. Helmer, Miss Minnie Bellamy. Mrs. Yeandle died in 1915 and Mrs. Mary Peyton was elected in her place. This year Mrs. Helmer became president of a branch league and was succeeded as auditor by Miss Minnie Bellamy.

#### THE EQUAL SUFFRAGE PARTY OF GEORGIA.<sup>1</sup>

For some time there had seemed a necessity in Georgia for an organization which would undertake more aggressive work in behalf of woman suffrage. Early in 1914 the psychological time for it became apparent and a meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Emily C. McDougald in Atlanta. A group of influential men and women were present, who declared themselves in favor of an active campaign and pledged their support. On motion of Linton C. Hopkins a committee was appointed to nominate temporary officers, and reported for president Mrs. McDougald; for vice-president, Mrs. Hopkins, and for secretary, Mrs. Hugh Lokey. A constitution and by-laws were adopted and a petition

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this part of the chapter to Mrs. Emily C. McDougald, president of the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia.

for a State charter was filed under the name of the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia.

On July 29 a meeting was called for permanent organization and with representatives from different parts of the State present the following were elected: President, Mrs. McDougald; first vice-president, Mrs. John Dozier Pou of Columbia; second, Miss Mildred Cunningham of Savannah; secretary, Mrs. Henry Schlesinger; treasurer, Mrs. Benjamin Elsas; organizer, Mrs. Mary Raoul Millis; auditor, Miss Genevieve Saunders, all of Atlanta. Members of the Executive Board were: Mrs. Mary Meade Owens of Augusta; Mrs. Mayhew Cunningham of Savannah; Miss Anna Griffin of Columbus; Mrs. Charles C. Harrold of Macon. Affiliated branches were organized with presidents as follows: In Savannah, Mrs. F. P. McIntire; in Augusta, Mrs. Owens; in Columbus, Miss Anabel Redd; in Atlanta, Miss Eleanore Raoul; in Macon, Mrs. Harrold; in Athens, Mrs. W. B. Hill; in Albany, Mrs. D. H. Redfearn.

From these centers a great deal of work was done for suffrage in the adjacent smaller towns. The city organizations opened offices and committees of local women were put in charge of the work of raising money and distributing suffrage propaganda. Tens of thousands of letters, leaflets, books and speeches were distributed throughout the State. All of the women's clubs were urged to endorse suffrage; schools were asked to debate the subject and prizes offered for the best arguments in debate and in written composition. Suffrage parades on foot and in automobiles were had in all the cities, suffrage plays put into the theaters, suffrage slides into the movies and every means of educating the public was used. The best national speakers were brought into the State and immense audiences worked up for them. The beloved Dr. Anna Howard Shaw spoke in Atlanta to one of 6,000. The National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which the Equal Suffrage Party was an affiliated branch, gave hearty co-operation in securing these speakers. The party held annual conventions, where new officers were generally elected as a matter of democratic policy. The second took place in Atlanta Nov. 17, 1915, where Mrs. McDougald was re-elected president and the other officers selected were Mrs. J. D. Pou of

Columbus, first vice-president; Mrs. Cunningham, second; Miss Schlesinger, secretary; Miss Aurelia Roach, treasurer; Mrs. Millis, organizer. The party already had branches in 13 counties, including the largest cities.

The annual convention on Oct. 28, 1916, was held in Atlanta and Mrs. L. S. Arrington of Augusta was elected president; Mrs. S. B. C. Morgan of Savannah, first vice-president; Mrs. Harrold, second; Miss Julia Flisch, secretary, and Miss Annie G. Wright, treasurer, both of Augusta. The effort in Atlanta to secure a petition for Municipal suffrage for women had resulted in obtaining the signatures of 6,000 women and 3,000 men. All the delegates to three national Presidential conventions had been circularized in behalf of a plank for Federal woman suffrage, and all the members of the Legislature asking for the submission of a State amendment. The next annual convention was held in Augusta Nov. 24, 1917, and Mrs. Frank P. McIntire of Savannah was selected for president. The convention was omitted in 1918, as the women were occupied with war work.

At the convention held in Savannah Jan. 15, 1919, Mrs. McDougald was again elected president. The splendidly efficient service of women in all the departments of war work proved that without them it would have been most difficult to succeed in the Liberty Bond sales, the Red Cross and all the "drives" for raising money. The officers of the Equal Suffrage Party and those of its affiliated societies were selected as leaders in the work of the Woman's Council of Defense, National and State.

From every part of the State hundreds of letters were sent to the U. S. Senators Smith and Hardwick, asking them to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, but to no avail. The year had been a fruitful one, even though the Legislature had failed to ratify the Federal Amendment, which was submitted by Congress in June. An adverse influence, which it was very hard to combat, was that of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. Its president, Mrs. Z. L. Fitzpatrick of Madison and other officials were violently opposed. A large majority of the women in the city clubs were suffragists and not influenced by the attitude of the federation officers but this was not true of the rural women, who were constantly warned that woman suffrage was a great

evil not to be even mentioned in their clubs. This anti-suffrage influence reacted upon the rural legislator and gave him ground for the oft-repeated argument, "The women of my district do not want the vote, they won't even discuss it in their clubs." There had long been a strong desire to have woman suffrage endorsed by the State Federation, the largest organization of women in the State, with 30,000 members, and every year the Equal Suffrage Party had sent to all the club presidents an earnest letter urging them to give their members an opportunity to vote on the question and pointing out the greater achievements of the clubs in States where women had the franchise. At every annual meeting, however, when a resolution would be offered from the floor, the president of the federation would declare it out of order and prevent action on it. In 1917, at its convention in Augusta, a resolution was offered to send a congratulatory telegram to the women of New York on their newly acquired enfranchisement, whereupon a storm of protest arose, the president ruled it out of order and it was tabled.

In 1919 every club was again circularized and the answers showed that the women throughout the State wanted favorable action by the State Federation. At its convention in Columbus in November, 1919, two resolutions were prepared, one or the other to be presented, as seemed most expedient at the time. One was a simple endorsement of woman suffrage; the other, submitted by Mrs. Morgan, asked for an endorsement of the Federal Amendment and its ratification by the Legislature. At the last moment, the suffragists decided to take a bold step and send the latter to the Resolutions Committee, which was done, and this committee recommended its adoption. The president, Mrs. James E. Hayes of Montezuma, ruled it out of order. Mrs. Rogers Winter of Atlanta appealed from the decision of the chair; Mrs. Alonzo Richardson of Atlanta seconded the appeal and was sustained and the resolution was brought before the convention. It was carried by a vote of 85 to 40.<sup>1</sup>

When the report of this action was received in Macon, an

<sup>1</sup> The resolution was voted on in the last hours of the convention and a number of the suffragists had taken trains for home. Mrs. Hayes desired to have the resolution pass but as the convention the preceding year had sustained the ruling of the president that it was out of order she felt obliged to make a similar one.



indignant protest went up from the anti-suffragists. Mrs. Bruce Carr Jones, secretary of the State Federation, sent in her resignation. Mrs. Walter D. Lamar and Mrs. Thomas Moore went before the women's clubs of the city and urged that they withdraw from the federation. The Macon *Telegraph* devoted much space to denouncing it as a most dishonest trick and approved heartily the efforts of these women to dismember the federation. Through their influence six clubs resigned. Sixty-nine new clubs joined the federation in the twelve months following its endorsement of the Federal Amendment.<sup>1</sup>

The white women of Atlanta were given the vote in the city Primaries in May, 1919. For several years all the suffrage forces in the city had been working to secure this privilege from the Democratic Executive Committee, but without success. In 1919, however, the personnel of the committee had changed to such an extent that it was decided to make another effort. The chairman, E. C. Buchanan, was a good friend and with his help Mrs. A. G. Helmer, Mrs. Charles Goodman and Mrs. McDougald had the opportunity of making a personal canvass of each of its forty-four members. When the chairman called a meeting for May 3, to consider, he said, the request of the Equal Suffrage Party, there was every reason to believe they would make a favorable report. A resolution written by Mrs. McDougald was adopted by a vote of 24 to 1. On the roll call each man stood up and in a few gracious words expressed his pleasure in being able to show his confidence in the helpful co-operation of women in city government by granting them this suffrage. A mass meeting of women was called at once to name a central committee to take charge of the task of getting the women registered immediately as a city election was near at hand. Miss Eleanore Raoul was made chairman, and with her able co-workers in every ward

<sup>1</sup>The only organized antagonism to woman suffrage came from a very small but very vindictive association in Macon, vigorously abetted and encouraged by the *Telegraph*, the only paper in the State which fought suffrage and suffragists. Every week a column or more, edited by James P. Callaway, was filled with abuse of suffrage leaders and every slanderous statement in regard to them which could be found. Miss Caroline Patterson of Macon was always president of this association and Mrs. Lamar, Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Moore and a few other women, all of Macon, were ardent co-workers and leaders and frequent contributors to Mr. Callaway's column. The association still holds together and the members are pledged not to vote but to give their time and money to any effort made in the courts to invalidate ratification of the Federal Amendment (1920).

accomplished a wonderful work. Public meetings addressed by prominent men and women were held daily; \$1,200 were raised and 4,000 women were registered in a few weeks. The Executive Committee in 1920 again included women in the electorate and to this body of men is due the honor of being the first in Georgia to recognize the value of women in civic affairs.

In 1919 all the district school superintendents inaugurated a series of competitive debates on the question, Shall Georgia Grant Suffrage to the Women of the State? This created intense interest in every county and the Equal Suffrage Party found it difficult to supply the demand for literature from the hundreds of schools. The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce elected five women as members in recognition of their public service. In addressing the Landowners' Convention at Savannah in November Governor Hugh M. Dorsey said: "I hope that as Governor of Georgia I may be given the privilege of signing a bill giving women equal rights in this great commonwealth."

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. In June, 1915, the Equal Suffrage Party made its first effort to sponsor a suffrage bill in the Legislature. It opened a booth in one of the corridors between the House and Senate chambers, supplied it with the best suffrage literature and put it in charge of a committee of women who worked faithfully to convert some of that wilful and reactionary group of politicians. It was a hopeless task. The first bill was introduced in the House by Mr. Wohlwender of Muscogee county and in the Senate by Senators Dobbs and Buchanan and referred to the Judiciary Committee, which granted a hearing. Representatives from all the suffrage associations were present and made speeches. Mrs. Walter D. Lamar and Miss Mildred Rutherford, head of the Lucy Cobb Institute of Athens, represented the Anti-Suffrage Association. Mrs. Lamar's arguments were based upon the theory that women did not have sufficient integrity to be trusted with the ballot; that long years ago when those of New Jersey had it it had to be taken from them because they were so dishonest in their use of it. She also said that women were universally the hardest taskmasters, requiring more work and paying less for it than men. Miss Rutherford begged the legislators to disregard the request of the few women desiring

the ballot, as they did not represent the true type of the southern woman, who had always rejoiced in being upon a high pedestal where men had placed her and worshipped her and that women were more than satisfied with that which men had so lavishly and chivalrously given—their love and their money. These speeches were received with howls of appreciation from the legislators, who dwelt upon the type that appealed to them, “the woman who was the mother of children and realized that her place was at home with her hand on the cradle.” The committee made an unfavorable report.

In 1916 this experience was repeated. In 1917 and 1918 the leaders of the Equal Suffrage Party were absorbed in war work and had no time to waste in so helpless and disagreeable a task. They realized that they would soon be enfranchised by a Federal Amendment, the only hope of the women of Georgia.

RATIFICATION. In 1919 came the great struggle over ratification. The best the suffragists hoped for was that no action would be taken. During the first days of the session, however, the resolution to ratify was introduced in the House by Representative J. B. Jackson of Jones county and in the Senate by Senator T. H. Parker of Colquitt county, both of whom explained that their action was taken in order to kill it. The resolution was referred in both Houses to the Committees on Constitutional Amendments and a joint hearing was set for an early date.

The suffragists had more friends and stronger ones on the House Committee than the “antis” and more than they had realized. All they asked was that the resolution be tabled, not reported favorably, for they knew that defeat on the floor of the House was certain. One of their strongest supporters, Judge W. A. Covington of Colquitt county, was detained at home by illness in his family and telegraphed the chairman of the House Committee, John W. Bale of Floyd county, asking that the hearing be postponed a few days so that he might be present. This courtesy, commonly extended without question, was refused by Mr. Bale. Immediately on the opening of the hearing Mr. Jackson asked to substitute for his original resolution one which explicitly rejected ratification. By permission of the chairman this substitute was accepted. After the hearing, at which Miss

Rutherford alone appeared in opposition while seven women spoke for it, the committee went into executive session. On a motion to postpone action the vote was 13 to 13, and the chairman cast his vote against it. During the executive session Robert T. DuBose of Clarke county became ill and asked if he might cast his vote ahead of time and leave. Permission was granted him and he wrote on a slip of paper a vote for postponing action. When the final vote was taken Mr. Bale ruled that Mr. DuBose's vote could not be counted. If it had been the suffragists would have carried their point by a vote of 14 to 13. After the motion to postpone was lost the Jackson resolution to reject was reported favorably.

The Senate Committee acted in open session. After prolonged debate the Parker resolution to ratify was reported unfavorably by a vote of 10 to 3, and the next day it came before the Senate. The opponents believed they could make short work of it or they would not have permitted it to come up. By a vote of 37 to 12 the Senate refused to disagree to the committee report. In order to dispose of the resolution, however, it was necessary to agree to the report and when this motion was made the suffrage supporters started a "filibuster" which they continued for several days. Finally the anti-suffrage Senators promised that if the suffragists would call off their "filibuster" they would vote to recommit the resolution to the committee with the understanding that it would stay there the remainder of the session. But on the same day that this agreement was made Senator Parker introduced another resolution, which, like the Jones substitute, called for rejection of ratification. It was reported favorably by the committee and after several days' debate, Senators Claude Pittman, W. H. Dorris, H. H. Elders and George G. Glenn, speaking for ratification, the rejection resolution was carried on July 24 by 39 to 10. The Senate then voted down a proposition to submit to the voters a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution. On the same day the Jackson resolution to reject was presented in the House and after a spirited debate led by Judge Covington and A. S. Anderson for ratification the resolution was carried by 132 to 34.

This contest had occupied about two-thirds of the time since

the Legislature convened and yet the opponents, after all their efforts, failed to have the Legislature go on record as rejecting the Federal Amendment, for the House resolution was never concurred in by the Senate and the Senate resolution was never concurred in by the House and the session adjourned without completing formal action. President Wilson had sent a telegram urging ratification for party expediency and U. S. Senator Harris went to Atlanta to lobby for either ratification or no action, but he was denounced by the legislators and the President was called a "meddler." Members of the Democratic National Committee and Clark Howell, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, and James Hallanan, its political editor, strongly supported ratification, as did Governor Dorsey. The suffrage associations made no effort in 1920, knowing the hopelessness of it. The National Woman's Party endeavored to secure an Enabling Act, so that women might vote under the Federal Amendment although the time for registration had passed, but were not successful.

The last meeting of the Equal Suffrage Party was held in Atlanta during the regional conference of the National League of Woman Voters. Thirty-five States had ratified the Federal Amendment, and feeling assured that ratification would soon be fully accomplished, Mrs. McDougald had gained the consent of all the branches to take this occasion to merge it into a State League. This was done April 3, 1920. Miss Annie G. Wright of Augusta was elected chairman and Mrs. McDougald and Mrs. S. B. C. Morgan honorary presidents for life.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1921 the League prepared a bill "to remove the civil disabilities of women," which provided that women should be eligible to vote in all elections, primary and general, in municipalities, counties and the State, and should be eligible to hold public office. The only objection made to the bill was to women on juries. The women objected to this exemption but had to yield. In the Senate the vote on July 22 stood 36 for, 3 against; in the House almost unanimous on August 10. These legislators were so courteous and obliging the women could scarcely believe it was a Georgia Legislature. They gave everything asked for and inquired, "Is there anything else we can do for you?"

The State organizer of the League of Women Voters is Mrs. Z. L. Fitzpatrick, former president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. She is most enthusiastic over the new order of affairs and is touring the State organizing leagues and urging women to get out and vote and to nominate women for the offices!

## CHAPTER XI.

### IDAHO.<sup>1</sup>

Idaho women have been voting citizens for twenty-four years and during these years much has been accomplished for the making of a bigger and better State, especially along educational lines. The women came into their suffrage sanely and quietly, working shoulder to shoulder with men in everything vital to their country. State and local politics has been materially improved since women have been electors. No strictly suffrage association has been maintained since the franchise was granted, but when the National League of Women Voters was instituted in 1920 a branch was formed in Idaho with Dr. Emma F. A. Drake chairman. Work heretofore had been done through the Federation of Clubs, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and other organizations of women. Political leaders always consider what women will think of a candidate before he is nominated and it is constantly demonstrated that nothing puts the fear of God into a man's heart like the ballot in the hands of a good woman. The women vote in about the same proportion as the men and there never is any criticism of it. Women have worked for many good laws and have seen the most of them passed.

The women are not ambitious for office, but they fill regularly, without question, the following: State Superintendent of Public Instruction, County School Superintendent, County Treasurer, City Treasurer and, in many counties, Auditor and the appointive offices, Law Librarian and assistant, Traveling Librarian and assistant. In January, 1920, Governor D. W. Davis appointed Mrs. J. G. H. Gravely on the State Educational Board. The following women have filled the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction: Miss Permeal French, Miss Belle Cham-

<sup>1</sup>The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Margaret S. Roberts, Librarian of the Idaho Free Travelling Library. A full account of the winning of woman suffrage in 1896 will be found in Volume IV, History of Woman Suffrage.

berlain, Miss Bernice McCoy, Miss May Scott, Miss Grace Shepherd, Miss Ethel Redfield; of Law Librarian: Mrs. Mary Wood, Mrs. Arabella Erskine, Mrs. Carrie A. Gainer, Mrs. Minnie Priest Dunton, Mrs. William Balderston; of Traveling Librarian: Mrs. E. J. Dockery, Miss Louise Johnson, Mrs. Marie Schrieber, Miss Margaret S. Roberts.

Only six women have served in the Legislature, all in the Lower House: Mrs. Hattie F. Noble, Mrs. Clara Campbell, Dr. Emma F. A. Drake, Mrs. Mary Allen Wright, Mrs. Lettie McFadden, Mrs. Carrie Harper White.

RATIFICATION. Governor Davis called a special session to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment Feb. 11, 1920. It was carried unanimously in the House, after Dr. Emma F. A. Drake, the only woman member of the House present, made a strong and logical speech introducing the resolution. It was carried in the Senate but had six opposing votes. The following are the names of the men who were proud to vote against the ratification: Elmer Davis of Boise county; C. B. Faraday of Elmore; Ross Mason of Shoshone; R. T. Owens of Oneida; E. W. Porter of Latah; John S. St. Clair of Owyhee.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If "happy women have no history" those of Idaho are fortunate, as the above is all that could be obtained for the State chapter.—Ed.

## CHAPTER XII.

### ILLINOIS.<sup>1</sup>

The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association started on its work for the new century with a determination to win full suffrage for women—the one great purpose for which it was organized in 1869. The State conventions were always held in October or November. In the earlier years they usually went to the “down state” cities or towns, but as they grew large Chicago was generally selected. In October, 1900, the State convention was held at Edgewater and Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert of Evanston resumed the presidency, which she had held for a number of years. Delegates from four places besides Chicago were present. Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch was made legislative chairman and work was continued for needed changes in the laws.

At the convention of 1901 Mrs. Elizabeth F. Long of Barry was elected president. Great effort was made to interest the press in the suffrage question and a leaflet entitled Suffrage for Women Taxpayers was published and sent to all the large newspapers. The Chicago Teachers' Federation, under the leadership of Miss Margaret Haley and Miss Catherine Goggin, rendered valuable service in arousing the people to the injustice of taxation without representation. The Ella Flagg Young Club, an organization of the women principals of the public schools, affiliated this year with the State suffrage association. Petitions were circulated and suffrage resolutions passed by various kinds of clubs and plans were made to introduce in the next Legislature the Municipal and Presidential suffrage bill as well as a full suffrage amendment to the State constitution. Among the women who rendered efficient service in these early years

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. J. W. McGraw, eight years on the Board of Directors and six years Legislative Chairman of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. She is under obligations for many of the facts relative to the campaign of 1913 to Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, State president for seven years.



were Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. Lucy Flower and Mrs. Lydia Avery Coonley-Ward.

The next convention was held in Jacksonville in 1902 and the Rev. Kate Hughes of Table Grove was elected president. At the convention of 1903 Mrs. Hughes was re-elected. A feature of the educational work this year was to urge the directors of the libraries of the State to place on their shelves the official History of Woman Suffrage, recently brought up to date. A leaflet by Mrs. McCulloch, Bench and Bar of Illinois, was published by the association and widely circulated. It gave the opinions of some of the ablest jurists and statesmen on the woman suffrage question.

At the 1904 convention Mrs. McCulloch was elected president. Notable growth was made in suffrage societies during the year and favorable sentiment was aroused in organizations formed for other work. Among these were the State Federation of Women's Clubs and the Teachers' Federation, the former with a membership of 25,000 and the latter with 3,500. All party conventions but the Republican passed strong suffrage resolutions and all parties including this one nominated women as trustees of the State University. The Democratic Mayor of Chicago, Edward F. Dunne, appointed Miss Jane Addams, Dr. Cornelia DeBey and Mrs. Emmons Blaine as members of the School Board. The legislative work was encouraging this year, for in both Senate and House the Municipal and Presidential suffrage bill was reported out of committee with favorable recommendations, and in the Senate it reached second reading.

The State convention of 1905 was held in Chicago and Mrs. Ella S. Stewart was elected president. During the year much literature was distributed and a committee was appointed, that included as many federated club presidents as would serve, to secure if possible Municipal suffrage in the new Chicago charter which was then being considered. Mrs. Charles Henrotin, former president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, was appointed chairman. The women were allowed to make their appeal before several minor committees, but not before the whole Charter Convention, which tabled their request. The entire charter was tabled in the Legislature. Miss Alice Henry,

formerly of Australia, editor of the magazine *Life and Labor*, gave valuable assistance in organizing suffrage clubs. Educational work in colleges was begun and Mrs. Elmira E. Springer, an ardent suffrage worker, contributed a fund of \$1,000, the interest to be distributed as prizes at an annual inter-collegiate oratorical suffrage contest. As a result suffrage societies were formed among the college students auxiliary to the State association. It published suffrage leaflets written by Judge Murray F. Tuley, a prominent Chicago judge; Mrs. Eugenia M. Bacon, former president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and one by Miss Anna Nicholes, an active settlement worker, on the need of the ballot for the working woman.

At the convention of 1906 Mrs. Stewart was re-elected. Much literature was published and valuable educational work was carried on in addition to the legislative work at Springfield under the auspices of Mrs. McCulloch. In the fall of 1907 the State convention was held on the Fair grounds at Springfield, and Mrs. Stewart was re-elected. At the convention of 1908 Mrs. Stewart was continued as president. The association co-operated with the National American Suffrage Association in requesting the National Republican Committee, which met in Chicago, to incorporate a woman suffrage plank in its platform. An active educational campaign was started to appeal again for Municipal suffrage for women in another charter which was being prepared. This time the charter convention acceded to the request of the women, but the whole was defeated at Springfield. In this work important help was given the association by the Teachers' Federation, the Chicago Woman's Club and the Trade Union League. The Chicago Political Equality League, as well as other affiliated suffrage organizations, took an active part in this campaign and about 60,000 signatures to a petition were obtained.

In October, 1909, the State convention was held in Chicago and Mrs. Stewart was again re-elected. This year the State association organized the Chicago Men's Equal Suffrage League with former Senator Thomas J. McMillan, the "father" of the Illinois School suffrage law, as its first president. The members were from many walks of life, among them George E. Cole, founder of the Citizens' Association, who had led in civic reform

work for many years; Bishop Samuel Fallows, one of the city's most prominent and best loved clergymen; Richard S. Tuthill, for years an influential Judge; Jenkin Lloyd Jones, founder of the liberal church known as Lincoln Center; Dr. Henry B. Favill, one of Chicago's well-known physicians; Henry Neil, who was responsible for the mothers' pension law; Andrew MacLeish, a member of Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company, one of the city's largest dry goods houses, and many other prominent men, including the husbands of all the well-known suffragists. This year for the first time permanent headquarters were opened in the Fine Arts Building, 410 Michigan Boulevard, and Miss Harriet Grim, a student of Chicago University, was engaged as State organizer. She spoke before women's clubs, labor unions and parlor groups and twenty new societies were formed. Active suffrage work was also instituted among the churches under the management of Mrs. Fannie H. Rastall, chairman of the Church Committee.

In the spring of 1910 the State Board decided to try suffrage automobile tours. Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Chicago Political Equality League, was appointed to take charge of an experimental tour which required about six weeks of preparatory work to insure its success. She visited the offices of the newspapers and secured their co-operation. The tour started on Monday, July 11, and the edition of the *Tribune* the day before contained a full colored page of the women in the autos and nearly a half page more of reading material about it. The paper sent two reporters on the trip, who rode in the car with the speakers. The *Examiner*, *Record Herald*, *Post* and *Journal* sent reporters by railroad and trolley, who joined the suffragists at their stopping places. The women spoke from the automobile, which drove into some square or stopped on a prominent street corner, previously arranged for by the local committees. Mrs. McCulloch spoke from the legal standpoint; Miss Nicholes from the laboring woman's view and Mrs. Stewart from an international aspect. Mrs. Trout made the opening address, covering the subject in a general way, and presented the speakers. She herself was introduced by some prominent local woman and on several occasions by the Mayor.

Sixteen towns were visited, and the *Tribune* said: "Suffrage tour ends in triumph. With mud bespattered 'Votes for Women' banners still flying, Mrs. Trout and her party of orators returned late yesterday afternoon. Men and women cheered them all the way in from their last stop at Wheaton to the Fine Arts Building headquarters." Similar tours in other parts of the State were conducted by Dr. Anna E. Blount, Mrs. Stewart, Miss Grim and Mrs. Jennie F. W. Johnson. Mrs. Trout took her same speakers and went to Lake Geneva, where meetings with speaking from automobiles were held under the auspices of Mrs. Willis S. McCrea, who entertained the suffragists in her spacious summer home. In the autumn at her house on Lincoln Parkway Mrs. McCrea organized the North Side Branch of the State association, afterwards (1913) renamed the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association.

In October the State convention was held at Elgin and Mrs. Stewart was re-elected. The Municipal and Presidential bills and the full suffrage amendment were introduced in the Legislature as usual. Miss Grim and Miss Ruth Harl were stationed at Springfield as permanent lobbyists and Mrs. McCulloch directed the work. At the time of the hearing a special suffrage train was run from Chicago to Springfield, with speaking from the rear platform at the principal places en route.

The State convention was held at Decatur in October, 1911, and Mrs. Stewart, wishing to retire from office after serving six strenuous years, Mrs. Elvira Downey was elected president. Organizing work was pushed throughout the State. Cook county clubs for political discussion were formed by Miss Mary Miller, a lawyer of Chicago. In the winter a suffrage bazaar lasting five days was held at the Hotel LaSalle, under the management of Mrs. Alice Bright Parker. Many of the younger suffragists took part in this social event. Every afternoon and evening there were suffrage speeches and several Grand Opera singers contributed their services. It was an excellent piece of propoganda work and aroused interest among people who had not been reached through other forms.

At the April primaries in Chicago in 1912, through the initiative of Mrs. McCulloch, a "preferential" ballot on the question

of suffrage for women was taken. This was merely an expression of opinion by the voters as to whether they favored it, which the Democratic Judge of Elections, John E. Owens, allowed to be taken, but it had no legal standing. The State association conducted a whirlwind educational campaign immediately before the election. Unfortunately, Prohibitionists, Socialists and many independent electors who favored it were not entitled to vote. The result was 135,410 noes, 71,354 ayes, every ward giving an adverse majority. In October the State convention was held at Galesburg and Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout was elected president. Mrs. Trout had been on the State board for two years and during this time had served also as president of the Chicago Political Equality League, which under her administration had increased its membership from 143 to over 1,000 members. She began at once to strengthen the State organization for the legislative campaign of 1913. There were still Senatorial districts in which there were no suffrage societies, and, as the time was short, competent women were immediately appointed in such districts to see that their legislators were interviewed and to make ready to have letters and telegrams sent to them at Springfield.

During the Legislature of 1911 Mrs. Trout had twice accompanied Mrs. McCulloch to Springfield and the antagonism manifested against woman suffrage made her realize that new tactics would have to be employed. Mrs. McCulloch after many years of service had asked to be relieved and Mrs. Elizabeth K. Booth of Glencoe had been elected legislative chairman. Mrs. Trout and she adopted a new plan without spectacular activities of any kind, believing that much publicity was likely to arouse the opponents. It was decided to initiate a quiet, educational campaign and as the only possible way to secure sufficient votes to pass the measure, to convert some of the opponents into friends. It was agreed also that a card index, giving data about every member of the Legislature, should be compiled at once to be used later for reference. This plan was approved and adopted by the State board.

The members of the Board and suffrage friends throughout the State gathered information about the legislators and sent it to Mrs. Booth. The cards when filled out stated the politics and

religion of the various Senators and Representatives, whether they were married or single, whether their home relations were harmonious, and tabulated any public service they had ever rendered. This information made it easier to approach the different legislators in a way to overcome their individual prejudices. All effort was to be concentrated on the bill, which, with variations, the State association had had before most of the Legislatures since 1893. It read as follows :

All women [naming usual qualifications] shall be allowed to vote for presidential electors, members of the State Board of Equalization, clerk of the appellate court, county collector, county surveyor, members of board of assessors, members of board of review, sanitary district trustees, and for all officers of cities, villages and towns (except police magistrates), and upon all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of such municipalities or other political division of this State.

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

Separate ballot boxes and ballots shall be provided. . . .

As soon as the Legislature convened in 1913 a struggle developed over the Speakership, and there was a long and bitter deadlock before William McKinley, a young Democrat from Chicago, was finally elected. Then another struggle ensued over a United States Senator. During these weeks of turmoil little could be accomplished for the suffrage bill, but February 10 Mrs. Booth went to Springfield and from then attended the sessions regularly. She sat in the galleries of the Senate and House and soon learned to recognize each member and rounded up and checked off friendly legislators.

The Progressives had a large representation and had made plans to introduce as a party measure a carefully drafted Woman Suffrage bill. Mrs. Trout and Mrs. Booth suggested to the leaders that it would be far better to let the State association sponsor this measure than to have it presented by any political party. They finally agreed, but Mrs. McCulloch had accompanied Mrs. Booth to Springfield taking the bill which she herself had drafted and which she insisted upon having substituted. Out of deference to her long years of service her bill was taken instead

of the Progressives'. It named the officers for which women should be allowed to vote instead of being worded like the Progressive draft, which said: "Women shall be allowed to vote for all officers and upon all propositions submitted except where the Constitution provides that the elector shall be a male citizen." In Mrs. Booth's official report to the State convention, held in the fall of 1913 at Peoria, she said: "As we failed to introduce the form of bill approved by the Progressives' constitutional lawyers they introduced it, and it required considerable tact to allay their displeasure and induce them to support our bill." Medill McCormick, one of the leading Progressives in the Legislature, helped greatly in straightening out this tangle. He was a faithful ally of the suffrage lobby and rendered invaluable assistance. Other Progressives who gave important service were John M. Curran and Emil N. Zolla of Chicago; J. H. Jayne of Monmouth; Charles H. Carmon of Forrest, and Fayette S. Munro of Highland Park.<sup>1</sup>

On March 10 Mrs. Trout went to Springfield to secure if possible the support of the Democratic Governor, Edward F. Dunne, for the bill. Mrs. Booth said in her official report: "The Governor told us that he would not support any suffrage measure which provided for a constitutional amendment, as this might interfere with the Initiative and Referendum Amendment, upon which the administration was concentrating its efforts. We assured him that we would not introduce a resolution for an amendment and that we desired the support of the administration for our statutory bill, as we realized that no suffrage measure could pass if it opposed. He then acquiesced." The work at Springfield became more and more complicated and at times seemed almost hopeless. No politicians believed the suffragists had the slightest chance of success. From April 7 Mrs. Trout went down every week. The women had the strong support of the Chicago press and editorials were published whenever

<sup>1</sup> The State association always did everything possible to cooperate with the National Suffrage Association. On March 1, headed by Mrs. Trout, 83 women left Chicago by special train for Washington. In the big suffrage parade there on the 3rd they wore a uniform regalia of cap and baldric and were headed by a large band led by Mrs. George S. Wells, a member of the State Board, as drum major. There was a woman out-rider, Mrs. W. H. Stewart, on a spirited horse. Mrs. Trout led, carrying an American flag, and the Illinois banner was carried by Royal N. Allen, a prominent member of the Progressive party and the railroad official who had charge of the special train.

they were especially needed during the six months' struggle. After considerable educational work the Springfield newspapers also became friendly and published suffrage editorials at opportune times. The papers were refolded so that these editorials, blue penciled, came on the outside, and placed on the desks of the legislators.

The bill was introduced in the House by Charles L. Scott (Dem.) and in the Senate by Hugh S. Magill (Rep.). All efforts were centered on its passage first through the Senate. After nearly three months of strenuous effort this was finally accomplished on May 7, 1913, by a vote of 29 ayes (three more than the required majority) and 15 noes. It is doubtful whether this action could have been secured without the skilful tactics of Senator Magill, but he could not have succeeded without the unfailing co-operation of Lieutenant Governor Barratt O'Hara. Among other Senators who helped were Martin B. Bailey, Albert C. Clark, Edward C. Curtis, Samuel A. Ettelson, Logan Hay and Thomas B. Stewart, Republicans; Michael H. Cleary, William A. Compton, Kent E. Keller, Walter I. Manny and W. Duff Piercy, Democrats; George W. Harris and Walter Clyde Jones, Progressives.

The day the bill passed Mrs. Trout left Springfield to address a suffrage meeting to be held in Galesburg that evening and the next day one at Monmouth. In each place resided a member of the House who was marked on the card index as "doubtful," but both, through the influence of their constituents, voted for the bill. Mrs. Booth remained in Springfield to see that it got safely over to the House. The two women wished the bill to go into the friendly Elections Committee and the opponents were planning to put it into the Judiciary Committee, where it would remain during the rest of the session. The suffrage lobby worked into the small hours of the night making plans to frustrate this scheme. Arrangements were made with Speaker McKinley to turn it over to the Elections Committee, and when the morning session opened this was done before the opponents realized that their plot had failed.

The women were indebted to David R. Shanahan, for many years an influential Republican member, who, representing a



“wet” district in Chicago, felt that he could not vote for the bill, but without his counsel it would have been still more difficult to pass it. To overcome the pitfalls, Mrs. Trout appealed to the enemies to give the women of Illinois a square deal, especially to Lee O’Neil Browne, a powerful Democratic leader. He had always opposed suffrage legislation, but he finally consented to let the bill, so far as he was concerned, be voted up or down on its merits. It was this spirit of fair play among its opponents as well as the loyalty of its friends that made possible the final victory.

Up to this time Mrs. Trout and Mrs. Booth had worked alone, but now Mrs. Trout asked Mrs. Antoinette Funk, a lawyer, of Chicago, who had done active work for the Progressive party, to come to Springfield, and she arrived on May 13. A week later Mrs. Medill McCormick came to reside in the capital and her services were immediately enlisted. She was a daughter of the late Senator Mark Hanna, who had inherited much of her father’s ability in politics and was an important addition to the suffrage lobby. On May 14 the bill had its first reading and was referred to the Elections Committee. On the 21st it was reported with a recommendation that it “do pass.” The opponents were now thoroughly alarmed. Anton J. Cermak of Chicago, president of the United Societies, a powerful organization of liquor interests, directed the fight against it. Leaflets were circulated giving the “preferential” suffrage vote taken in Chicago the year before, with a list of the negative votes cast in each ward to show the Chicago members how badly it had been beaten by their constituents. The bill was called up for second reading June 3 and there was a desperate attempt to amend and if possible kill it, but it finally passed in just the form it had come over from the Senate.

The hope of the opposition now was to keep Speaker McKinley from allowing the bill to come up for third reading. He told Mrs. Trout that hundreds of men from Chicago as well as from other parts of the State had come to Springfield and begged him to prevent it from coming to a vote. The young Speaker looked haggard and worn during those days, and he asked her to let him know it if there was any suffrage sentiment in the

State. She immediately telephoned to Mrs. Harriette Taylor Treadwell, president of the Chicago Political Equality League, to have letters and telegrams sent at once to Springfield and to have people communicate by telephone with the Speaker when he returned to Chicago for the week end. Mrs. Treadwell called upon the suffragists and thousands of letters and telegrams were sent. She also organized a telephone brigade by means of which he was called up every fifteen minutes by men as well as women, both at his home and his office, from early Saturday morning until late Monday night the days he spent in Chicago. She was assisted in this work by Mrs. James W. Morrisson, secretary of the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. George Bass, president of the Chicago Woman's Club; Mrs. Jean Wallace Butler, a well-known business woman; Mrs. Edward L. Stillman, an active suffragist in the Rogers Park Woman's Club; Miss Florence King, a prominent patent lawyer and president of the Chicago Woman's Association of Commerce; Miss Mary Miller, another Chicago lawyer and president of the Chicago Human Rights Association; Mrs. Charlotte Rhodus, president of the Woman Suffrage Party of Cook County and other influential women. Mrs. Trout telephoned Miss Margaret Dobyne, press chairman of the association, to send out the call for help over the State, which she did with the assistance of Miss Jennie F. W. Johnson, the treasurer, and Mrs. J. W. McGraw, the auditor.

A deluge of letters and telegrams from every section of Illinois awaited the Speaker when he arrived in Springfield Tuesday morning. He needed no further proof and announced that the bill would be called up for final action June 11. The women in charge of it immediately began to marshal their forces for the last struggle. Messages were sent to each friend of the measure in the House, urging him to be present without fail.<sup>1</sup> On the eventful morning there was much excitement at the Capitol. The "captains," previously requested to be on hand

<sup>1</sup> "Captains" had been appointed among the members and each furnished with a list and it was his duty to see that the men on it were in their seats whenever the bill was up for discussion. The following Representatives served as "captains" and rendered important service: William F. Burres, Norman G. Flagg, Edward D. Shurtleff, Homer J. Tice and George H. Wilson, Republicans; John P. Devine, Frank Gillespie, William A. Hubbard, W. C. Kane, Charles L. Scott and Francis E. Williamson, Democrats; Roy D. Hunt, J. H. Jayne, Medill McCormick and Emil N. Zolla, Progressives; Seymour Stedman, Socialist.

early, reported if any of their men were missing, these were at once called up by telephone and when necessary a cab was sent for them. The four women lobbyists were stationed as follows: Mrs. Booth and Mrs. McCormick in the gallery; Mrs. Trout at the only entrance of the House left open that day, and Mrs. Funk to carry messages and instructions between these points. Mrs. Booth checked off the votes and Mrs. Trout stood guard to see that no friendly members left the House during roll calls and also to prevent the violation of the law which forbade any lobbyist to enter the floor of the House after the session had convened. The burly doorkeeper, who was against the suffrage bill, could not be trusted to enforce the law if its enemies chose to enter.

Events proved the wisdom of this precaution. A number of favoring legislators who started to leave the House during the fight were persuaded to return and the doorkeeper soon told Mrs. Trout she would have to go into the gallery. As she did not move he came back presently and said that Benjamin Mitchell, one of the members of the House leading the opposition, had instructed him that if she did not immediately go to the gallery he would put a resolution through the House forcing her to do so. She politely but firmly said it was her right as a citizen of Illinois to stay in the corridor and remained at her post. As a consequence no one entered the House that day who was not legally entitled to do so. During the five hours' debate all known parliamentary tactics were used to defeat the bill. When Speaker McKinley finally announced the vote—ayes 83 (six more than the required majority), noes 58—a hush fell for an instant before the wild outburst of applause. It seemed as if there had passed through those legislative halls the spirit of eternal justice and truth and the eyes of strong men filled with tears.

Politicians declared it was a miracle, but it was a miracle made possible by six months of unceasing toil, during which the suffrage lobby worked from early in the morning until late at night and were shadowed by detectives eager to acquire testimony that would prejudice the legislators against their measure. It was most encouraging to the workers when they won over Edward D. Shurtleff, who had been for years Speaker of the

House and was acknowledged to be one of the most astute men in Springfield. His practical knowledge of legislative procedure made his advice of the greatest value. Representative Scott, who introduced the bill in the House, was a highly esteemed member who refused to present any others so that he could be free to devote all of his time and energy to this one, and others were equally loyal. Mrs. Trout's leadership received the highest praise from the press and the politicians of the State. The Illinois Legislature led the way and within a few years bills of a similar nature had been passed by those of fourteen other States.

The State Equal Suffrage Association tendered a banquet at the Leland Hotel in Springfield on June 13 to the legislators and their wives, opponents as well as friends, and prominent suffragists came from over the State. Mrs. Trout asked Mrs. McCormick to take charge of the banquet and she had a roll of honor printed which the men who voted for the suffrage bill were invited to sign, and the Governor's signature was also obtained. As soon as he entered the banquet hall Mrs. Trout, in charge of the program, called upon the banqueters to rise and do honor to the Governor who would soon, by signing the suffrage bill, win the everlasting gratitude of all men and women in Illinois interested in human liberty. The very day the bill passed the House a committee of anti-suffrage legislators called upon Governor Dunne to urge him to veto it and tried to influence Attorney General Patrick J. Lucey to declare it unconstitutional, which would give him an excuse. Mrs. McCormick immediately went to Chicago and secured opinions from able lawyers that the bill was constitutional, and he stood out against all opposition and signed it on June 26.

On July 1 a jubilee automobile parade was arranged by Mrs. Treadwell with Mrs. Kenneth McLennan as grand marshal, and the cars filled with enthusiastic suffragists extended several miles down Michigan Boulevard. The first important work was to arouse the women of the State to a realization of all the good that could be accomplished by the wise use of the franchise. The entire cost of the Springfield campaign, which lasted over six months and included railroad fare for the lobbyists, innumerable telegrams and long distance telephone calls, postage, stationery,

printing, stenographic help, hotel bills and incidentals, was only \$1,567, but it left the treasury of the association empty. The board therefore gratefully accepted the offer of William Randolph Hearst of a suffrage edition of the *Chicago Examiner*. He agreed to pay for the cost of publication and permit the funds raised through the sale of the papers and the advertising to go into the suffrage treasury. The women were weary from the campaign and most of the board were going away for the summer but Mrs. Trout rallied her forces, was general manager herself and persuaded Mrs. Funk to be managing editor, Miss Dobyne advertising manager and Mrs. Treadwell circulation manager. As a result of almost six weeks' work during the hottest part of the summer nearly \$15,000 were raised. After all commissions and other expenses were paid and new and commodious suffrage headquarters in the Tower Building were furnished a fund of between \$7,000 and \$8,000 was left to maintain them and push organization work.

The constitutionality of the law was soon attacked and Mrs. Trout consulted frequently with the officers of the Anti-Saloon League, for the attacks always emanated from the "wet" interests, and most efficient service was rendered by F. Scott McBride, State Superintendent; E. J. Davis, Chicago superintendent, and Frank B. Ebbert, legal counsel for the league, who said it was also their fight. A case was brought against the Election Commissioners of Chicago for allowing women to vote on certain questions, decided in their favor by the lower courts, appealed and brought before the Supreme Court of Illinois. A meeting of the board of the State Equal Suffrage Association was called at once, which voted to raise a defense fund and fight the case to a finish. The chairman of the committee was Mrs. George A. Soden, first vice-president, and it was largely through her efforts and the contributions of her husband that the fund was raised. Not only the legislators who had voted for the bill but also a number who voted against it sent money to help defend the law. The opponents of the law—the liquor interests—were represented by Levi Mayer of Chicago, counsel for the United Societies as well as for big brewery interests and considered one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the State. It was therefore necessary

for the association to secure the best and they engaged John J. Herrick and Judge Charles S. Cutting, who by agreement with the Election Commissioners took charge of the fight. The women consulted also with Charles H. Mitchell, their regular counsel, as well as with Judge Willard McEwen, whom the commissioners engaged as special counsel. They frequently conferred with Judge Isaiah T. Greenacre, counsel for the Teachers' Federation, and Joel F. Longnecker, a young lawyer active in the Progressive party, both of whom donated their services.

There was a long delay in the Supreme Court and during this time it was vitally necessary to demonstrate that the women wanted the ballot by bringing out as large a registration as possible for the municipal election to be held in April, 1914. The opponents were saying: "Women down the State have voted because they are interested in local option but not 25,000 women will register in Chicago." It was, therefore, of paramount importance to arouse the Chicago women. This work was in charge of Mrs. Edward L. Stewart, assisted by Mrs. Judith Weil Loewenthal, members of the State Board. Mrs. Stewart called upon every organization of women in the city to assist. Valuable help was given by Mrs. Ida Darling Engelke, city chairman of ward organization for the Chicago Political Equality League; Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, president of the Woman's City Club, and Mrs. James Morrisson, president of the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association. There were public meetings in every ward, and a mass meeting the Sunday before the election in the Auditorium Theater, which seated over 4,000 people, but overflow meetings were necessary. As a result of this united effort over 200,000 women registered in Chicago alone and thousands more throughout the State.

On May 2, 1914, was held the first large suffrage parade in Illinois. It was managed by the State association and its affiliated Chicago clubs. Mrs. Trout, with the members of the Board and distinguished pioneer suffragists, led the procession, and Governor Dunne and Mayor Carter H. Harrison reviewed it. The city government sent to head the parade the mounted police, led by Chief Gleason, called "the beauty squad," only brought out on very special occasions. Nearly 15,000 women, representing

all parties, creeds and classes, marched down Michigan Boulevard and hundreds of thousands of people lined both sides for over two miles. Captain Charles W. Kayser of Wheaton planned the procession with military skill. The Parade Committee, including the heads of divisions and numbering over a thousand women, was invited immediately after the procession to the Hotel La Salle by Ernest Stevens, manager and one of the owners, where they were guests of the management at supper, which was followed by music and speaking.

In June the General Federation of Women's Clubs held its biennial convention in Chicago and the question uppermost in the minds of all club women was, would the president, Mrs. Percy Pennybacker, refuse to allow a woman suffrage resolution to be presented, as her predecessor, Mrs. Philip Moore, had done in San Francisco at the preceding biennial, and also would it receive a favorable vote if presented? The State Board, realizing that with the suffrage law still hanging in the balance in the Supreme Court, it was vitally important to have the endorsement by this convention, representing 1,500,000 members, appointed Mrs. Trout to secure favorable action if possible. The Federation Board on request of Mrs. Pennybacker appointed a special committee to confer with her and as the result of co-operation the following resolution, presented by Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg of Philadelphia, an officer of the Federation, was adopted on June 13:

WHEREAS, the question of the political equality of men and women is today a vital problem under discussion throughout the civilized world, therefore,

*Resolved*, that the General Federation of Women's Clubs give the cause of political equality for men and women its moral support by recording its earnest belief in the principle of political equality regardless of sex.

There were between 1,700 and 1,800 delegates present, representing all sections of the country. The vote was viva voce and so overwhelmingly in the affirmative that it was not counted. The *Chicago Tribune* said: "The anti-suffragists made no fight against the resolution on the floor of the convention, probably realizing they were hopelessly outnumbered. There was a considerable chorus of nays when it was put, but not enough for

any one to demand a count." Afterwards the Illinois members recommended Mrs. Trout as an honorary member of the General Federation and she was unanimously elected.

By an interesting coincidence the day the suffrage resolution was passed by the Biennial the State Supreme Court pronounced the Suffrage Law constitutional. A banquet had already been planned by the State association for that evening to be held in the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel in honor of the General Federation, and it proved to be a memorable occasion. Over a thousand women were present and nearly as many more could not find room. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Mary Garrett Hay and other well known suffragists, as well as the officers of the Federation, made speeches.

All these events changed public sentiment in regard to the woman suffrage question. As Congress was in session this summer its members were unable to fill their Chautauqua lecture dates, and Mrs. Trout was asked to make suffrage speeches at fifty Chautauquas in nine States, filling dates for a Democrat, the Hon. Champ Clark, and for a Republican, United States Senator Robert LaFollette, and for William Jennings Bryan.

The State convention was held in Chicago in 1914 and Mrs. Trout was again re-elected president. During this year the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association did excellent educational work by establishing classes in citizenship in the Woman's City Club and by publishing catechisms for women voters in seven different languages.

At the annual convention held in Peoria in 1915 Mrs. Trout positively refused to stand again for president and Mrs. Adella Maxwell Brown of Peoria was elected. Four State conferences were held during the year and Mrs. Brown represented the association at the National Suffrage Association at Washington in December; the Mississippi Valley Conference at Minneapolis the next May; the National Council of Women Voters at Cheyenne in July and the National Suffrage Association at Atlantic City in September. In June, 1916, the State association, assisted by those of Chicago, took charge of what became known as the "famous rainy day suffrage parade," held in that city while the National Republican convention was in session. Mrs. Brown



was chairman of the committee, Mrs. Morrisson vice-chairman and Mrs. Kellogg Fairbanks grand marshal of the parade.

There was much speculation among the political parties as to how the women would vote at their first presidential election in November, 1916. As their ballots were put into separate boxes they could be distinguished and they were as follows: Republican, 459,215; Democratic, 383,292; Socialist, 17,175; Prohibition, 16,212; Socialist Labor, 806.

Much important legislative work was to be done in the next session of the Legislature and at the State convention held in Springfield in October, 1916, Mrs. Trout was persuaded to accept again the presidency. Delegates were present from every section and the policy for the ensuing year was thoroughly discussed by Mrs. McCulloch, Senator Magill, Lewis G. Stevenson, Secretary of State; Mrs. George Bass, and others. The consensus of opinion was that owing to the great difficulty of amending the State constitution the only practical way to secure full suffrage for women was through a new constitution. This convention, therefore, voted in an overwhelming majority to work in the Legislature of 1917 for the calling of a constitutional convention. The Citizens' Association, composed of leading men of Chicago and the State, had been trying over thirty years to obtain a new State constitution and as soon as they learned of this action they sent Shelby M. Singleton, its secretary, to request of Mrs. Trout and Mrs. McGraw that the work be directed by the leaders of the State Equal Suffrage Association, to which they agreed. They went to Springfield at the beginning of the session in 1917 and a struggle followed that lasted over ten weeks.

[Mrs. McGraw prepared a very full account of the work in the Legislature to have it submit to the voters the question of calling a convention to prepare a new constitution. Representatives of all the leading organizations of women assisted at Springfield from time to time. The resolution had the powerful support of Governor Frank C. Lowden, Congressman Medill McCormick, Roger C. Sullivan and other prominent men, but the Citizens' Association in an official bulletin gave the larger part of the credit to "the tireless and tactful work of the women's lobby." After Senate and House by more than a two-thirds

majority had voted to submit the question to the voters the State association organized an Emergency League to establish centers in each of the 101 counties and an immense educational campaign was carried on. Over a thousand meetings were held in the summer and fall preceding the election Nov. 5, 1918, when the proposal for a convention received a majority of 74,239. The next year delegates to the convention were elected and it met in Springfield Jan. 6, 1920. One of its first acts was to adopt an article giving the complete suffrage to women. Before the constitution was ready to submit to the voters the women were fully enfranchised by the Federal Amendment.]

After the victory was gained in the Legislature and just as all plans were laid for the campaign in the spring of 1917 the United States entered the war against Germany. Mrs. Trout was appointed a member of the executive committee of the Woman's Council of National Defense and all the members of the board immediately engaged in Liberty Loan, Red Cross and other war work. During this period of strenuous activity another attack was made on the constitutionality of the suffrage law by the liquor interests and the case was again brought before the Supreme Court. The State Board engaged James G. Skinner, an able lawyer, formerly Assistant Corporation Counsel, and in December the law was again pronounced constitutional.

The State convention was held in the autumn of 1917 in Danville and Mrs. Trout was re-elected. The association now had affiliated societies in every senatorial and congressional district with a membership of over 200,000 women. Mrs. Trout was soon called to Washington by Mrs. Catt to work for the Federal Suffrage Amendment and spent many months there while Mrs. McGraw directed the organization work of the State association. She secured the co-operation of Mrs. R. M. Reed, legislative chairman of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs; they appointed two workers in each congressional district and nearly every woman's society in the State had constitutional convention programs. In the spring of 1918 Governor Lowden appointed Judge Orrin N. Carter, of the Supreme Court, chairman of a state-wide committee that worked in co-operation with the state-wide committee of women. The annual suffrage convention was

held in the latter part of October, 1918, in Chicago, and Mrs. Trout was re-elected.

RATIFICATION. When Congress submitted the Federal Suffrage Amendment June 4, 1919, Mrs. Trout and Mrs. McGraw immediately went to Springfield where the Legislature was in session. They had already made preliminary arrangements and without urging it ratified the amendment on June 10. The vote in the Senate was unanimous, in the House it was 135 ayes, 85 Republicans, 50 Democrats; three nays, all Democrats, Lee O'Neil Browne, John Griffin and Peter F. Smith. A minor mistake was made in the first certified copy of the resolution sent from the Secretary of State's office at Washington to the Governor of Illinois. To prevent the possibility of any legal quibbling Governor Lowden telegraphed that office to send at once a corrected, certified copy. This was done and the ratification was reaffirmed by the Legislature on June 17, the vote in the Senate again being unanimous and one Democrat, Charles F. Franz, added to the former three negative votes in the House.

Owing to a misunderstanding of the facts for a short time there was some controversy as to whether Illinois was entitled to first place, as the Wisconsin Legislature ratified an hour later. Attorney General Brundage prepared a brief showing that the mistake in the first certified copy did not affect the legality of the ratification on June 10, as the mistake was made in copying the introductory resolution and not in the amendment itself. This opinion was accepted in the Secretary of State's office at Washington. So Illinois, the first State east of the Mississippi River to grant suffrage to its women, was the first to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. In celebration a jubilee banquet was held on June 24 at the Hotel LaSalle, Mrs. Trout presiding, with Governor and Mrs. Lowden the guests of honor. Among the speakers were the Governor, prominent members of the State Legislature and the leading women suffragists.

In October the State convention was held in Chicago, with delegates present from every section, and Mrs. Trout was re-elected president. It was voted to continue to work for the speedy ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in other States and if this was not obtained in 1920 to work for the full

suffrage article in the new constitution when it was submitted to the voters. At the convention of the National American Association in St. Louis the preceding March the Illinois association had extended an invitation to hold the next one in Chicago, which was accepted. The State board called together representatives from the principal organizations of women, which were appointed to take charge of different days of the convention and various phases of the work. Mrs. Trout and Mrs. McGraw were made chairman and vice-chairman of the committee; Mrs. Samuel Slade, recording secretary, was appointed chairman of the Finance Committee, which raised the funds to defray all the expenses of this large convention in February, 1920. [Full account in Chapter XIX, Volume V.]

A meeting of the State Board was called and a committee formed to get as many women as possible to vote in November at the election for President. Mrs. Trout was elected State chairman, Mrs. McGraw vice-chairman, and Mrs. Albert Schweitzer, a member of the board, was appointed Chicago chairman. The Woman's City Club, of which Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen was president, took an active part in the campaign and was the headquarters for the Chicago committee. In August in the midst of the campaign came the joyful news that the 36th State had ratified the Federal Amendment. A call was issued for the State convention to be held in Chicago October 7-9, when the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, its work finished, disbanded, and its members formed a State League of Women Voters, with Mrs. H. W. Cheney of Chicago as chairman.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### INDIANA. PART I.<sup>1</sup>

Although Indiana was one of the first States in the Union to form a suffrage association in 1851 there were long periods when it was inactive but there were others when it flourished. In 1851 a constitution was adopted whose provisions for women were probably more liberal than existed in any other State and they did not feel a pressure of unjust laws; co-education prevailed from an early date and all occupations were open to them. Thus they were not impelled by personal grievances to keep up a continued fight for the suffrage. After 1900 there was a period of depression which the National American Suffrage Association tried unsuccessfully to relieve. Finally in May, 1906, it called a convention to meet in Kokomo, where one of the old societies had continued to maintain an organization, and delegates were present from societies in Indianapolis, Logansport, Tipton and Montpelier. Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, treasurer of the National Association, presided and a good deal of interest was shown. The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. Sarah Davis; first vice-president, Mrs. Laura Schofield; secretary, Mrs. E. M. Wood, all of Kokomo; second vice-president, Mrs. Anna Dunn Noland, Logansport; treasurer, Mrs. Marion Harvey Barnard, Indianapolis; auditors, Mrs. Jane Pond, Montpelier, Judge Samuel Artman, Lebanon. The association affiliated with the National body and always remained an auxiliary. Mrs. Davis left the State during this year and there seems to be no record of anything done by this board.

In April, 1908, Mrs. Upton wrote to Mrs. Noland begging her to call a convention. Acting as president, secretary and treasurer and supplying the funds from her own purse, Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this part of the chapter to Mrs. Anna Dunn Noland, president of the State Equal Suffrage Association.

Noland sent hundreds of letters over the State asking for names of people interested in suffrage and from the names she formed committees to interest others. Her only assistant was her husband, Dr. J. F. Noland, who helped in leisure hours. In October the work of organization began by Mrs. Noland and Miss Pearl Penfield. A convention was called to meet in Logansport, March 16-17, 1909. Fifteen clubs had paid small dues but only seven sent delegates. It was welcomed by Mayor George P. McKee. Much interest and a great deal of publicity resulted. The *Reporter*, a Logansport daily paper, published a suffrage edition March 17, one page edited by a committee from the association. Mrs. Ella S. Stewart of Chicago, Miss Harriet Noble of Indianapolis and Mrs. B. F. Perkins of Fort Wayne were the speakers. The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. Noland; first vice-president, Dr. Susan E. Collier, Indianapolis; second, Mrs. Mary Mitchner, Kokomo; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Bessie Hughes, Logansport; recording secretary, Mrs. Wood; treasurer, Mrs. Barnard; auditors re-elected; member National Executive Committee, Mrs. Perkins. During the year Sullivan, Terre Haute, Amboy, Lafayette, Red Key and Ridgeville became auxiliaries. Mrs. Antoinette D. Leach of Sullivan was made State organizer; Mrs. Flora T. Neff of Logansport chairman of literature.

In 1911 a resolution to amend the State constitution by striking out the word "male" was presented to the Legislature, drafted by Mrs. Leach. It passed the House committee unanimously, went to third reading and was shelved because of a proposed plan for a new constitution brought out by Governor Thomas R. Marshall. The Municipal League composed of the mayors and councilmen of all the cities in the State invited the Equal Suffrage Association to provide speakers for the annual meeting at Crawfordsville June 20 and Mrs. Noland, Miss Noble and Mrs. Leach responded. They were courteously received and heard with much applause. The convention was not interested in woman suffrage but the press gave much publicity. A State suffrage convention was held at this time. In August a monthly journal called the *Woman Citizen* was established in Indianapolis by the association with Mrs. Leach as editor, its columns open

to all suffrage organizations, and published for two years. New Albany, Jeffersonville, Markleville and Valparaiso clubs were added to the State association. The New Albany society was large and active and gave suffrage much prominence in southern Indiana. Mrs. Noland reported 5,000 letters sent out in 1911.

On June 28, 29, 1912, Logansport again entertained the State convention. Mrs. Noland acted as publicity chairman. The Call was sent broadcast; press notices in every daily and weekly paper; large posters put up at the cross roads in every county; banners stretched across Broadway announcing the date. On the Saturday before the meeting circulars announcing it and a parade were dropped over the city from an air ship. Every business house was beautifully dressed in suffrage colors. Mayor D. D. Fickle gave an address of welcome. The principal speaker was Dr. B. O. Aylesworth of Colorado. The parade was viewed by more than 50,000 people and Pathé made films of it. The convention was widely noticed by the press. Eleven new societies were added to the State association. Mrs. Noland was re-elected. Other officers were: Mrs. O. P. Smith, Logansport; Mrs. Anna Cassangese, New Albany; Mrs. Margaret Williamson, Red Key; Dr. Emma G. Holloway, North Manchester, vice-presidents; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Katharine Hoffman, Logansport; member National Executive Committee, Mrs. Leach; standing committees, Legislation, Mrs. Leach; Church, Mrs. Alice Judah Clark, Vincennes; Endorsement, Mrs. Harriet Houser; Press, Mrs. Neff, both of Logansport.

A publicity campaign was begun. Billboards were covered with posters and barns, fences and stones along the country roadways were decorated with "Votes for Women." Free literature was distributed and handbills were given out at every opportunity. Sunday afternoon meetings were held in picture show halls in many towns. Booths were secured at county and street fairs. Tents were placed on Chautauqua grounds with speakers and all kinds of suffrage supplies. This program was kept up until the World War called the women to other duties. The Gary Civic Service League affiliated with the association and Mrs. Kate Wood Ray, its president, was made press chairman.

On Oct. 12-14, 1914, the annual convention was held in

Logansport, welcomed by Mayor Guthrie. Among the speakers were Judge S. T. McConnell of Logansport and O. P. Smith, a State and national labor leader. Both had attended the meeting at Kokomo in 1906, since which time Judge McConnell had been a legal adviser of the association. Mr. Smith was a member of the legislative advisory committee. Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky, Dr. Frank Stockton of Bloomington and Miss Florence Wattles of Kokomo were the principal speakers. Miss Clay was made an honorary member. Mrs. Mary P. Flannegan, secretary-treasurer, was the only new officer; new committee chairmen, Mrs. McConnell, Mrs. L. E. Sellars, Mrs. E. B. De Vault, Miss Wattles. The secretary's report showed 28 affiliated societies. It was voted to cooperate with the Legislative Council of Women and work for Presidential suffrage. Mrs. Noland, as chairman of the committee, was in Indianapolis from the time the bill was introduced until the Assembly adjourned.

In February, 1915, Mrs. Noland went before the national convention of miners in Indianapolis and secured a unanimous resolution favoring State and national woman suffrage from the 1,600 delegates. In the summer the State association sent Miss Wattles for two months' speaking in the New Jersey and Pennsylvania suffrage campaigns. In July the Municipal League held its annual meeting in Logansport and the association, again called upon for speakers, sent Mrs. Noland, Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Sellars. The enthusiasm with which they were received and the discussion by the delegates which followed showed a marked change since the meeting at Crawfordsville in 1911. At the State convention in the fall a committee was appointed for interviewing candidates before the spring primaries, especially those for Governor and members of the Legislature and Congress. Mrs. Ray, Mrs. Leach and Mrs. Noland composed the committee.

In the fall of 1916 the question of a new State constitution was referred to the voters and the association placed women at all polling places in the cities and large towns. In the small towns and country the voters received literature and letters asking them to vote in favor. It was lost but the work gave the women a new zeal and with the enlightenment of the voters the effort seemed more than worth while. At the State meeting in October



it was decided again to join hands with the Legislative Council to work for a partial suffrage bill and to cooperate with the Woman's Franchise League in legislative work if a mutual decision could be brought about. The association all over the State was very zealous in behalf of the bill and Mrs. Ray, Mrs. Noland and Mrs. Stimson worked continuously in the State House until the Governor signed it on February 28.

To the Legislative Council of Women belongs much of the glory for the final suffrage victories in Indiana. Formed in 1914 to work with the Legislature it was composed of the following State organizations representing 80,000 organized women: Federation of Women's Clubs, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Mothers' Congress, Woman's Franchise League, Woman's Press Club, Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Consumers' League, Woman's Relief Corps, Equal Suffrage Association. These organizations represented an influence that could not be ignored. The officers were as follows: President, Mrs. Felix T. McWhirter (later Mrs. Edward F. White), Indianapolis; vice-presidents: Miss Vida Newsom, Columbus; Mrs. Flora Millspaugh, Chesterfield; Mrs. A. D. Moffett, Elwood; secretary-treasurer, Miss Dora Bosart, Indianapolis. The Executive Committee was composed of the president and one delegate from each organization and Mrs. S. C. Stimson of Terre Haute was chairman. The Council was financed by these organizations, assisted by churches, business men's clubs, ministers', teachers' and farmers' associations and individual contributions.

The Act was ruled unconstitutional in October but the women had a taste of citizenship, for all over the State they had registered and in some places they had voted on prohibition and public improvements. The Legislative Council sent out 75,000 registration cards. Municipal authorities had appointed women to places of trust. The Suffrage Board formulated a plan for the study of citizenship, of the United States and State constitutions, methods of voting, etc., which has since been on the program of study for the local societies.

In July, 1917, Mrs. Noland and Mrs. Ray were again asked to speak at the annual meeting of the Municipal League and the following was adopted with enthusiasm: "Resolved; That the

Municipal League of Indiana does hereby recommend full and equal suffrage for women in both State and nation."

By a vote of the local societies it was decided not to call a convention during the war, as every woman was engaged in war work, but monthly board meetings were held in different towns in 1917 and 1918, keeping the busy women in touch with suffrage work. During the Legislature of 1919 other organizations seemed desirous of pushing the suffrage work and the association voted to give them a free hand. It assisted the effort for the ratification of the Federal Amendment by sending letters and having resolutions passed by organizations. It has at this time (1920) 29 affiliated societies, 500 dues-paying members and over 6,000 non-dues-paying members.

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INDIANA. PART II.<sup>1</sup>

During the early years of the present century there was no definite campaign for suffrage in Indiana but the partial success of repeated efforts to influence the General Assembly to pass various suffrage bills showed a large body of interested if unorganized favorable opinion. The State had never been entirely organized but there were several centers where flourishing associations kept up interest. In 1901 the State Woman Suffrage Association under the presidency of Mrs. Bertha G. Wade of Indianapolis engaged chiefly in legislative work but it gradually ceased effort. There were attempts toward its re-organization in the following years, assisted by the National Association, but interest proved to be not sufficiently keen or widespread.

The Indianapolis Equal Suffrage Society, organized in 1878 under the direction of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, had never suspended activities. Dr. Amelia R. Keller was its president in 1909 and in order to stimulate interest and give an outlet for the energy of its members, assisted by Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke, Mrs. Felix T. McWhirter, Mrs. John F. Barnhill, Mrs. W. T. Barnes, Mrs. Winfield Scott Johnson and Dr. Rebecca Rogers

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this part of the chapter to Mrs. Lenore Hanna Cox, an officer of the Woman's Franchise League from its beginning in 1911 until its work was finished in 1920.

George, she formed the Women's School League on October 1, "to elect a woman to the school board and improve the schools of Indianapolis." Dr. Keller was made president and the other officers were, vice-presidents, Dr. George and Mrs. McWhirter; secretary, Mrs. Julia C. Henderson; treasurer, Miss Harriet Noble; directors, Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Barnhill, Mrs. Arthur B. Grover, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Linton A. Cox, Mrs. Laura Kregelo, Mrs. Edgar A. Perkins, Dr. Mary A. Spink, Miss Belle O'Hair and Miss Tarquinia Voss. Many of these names become familiar in the later records of suffrage work.

The first part of the league's program succeeded and a woman was elected to the school board of Indianapolis. At the same time the women of Terre Haute, where under a new law the school board was elective, made a like attempt through the Woman's Club and the local suffrage society and were also successful. These were the only places where school boards were elective. Many women showed themselves eager to work for a woman on the school board who were indifferent to the larger aspects of suffrage. It was soon clear, however, that the schools could not stand alone in municipal affairs but where boards were not elected it would be necessary to vote for Mayor and councilmen to influence school conditions, therefore on April 21, 1911, the organization dropped the word "school" from its title and became the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana. Dr. Keller continued as president and associated with her as officers were Mrs. Meredith Nicholson and Mrs. McWhirter, vice-presidents; Mrs. Henderson, secretary; Mrs. Barnhill, treasurer.

A State convention of the league was held in Indianapolis April 12, 1912, and one took place annually after that date, always in the capital. At this convention Dr. Martha Griffiths of Crawfordsville and Dr. Adah McMahan of Lafayette were added to the directors. This year the league affiliated with the National American Woman Suffrage Association.<sup>1</sup> By May,

<sup>1</sup> From 1912-1919 the following women served as vice-presidents, some for several terms: Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Mrs. Felix T. McWhirter, Mrs. Ovid B. Jameson, Mrs. John F. Barnhill, Mrs. Julia Fried Walker, Mrs. Isaac Born, all of Indianapolis; Mrs. Lenore Hanna Cox, Mrs. C. M. Curry, Miss Helen Benbridge, Mrs. Leon Stern, of Terre Haute; Mrs. Fred McCulloch, Mrs. Olaf Guldlin, of Fort Wayne; Mrs. Horace Stilwell, Anderson; Mrs. R. M. Johnson, Franklin; Mrs. A. D. Moffett, Elwood; Miss Adah E. Bush, Kentland; Mrs. A. H. Beardsley, Elkhart; Mrs. Charles J. Gill, Muncie; Mrs. Chester Evans, Bloomington; Miss Betsy Jewett Edwards, Shelbyville,

1916, there were sixty branch leagues and 3,000 members; in May, 1919, there were 300 branches and 16,000 members. Dr. Keller continued as president until the convention of 1917, when Mrs. Richard E. Edwards of Peru was elected and served two years. At the convention of 1919 Miss Helen Benbridge of Terre Haute was chosen. The Franchise League was exceedingly fortunate in its three presidents, who gave the most of their time, thought and effort to its demands without salary. Dr. Keller organized it largely through the force of her own personality and was able to gather around her other strong and determined women through whom the idea of suffrage was carried out into the State. Mrs. Edwards took up the work of more intensive organization of the State outside of Indianapolis and succeeded, with Miss Benbridge as State organizer, in multiplying the branch leagues and the members by five. Miss Benbridge's work as president was that of consolidating these gains and directing the women in the use of the vote which they thought they had won. The list is too long to be given of those who deserve special mention for years of devoted service.

From the spring of 1917 to the autumn of 1918 the members of force and character were drawn upon for war service and the league suffered the temporary loss of some of its best workers, who were filling executive positions in the many war agencies. Of the directorate Miss Adah Bush worked first in Washington with the Woman's Council of National Defense and later went to France with the Young Women's Christian Association; Mrs. Fred McCulloch was State chairman of Liberty Loans; Dr. McMahan went to France on the staff of the Women's Oversea Hospitals; Mrs. Henderson was chairman of the "four minute speakers" who at their own expense went over the State speaking for Liberty Loans, Red Cross, etc.

Under the able direction of Miss Benbridge the league continued to increase until there were but four counties in which it had no representation. The changed status of members from

Mrs. Julia C. Henderson, secretary from 1912 to 1917, was succeeded by Miss Dora Bosart, both of Indianapolis; Mrs. John C. Morrison of Lafayette, and Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, of Peru.

Miss Harriet Noble, the first treasurer, was succeeded by Misses Eldena and Sara Lauter, both of Indianapolis; Miss Adah E. Bush; Mrs. Mindwell Crampton Wilson, Delphi; Mrs. Charles J. Gill.

suffrage workers to voters necessitated a different sort of activity. Organizers were still employed to some extent and suffrage propaganda used in the more remote counties but the stress was laid upon teaching women to use the vote intelligently and appreciate the power it gives. A Citizenship School of the nature of a Normal School was held in Indianapolis in October and women from all over the State attended a five days' session and heard talks on the nature and various functions of the government and the duties of citizens, by men and women who were experts in their various lines. They took back to their own towns the inspiration received and these schools were carried on quite generally. The State Superintendent of Education sent out a bulletin asking the teachers to give their aid and recommending that the public schools be used for this work. A monograph entitled *An Aid to the Citizen in Indiana* was prepared by Miss Martha Block of Terre Haute and published by the league. This movement to train the new voters commanded the respect of educators and several professors in educational institutions offered their services as teachers in the schools of citizenship.

The convention of April, 1920, was the end of the Franchise League. With the near ratification of the Federal Amendment work for suffrage seemed to be finished in Indiana. As a Presidential suffrage bill had been passed by the General Assembly the women of the State were already partial voters, so the league disbanded and in its place was formed the State League of Women Voters, with Mrs. A. H. Beardsley of Elkhart as president. The branches became auxiliaries and the leaders realized that the task of getting the vote was nearly accomplished—that of using it had just begun.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. 1901. Through the efforts of the Equal Suffrage Association a resolution for an amendment to the State constitution to strike out the word "male" in the suffrage section was introduced. In the Senate it was buried in committee. In the House it received a vote of 49 ayes, 33 noes—a two-thirds majority being necessary. Later it was reconsidered and passed by a vote of 52 to 32. This vote was also reconsidered and the amendment laid on the table.

1907. Municipal suffrage bill was defeated by the Senate.

1911. A similar measure was reported favorably out of committees but lost in the Lower House by 41 ayes, 48 noes, and no action was taken by the Senate.

1913. A resolution to submit a woman suffrage amendment was held up in committees. The Senate passed a School suffrage bill by 27 ayes, 10 noes, but there was no action in the House.

1915. A Presidential suffrage bill passed in the Senate by 37 ayes, 3 noes, was held up in the House.

1917. This year will long be remembered by suffrage workers as one of triumphs and defeats. The legislative session was a continued triumph and showed that public opinion was in favor of granting political rights to women. A great help was the agitation for a new constitution. The present constitution was adopted in 1851. An early court decision that an amendment in order to carry must have a majority of all the votes cast at the election made amending it a practical impossibility and for a long time there had been a widespread demand for a new one for the sake of many needed reforms. The suffragists joined the agitation for it, as this seemed the only way to get the vote by State action.

The General Assembly of 1917 was carefully selected to pass the Prohibition Amendment and was known to be favorable to the calling of a constitutional convention. While the suffragists placed their hope in a new constitution yet in order to leave no means untried the Legislative Council of Women was formed at the suggestion of Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke, composed of representatives of eight or ten State organizations, of which the Women's Franchise League was one. Mrs. Felix T. McWhirter was made president and it was decided to present a Presidential and Municipal suffrage bill similar to the one passed by the Illinois Legislature in 1913 and sustained by the courts.

The Council had quarters in the State House granted by the Governor; the Women's Franchise League immediately established a bureau there by his consent with Mrs. John F. Barnhill and Miss Alma Sickler in charge and all the women labored diligently for the success of the measure. The work over the State was necessarily done largely by the Franchise League, as it had the local societies necessary. The Council secured the aid of

Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, a lawyer of Chicago, who had been closely identified with the Illinois law. For the first time in the history of Indiana's struggle for equal suffrage there was active opposition by women. Nineteen, all of Indianapolis, appealed to the Senate Committee on Rights and Privileges, which had the bill in charge, for a hearing in order to protest.<sup>1</sup> This was granted but it resulted in an enthusiastic suffrage meeting. The "nineteen," who asserted that they spoke for 90 per cent. of unorganized women in Indiana, were represented by Mrs. Lucius B. Swift, Miss Minnie Bronson, secretary of the National Anti-Suffrage Association, and Charles McLean of Iowa, who was in its employ. Mrs. McCulloch, Meredith Nicholson, Mrs. Edward Franklin White, now president of the Council, former Mayor Charles A. Bookwalter and a number of others spoke for the bill.

The calendar of suffrage events in the Legislature of 1917 was as follows: On January 23 the bill for a constitutional convention passed the House by 87 ayes, 10 noes; on the 31st it passed the Senate by 34 ayes, 14 noes, and on February 1 was signed by Governor James P. Goodrich. On February 8 the Presidential-Municipal suffrage bill passed the Senate by 32 ayes, 16 noes. It also provided that women could vote for delegates to the constitutional convention, were eligible to election as delegates and could vote on the adoption of the proposed new constitution. On the 22nd it passed the House by 67 ayes, 24 noes, and was signed by the Governor. The Legislature also voted to submit a full suffrage amendment to the electors.

Although it was early apparent that these laws would be carried into the courts preparations were at once made by the women for registering. The Franchise League opened booths in the shopping districts in the cities and urged the women in the country to go to the court house and register when in town. They sent out women notaries with blanks to register the women.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mesdames Lucius B. Swift, William Watson Woollen, George C. Hitt, L. H. Levey, S. A. Fletcher, Harry Murphy, Edward Daniels, Samuel Reid, H. H. Harrison, William H. H. Miller, S. B. Sutphin, F. G. Darlington, Philamon A. Watson, Henry Scott Fraser, E. C. Atkins, A. Bennett Gates, Evans Woollen; Misses Caroline Harrison Howland and Josephine Hershall.

<sup>2</sup> Issued by the Campaign Organization Committee of the Woman's Franchise League and circulated by the thousands.

This is a Statewide campaign drive, so do your part by fully carrying out the following

In Vigo county, of which Terre Haute is the county seat, 12,000 registered, more than the average number of men who usually voted at elections. In all parts of the State the registration of women was very large and the women were studying political questions and showing much interest in their new duties.

Meanwhile the action of the Legislature was taken into the courts. On June 25 Judge W. W. Thornton of the Marion County (Indianapolis) Superior Court gave a decision that the Legislature had no authority to call for an election of delegates to a constitutional convention and no right to grant to women the privilege of voting for such delegates or any constitution which might be submitted to the voters. The case was at once appealed to the State Supreme Court, which on July 13 sustained the decision. Chief Justice Erwin wrote the opinion and Justices Spencer, Harvey and Myers concurred. Justice M. B. Lairy filed a dissenting opinion. There was a wide difference of opinion among the lawyers of the State.

This decision did not affect the limited suffrage law, which gave women the right to vote for (1) Presidential electors; (2) all State officers not expressly named in the constitution, including Attorney General and Judges of the Appellate, Superior, Criminal, Probate and Juvenile Courts; (3) all city, township and county officers not named in the constitution. The law was referred to as nine-tenths suffrage.

Action was brought in the Superior Court of Marion county for a decision on this law. The Court gave an adverse decision but it embraced definitely only the Municipal suffrage. On October 26 the Supreme Court upheld this decision concerning Municipal suffrage and implied that the entire Act was invalid. The counsel for the suffragists, including some of the foremost law-

program: 1. On Saturday, June 30, an auto tour must be made in each county. Start these tours in every town where there is an organized league and proceed through the county, distributing flyers, posting bills and making ten-minute speeches in every town and village. 2. Sunday, July 1, is Woman Citizen's Sunday throughout the State. Ask that forceful appeal be made from all pulpits urging every woman to recognize and discharge her new citizenship duty. The clergy of all denominations feel the importance of this step—you will find them ready and willing to cooperate. 3. Push registration of women during the week of July 4 as a patriotic measure. Secure favorable mention of woman suffrage in all speeches. 4. Close the week's campaign by a mass meeting of all local women's organizations, including clubs, lodges and church societies. 5. Secure all the newspaper space possible for this patriotic week. Publish this entire program and report its progress daily to your local papers . . .



yers in the State, with Eli Stansbury, Attorney General, and Mrs. McCulloch, presented masterly arguments. The decision of the Supreme Court was condemned by many besides the suffragists. The hearing was not held before a full bench and the decision was not unanimous, Judge Lawson J. Harvey handing down a dissenting opinion, so that two men virtually decided this momentous question.

By Jan. 1, 1919 the Federal Suffrage Amendment had passed the Lower House of Congress and was pending in the Senate and the first act of this year's Legislature, convened in joint session before either House had organized, was to adopt a resolution with but one opposing vote calling on the U. S. Senate to submit the amendment, which was signed by the Governor and forwarded to Washington.

There still remained from the legislation of 1917 the amendment to the State constitution, which in order to be submitted to the voters had to be passed also by the Assembly of 1919. The result of the election of 1918 in the State had been an overwhelmingly Republican victory. Since the party had the Governor and a majority of both branches of the Assembly, it wished to put through a program of legislation that called for amending the constitution and the leaders requested the women to withdraw the suffrage amendment, as while one was pending another could not be introduced. Feeling that withdrawal with a friendly majority was better than defeat and enmity, the board of the Franchise League consented. One of the rewards for this sacrifice, which meant a delay of two years in presenting a State amendment to the voters, was the Presidential suffrage bill, which passed on February 6 with six dissenting votes out of a membership of 150. Three of these were in the Senate, Erskine of Evansville, Haggerty of South Bend and Kline of Huntington; three in the House, Sambor, Bidaman and O'Neal, the last two from Terre Haute, Sambor from Indiana Harbor. The vote to submit an amendment was unanimous in both Houses.

**RATIFICATION.** When the U. S. Senate finally voted on June 4 to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment the Legislature of 1919 had adjourned. The question of ratification was of course uppermost in the minds of the leaders of the Franchise

League and there would be no regular session until 1921. Governor Goodrich came to the rescue by promising to call a special session, probably in August or September of the present year, and sent out an invitation to other Governors of States similarly situated to join him in securing enough special sessions to ratify the amendment at an early date. The Governor of Indiana has power to call a special session but can not restrict its action. Owing to internal affairs of the State which developed the Governor postponed indefinitely calling the session, assuring the suffragists, however, that it should be held in time for them to vote at the general election of 1920. Finally after repeated importunities he announced on December 30 that he would call the special session for Jan. 15, 1920, if a two-thirds majority of the Legislature would agree to consider only ratification.

Although both political parties had declared in favor of ratifying the amendment yet the women were expected to secure these pledges and it was no small task but it seemed to be the only way. The suffragists looked to the Franchise League for action and it assumed the burden. Miss Helen Benbridge, its efficient president, soon made the politicians see the wisdom of a special session. Under her skillful management letters from the Governor were sent immediately to all the legislators enclosing this agreement: "I hereby pledge myself to attend a special session of the General Assembly limited to the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and to vote for adjournment immediately afterwards."

The Franchise League opened headquarters in Indianapolis and every pressure, political and other kinds, was brought to bear on the members and answers began to come in as early as January 4. It certainly was a surprise to the politicians when on the afternoon of January 13 Miss Benbridge was able to take to Governor Goodrich signed pledges from 35 Senators and 67 Representatives, a two-thirds majority in each House. The Governor at once issued a call for a special session on January 16, allowing two days for members to reach Indianapolis. That so many legislators were willing to lay aside party prejudice and meet for a non-partisan purpose speaks volumes for the personnel of the General Assembly of 1919. Recognition is due

especially to the Democratic members, as the Republicans were obeying the call of their chief but the Democrats, on the summons of a Republican Governor, laid aside their convictions and acted solely in the interest of the women of their State.

The Assembly convened at 10 a. m. on Jan. 16, 1920, and more than a hundred suffrage workers from all parts of the State were present to see the fruition of their hopes. Miss Benbridge, president, and Mrs. Edwards, past president of the league, sat on the rostrum in the Senate Chamber beside Lieutenant Governor Edgar D. Bush, and in the House beside Speaker Jesse Eschbach, while the vote was being taken. The Senators enjoyed what was termed "the last wail" of the three anti-suffragists who voted no—Kline, Haggerty and Franklin McCray of Indianapolis. Forty-three votes were cast in favor. The resolution was then taken to the House, which had organized and was waiting, and, after suspension of the rules so that the three necessary readings might be had in one day, it was passed by the unanimous vote of the 93 members present. It was signed at once by the presiding officers and at half past four of the same afternoon by Governor Goodrich, who wished in this way to show his agreement, though his signature was not legally necessary. Mrs. Goodrich, Miss Benbridge, many officers of the Franchise League and other interested suffragists witnessed the signing. With this act the long struggle for political rights for women which began in Indiana in the middle of the nineteenth century was finished.

A large and enthusiastic meeting of the board of the Franchise League was then held and there was general congratulation. Miss Benbridge, who presided, said: "The work that assured the special session and the result achieved was done, not by the little group of women in the Indianapolis headquarters, although their work was well done, but by the women over the State. Much credit for the success belongs to the Franchise League members everywhere, who have won the sentiment of their localities for woman suffrage."

## CHAPTER XIV.

### IOWA.<sup>1</sup>

The Iowa Equal Suffrage Association was still conducting in 1901 the campaign of education begun when it was organized in 1870, as fully described in Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage. It seemed at times a deadly dull process and there rose bolder spirits occasionally who suggested more vigorous and spectacular means of bringing the cause to the attention of the general public and of focusing the suffrage sentiment, which evidently existed, on the members of the Legislatures and putting them into a more genial attitude toward submitting a State constitutional amendment, which seemed in those years the only method of attaining the longed-for goal. Women, however, are conservative and the Iowa laws on the whole were not oppressive enough to stir the average woman to active propaganda for a share in making and administering them. Therefore the association proceeded along the beaten path—by way of education, aided by social and economic evolution, from which not even the most non-progressive woman can protect herself, much less protect her daughters. The association never missed an annual meeting and the women elected each year to carry on its work were those who knew that the cause might be delayed but could not be permanently defeated.

The convention of 1901 was held in November at Waterloo and Mrs. Adelaide Ballard was elected president, having previously served two terms. The conventions of 1902, 1903 and 1904 took place in October in Des Moines, Boone and Sheldon, and Mrs. Mary J. Coggeshall was each year elected president, having held the office two years at earlier dates. The annual meeting of 1905 was held in November at Panora; that of 1906

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Flora Dunlap, president of the State Equal Suffrage Association 1913-1915 and chairman of the League of Women Voters.

in September at Ida Grove, and Bertha A. Wilcox was each year elected president.

The conventions of 1907 and 1908 took place in October at Des Moines and Boone and the Rev. Eleanor E. Gordon was at each elected president. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who was present at the Boone convention, had just returned from England and was accompanied by two young English women who had campaigned for suffrage there and who took part in the convention. She had marched in a parade in London and was very desirous that parades should be held here. After much urging from her and the president, and with great trepidation and many misgivings on the part of the members, a procession was formed and marched through the principal streets on October 29. The Boone *Daily News* said: "The members of the Equal Suffrage Association in convention, scores of the local women interested in the movement and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union united in a monster parade through the main streets. The Wilder-Yeoman Band led with the Rev. Eleanor Gordon, president, Mrs. Coggeshall, honorary president, Mrs. Julia Clark Hallam, Dr. Shaw of Philadelphia and the Misses Rendell and Costelloe of London next in the procession. From every viewpoint it was a success." This was the first or one of the first suffrage parades to be held in the United States and it required much courage to take part in it. The crowd which lined the sidewalks was most respectful and when Dr. Shaw and the English visitors spoke from an automobile there was enthusiastic response.

In 1909 at the State convention held in Des Moines Mrs. Hallam was made president. In 1910, at the convention in Corydon, Mrs. Harriet B. Evans was elected to this position. The report of the corresponding secretary, Mrs. Lona I. Robinson, was similar to those that had been made in many preceding years and that continued to be made for several following years. It showed that hundreds of letters were sent to the officers of local clubs, asking them to interview the candidates for the Legislature on their attitude towards woman suffrage; to sign the petitions to Congress for a Federal Amendment, which were sent to them; to strengthen their organization; to increase their

propaganda work, for which quantities of literature were furnished. The report showed the activities of the State officers, meetings arranged, addresses made and legislative work done.

At the annual meeting in October, 1911, at Perry, the Rev. Mary A. Safford became president. This year the *Woman's Standard*, a monthly newspaper published since 1886 by the association, was discontinued, as there was an ever-increasing opportunity for suffrage news and arguments in the newspapers of the State. On Dec. 22, 1911, Mrs. Coggeshall, who had been the inspiration and leader of the State suffrage work since its beginning and part of the time an officer of the National Suffrage Association, passed away. She was the link between those who began the movement and those who finished it. Whatever the later workers in Iowa had done had been as a candle flame lighted from the torch of her faith and devotion. She was a friend of Susan B. Anthony, of Lucy Stone and of many of the other veterans. Her delightful home was open to every suffragist of high or low degree—there were no degrees to her if a woman was a suffragist. She showed her faith in the cause not only by her gifts, her hospitality and her unceasing activity during her life but also by bequests of \$5,000 to the State association and \$10,000 to the National Association. The former was used, as she would have wished it to be, in the amendment campaign of 1916 and the National Association returned a large part of its bequest for use at this time.

In October, 1912, the convention was held in Des Moines and the Rev. Miss Safford was re-elected president. By this time new methods of propaganda were being used. During the State Fair the City Council of Suffrage Clubs in Des Moines arranged for the photoplay *Votes for Women* to be shown in a river front park near a band stand where nightly concerts were given and literally thousands of people had their first education in suffrage through the speeches made there.

The State convention met in October, 1913, in Boone and Miss Flora Dunlap was made president. An automobile trip crossing the State twice, with open air meetings in thirty towns, had been undertaken in September. Governor George W. Clark and Harvey Ingham, editor of the *Des Moines Register*, a long time sup-

porter of woman suffrage, spoke at the first meeting and other prominent men, officials, editors and clergymen, joined the party for one or more days. Two reporters from Des Moines newspapers went with it and there was excellent publicity. Mrs. P. J. Mills of Des Moines managed the trip and accompanied the party with her car, Miss Evangeline Prouty, daughter of an Iowa member of Congress, acting as chauffeur. Miss Dunlap also made the entire two weeks' journey, while other workers joined for briefer periods. J. R. Hanna, Mayor of Des Moines, wrote the Mayors of all towns in which meetings were scheduled asking the courtesies of the city for the party, and this, with the Governor's opening speech, gave a helpful official sanction.

The annual meeting took place in October, 1914, at Des Moines and Miss Dunlap was re-elected president. In March the Mississippi Valley Conference, with many interesting delegates, had been held in that city and made a very favorable impression. Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, president of the Ohio Suffrage Association, had spoken at a Sunday afternoon mass meeting in the largest theater. When the convention met at Des Moines in October, 1915, a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution had at last been submitted by the Legislature to be passed upon by the voters in June, 1916. Miss Dunlap was again re-elected and arrangements were perfected for continuing the vigorous campaign already under way. By the time the association held its convention at Waterloo in September, 1916, the amendment had been defeated but nevertheless the meeting was large and enthusiastic. Miss Anna B. Lawther was elected president and arrangements were made for securing as soon as possible the re-submission of the amendment.

The convention of 1917 met in October at Des Moines and Miss Lawther was re-elected. The country was now in the midst of war, and, like patriotic women everywhere, Iowa suffragists turned all their attention to helping win it. Miss Lawther served on a special committee appointed by the Governor to organize the women of the State for war activities. Every woman on the suffrage board filled an important position in the various State war organizations and every county chairman and local member was active in the work of her community. The women worked

long, full days for the war and far into the night for suffrage.

When the State convention met at Cedar Rapids in September, 1918, the women were still immersed in war work. Meanwhile the Lower House of Congress had voted to submit the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment and for some months the efforts of the association had been centered on this amendment. It had secured pledges from all the Iowa representatives in Congress to vote for it except Harry E. Hull, who voted against it. In June a "suffrage school" had been held in Penn College, Oska-loosa, for the express purpose of educating women in the need of this amendment and the necessity of educating State legislators to the point where it would be ratified as soon as it was submitted. Miss Lawther was again re-elected but resigned the next June and Mrs. James E. Devitt, the vice-president, filled the office.

In 1919 the association was in the thick of the struggle to obtain from the Legislature Primary and Presidential suffrage. The former was defeated; the latter passed both houses in April. The Federal Amendment was ratified by the Legislature July 2.

The work of the Equal Suffrage Association seemed finished. The half century of agitation, education and evolution was completed. The 48th and last annual convention was held Oct. 2, 1919, in Boone, which had been its hostess many times, and the association was happily dissolved by unanimous vote. The State League of Women Voters was at once organized with Miss Flora Dunlap, chairman, and the old workers faced the new task of making political suffrage for women the privilege and blessing they always had believed it would prove to be.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. A resolution to submit to the voters a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution was introduced in every General Assembly beginning with 1870. In the early years petitions were sent, the number of signatures rising from 8,000 in 1884 to 100,000 in 1900, but after that time they were almost entirely given up, as they had no effect. The resolution was introduced according to custom in the Legislature of 1902. Also according to custom, not always so carefully observed, the Senate passed the resolution by 28 to 16, this being the Senate's year for this courtesy, and the House accepted the report recommending indefinite postponement.



In 1904 the resolution was defeated in the House and did not emerge from the Senate committee. In 1906 this program was repeated. The meeting of the Legislature was now changed to the odd years and in 1907 the above program was reversed. After this year the members omitted even the customary graciousness of an understanding that one body would pass it and the other kill it, thus keeping the women friendly and dividing the responsibility for the defeat, and both Houses in 1909 rejected it.

In 1911 the Senate treated the resolution in a most contemptuous manner by voting to strike out the enacting clause and then passing it. This was the last time it was defeated. The tide was changing and even the most confirmed opponents knew that it was a rising and not a falling tide. Fortunately most of the active workers who sat through that humiliating experience lived to see the men who were responsible for it either retired entirely from public life or so changed in sentiment as to claim a place among those who "always believed in woman suffrage."

The neighboring State of Kansas fully enfranchised its women in 1912, as did several other western States, and favorable pressure was growing very strong. In 1913 the resolution to submit the amendment passed in the House on February 20 by a vote of 81 to 26 and in the Senate on March 7 by a vote of 31 to 15. The deadlock was broken and every suffragist rejoiced.

The resolution had to pass two Legislatures and in July, 1914, the Republican State convention strongly urged the next one to pass it. In 1915 this was done, by the Senate on February 12 by a vote of 38 to 11, and by the House on the 23rd by one of 84 to 19. The date for the referendum to the voters was set at the time of the primary elections, June 5, 1916, over three years from the time the resolution was first passed. After forty-five years thus far had the workers for woman suffrage arrived.

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The activities of the State association were at once turned to the education of the voters. It had been long thought by both State and national leaders that if the amendment could be brought before them they would give a large majority for it. Probably no State ever went into a campaign under more favorable auspices and until the last few weeks it seemed that victory was cer-

tain and the women had learned that it was not entirely a State matter but one of national interest. The national president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, gave six weeks of time to the campaign and liberal contributions of money, as she considered Iowa her State, having spent a large part of her life there. The honorary president, Dr. Shaw, other national officers, State presidents and men and women suffragists from many other States rendered valuable help in time, money and service of all sorts. Large numbers of Iowa women who had never helped before now did effective work. The long-time suffragists devoted themselves wholly to the campaign. Many Iowa men gave great assistance. A Men's League for Woman Suffrage, John H. Denison, president, was organized with headquarters at Des Moines and branches in all the large cities, forty altogether. These leagues not only assisted with counsel but raised funds, placed speakers and helped get out the vote. O. G. Geyer was the executive secretary and the State offices of the League adjoined those of the State Suffrage Association. There were the closest cooperation and the greatest harmony in the work of the two organizations. An unusually well-conducted press campaign was carried on with Mrs. Rose Lawless Geyer at the head of the press department and she and Miss Alice B. Curtis, executive secretary, gave long hours and invaluable service to the campaign. Five-sixths of the newspapers not only used plate matter and a weekly press letter but supported the cause editorially and some of them refused the paid advertising of the "antis."

Dr. Effie McCollum Jones was finance secretary; Miss Mabel Lodge was the first organizer in the field and there is a long list of men and women whose names deserve mention for the abundant time and unstinted devotion they gave to the campaign. In some of the counties along the Mississippi River, where the situation was the most difficult, were strong groups of men and women workers. Miss Anna B. Lawther of Dubuque headed one of the most active and the record of the river counties would have been even blacker than it was but for the herculean work that they did. In Keokuk, the most southern city on the river, this was so effective that it alone was a white spot in the long, black line when the election returns came in. Each of the

eleven Congressional districts had an organizer in charge from January until election day. In every one of the ninety counties there was organization. Nine-tenths of them opened headquarters from one to three months before the end of the campaign and 2,000 precinct workers were enrolled. The whole State was covered by auto-trips in the last month. Approximately 5,000,000 pieces of literature were distributed, much of it especially printed to meet local needs and the false statements circulated by the opposition. One cent postage for one circularization of the voters of Iowa cost \$5,000.

As suffragists throughout the nation gave their help, so the opponents outside the State tried to defeat the amendment. The women's National Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage sent a number of its paid workers and a considerable sum of money into the State. There was a small anti-suffrage organization in Iowa during the campaign affiliated with this national association, with branches in Des Moines, Davenport, Clinton, Sioux City and a few other places. Mrs. Simon Casady of Des Moines was State president. John P. Irish, a former resident, came from California under its auspices to work against the amendment but the press department widely circulated his favorable declarations for woman suffrage in early years and reprinted his editorials written during the Civil War, in which his disloyalty to Lincoln and to the Union was shown. He was much disturbed by this publicity concerning his past and soon left the State. The women's anti-suffrage association did no particular harm but the forces of evil with which it was allied did great damage and in the end defeated the amendment. Iowa women had believed that their men were free from entanglements with these forces but they learned that no State line bars out the elements which work against democracy and the influence of women in government.

In spite of these opposing forces the amendment would have won but for political complications which arose during the last few weeks of the campaign. It became necessary for the Republican party to sacrifice woman suffrage to its "wet" candidate for Governor, as it felt sure that he could not be elected in Novem-

ber if the vote should be given to women in June. A prominent supporter said openly: "We had to do it in self-defense."

The special election and the primary election were held on June 5, 1916, and after several days of waiting the final returns showed that the amendment was defeated—ayes, 162,683; noes, 173,024—lost by 10,341 votes.

The adverse vote was almost entirely in the counties along the Mississippi River. They were in revolt against the State prohibition law and there was constant evasion of it and agitation for its repeal. Naturally those opposed to prohibition were also opposed to woman suffrage. The vote in these counties was large enough to overcome the vote in the central and western counties where the sentiment was generally "dry." Des Moines, the capital and largest city in the State, voted in favor; Sioux City, the second largest, recorded a small adverse vote; Council Bluffs on the western border returned a favorable majority; Keokuk on the river in the southeastern corner of the State was carried, but all the other cities on the eastern border voted "wet." The river counties of Dubuque, Scott and Clinton gave 9,383 of the 10,341 adverse majority. They were the stronghold for the commercial liquor interests of the State. The Republican candidate for Governor received a majority of 126,754 and this party could easily have carried the amendment.

It was evident that there were many irregularities in the election and the board of the State Suffrage Association conferred with competent attorneys but after much consultation it was decided that it would not be practical to contest it. The defeat of the amendment was a serious disappointment to the temperance forces and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union determined to have the returns canvassed and if possible discover the cause. The election proceedings and officials returns were investigated in 44 counties and the report in affidavit form consisted of 200 closely typewritten pages. The *Des Moines Register* of Oct. 15, 1916, said of this report:

The investigation revealed several strange conditions. The records in the Secretary of State's office disclose that there were 29,341 more votes cast on the equal suffrage amendment than the total cast for all candidates for Governor by all parties. The canvass in these 44

counties, however, shows that there were 13,609 more names listed as voting, as shown by the poll books, than there were suffrage ballots. Add to this the 2,289 votes where certain precincts show more votes on the amendment than names recorded in the poll books and altogether 15,898 more names are found on the poll books than there were ballots cast on woman suffrage. If this proportion is maintained in the other fifty-five counties, there would be approximately 30,000 more voters listed than there were votes on the amendment. The question the investigator raises is: "Did 60,000 men go to the polls and fail to vote a primary ballot, and did 30,000 of these fail to vote on the amendment? Did 30,000 go to the polls and fail to vote for anybody or anything?"

The W. C. T. U. can draw but one conclusion from this condition, namely, that they were defrauded out of their right to the ballot.

The investigators found that in the 44 counties . . . 4,743 ballots, shown to have been cast by the list of voters, are absolutely unaccounted for. . . . In 15 counties it was found that in certain precincts 2,239 more ballots were certified than there were names on the list of voters. . . . In 15 counties there were 8,067 more ballots on the amendment than there were voters checked as having voted.

In 30 counties where the combination poll books were used no voter was checked as having voted, but the certificates show that 55,107 votes were cast on the amendment. In 27 cities canvassed, a total disregard or ignorance of the registration laws in nearly all precincts appears and in many of these the violations are most flagrant.

The law requires that the judges and clerks of election shall make out a certificate showing the total number of votes cast, the number voting "yes" or "no" or "rejected." A total of 9,320 votes in these counties are not properly certified to and the "true return" is not signed in many instances by any of the clerks or judges and in others not by all. In this class 27,362 votes were affected. In six counties certificates properly signed by the clerks and judges had been changed by a different hand and in some cases several different precincts had been changed by the same hand. . . .

Many other instances were given of incompetence and dishonesty beyond question, but, notwithstanding this positive evidence, the legal requirements and restrictions were such as made any effort for a recount or another election of no avail.<sup>1</sup>

A conference of the suffrage leaders was held in Des Moines the next month after the election. Every one was sad but no one was resigned and those who had worked the hardest and sacrificed the most were the first to renew their pledges for further effort. It was decided that while their forces were well

<sup>1</sup> Space is given to this report because it is a fair illustration of the conditions under which woman suffrage amendments were defeated again and again in different States.

organized they should at once begin another campaign. The half-century-old resolution was presented to the General Assembly of 1917, and, though there were arguments that the voters had just spoken and that the question ought not again be submitted in so brief a time, the resolution passed by a vote of 35 ayes, 13 noes in the Senate and 85 ayes, 20 noes in the House.

The women continued their work for the second vote, which must be given by the Legislature of 1919. When it convened the discovery was made that the Secretary of State, William S. Allen, did not publish notice of the passage of the resolution the first time, as required by law and it had to be voted on again as if the first time. It passed with but one dissenting voice in each House but the second vote could not be taken till 1921.

A bill for Primary suffrage passed the Lower House in 1919 by 86 ayes, 15 noes, but met with great opposition in the Senate even from men posing as friends of woman suffrage. In a one-party State, as Iowa had been for many years, the dominant party hardly could feel that its supremacy would be threatened by women's votes in the primary, but, as one speaker naïvely disclosed in the debate, the "machine" might be thrown entirely out of gear. "Why," said he dramatically to the listening Senate, "the Republican party would be in hopeless confusion. Nobody could tell in advance what candidate the women might nominate in the primary!" The bill was postponed by 31 ayes, 17 noes.

The next step was to have a bill introduced to give women a vote for Presidential electors. One of the contributing factors to its success was the ever-increasing number of victories for similar bills in other States, particularly the recent victory in Missouri, which had completed the circle of "white" States surrounding Iowa. One of the features of the debate in the Senate was the reading of a letter from John T. Adams, vice-chairman of the National Republican Committee, heretofore an anti-suffragist, by Senator Eugene Schaffter, the sponsor of the bill, in which he impressed upon the Republicans the political urgency of granting the Presidential franchise to women. After a hard campaign by the Legislative Committee of the State Suffrage Association, with Mrs. Frank W. Dodson of Des Moines as chairman, the Iowa legislators joined the procession and on April 4, 1919,

the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 38 ayes, 8 noes, the House following on April 19 with a vote of 84 ayes, 2 noes.

RATIFICATION. When the Federal Amendment went to the last vote in Congress, the Iowa delegation maintained its record on each vote that had been taken, both Senators and ten of the eleven Representatives—all but Harry E. Hull—casting their votes in the affirmative. Immediately Mrs. Devitt of Oskaloosa, acting president, and Mrs. Fred B. Crowley of Des Moines, corresponding secretary of the State association, requested Governor William L. Harding to call a special session of the Legislature to ratify it. It met on July 2 in special session for this sole purpose. Men and women had made their way early to the Capitol, filling the galleries and the rear of the chambers. The legislators, too, were apparently as happy as boys, with a new idea of real democracy in Iowa. It seemed like a gathering of great-hearted, honest-of-purpose men who were eager to do an act of justice. The joyous expressions of these men, who had taken hot, dusty rides on day trains from their farms and stores in the scorching July weather to come and cast their votes for ratification, assured the women of victory. It was a wonderful moment. After a joint session at 10 a. m., to hear the reading of the Governor's message, by 11:40 the vote had been taken in both Houses. Every Senator but two was present and was recorded in the affirmative; the vote in the House was 96 ayes, 5 noes; E. H. Knickerbocker, Linn county; T. J. O'Donnell, Dubuque; C. A. Quick and George A. Smith, Clinton; W. H. Vance, Madison. Senators J. D. Buser of Conesville and D. W. Kimberly of Davenport were absent. The former had voted against Presidential suffrage and the latter had not voted.

An informal luncheon followed in one of the Des Moines tea rooms which had often housed the suffragists in times of desolation and it was turned into a jollification meeting. Three former State presidents and other women spoke and there were many present for whom the occasion meant the fulfillment of an idea to which they had given years of devoted service.

## CHAPTER XV.

### KANSAS.<sup>1</sup>

Kansas was not yet a State when in 1859 twenty-five of her justice-loving men and women met and formed the first association to gain political freedom for women, and the liberty lighting torch kindled then was kept aflame by organization for fifty-three years before the women received equal political rights with the men in 1912. A State Equal Suffrage Association was formed in 1884 and thereafter annual conventions were held.

During 1901 Miss Helen Kimber, president of the association, travelled through fifteen counties and held twenty-five meetings. She had obtained for the national suffrage bazaar held in New York in December, 1900, besides many smaller donations, a car load of flour from the Kansas Millers' Association and two hundred pounds of butter from the Continental Creamery Company of Topeka. She was re-elected president at the convention held in McPherson, Nov. 7, 8, and the following year visited more than half the counties, forming organizations where they did not already exist. The attempt made in the Legislature through the influence of the liquor interests to deprive women of their Municipal suffrage, possessed since 1887, brought more of them to realize its value and at the spring election more than ever before were elected on school boards, for which women could vote.

The convention of 1902 was held in Topeka October 14-15 and Miss Kimber was re-elected; Mrs. John B. Sims, secretary. Several thousand people listened to the inspiring addresses of

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Lucy B. (Mrs. William A.) Johnston, president of the State Equal Suffrage Association when the victory was won. She is under obligations to H. G. Larimer, legislative reference and bill drafting department; Miss Henrietta Alexander, legislative reference librarian; L. J. Pettyjohn, Secretary of State; Miss Lorraine E. Wooster, State superintendent of public instruction; Miss Suzanne Henry, Supreme Court law clerk; Dr. S. J. Crumbine, secretary State board of health; Mrs. Herbert Jones, department vital statistics; Miss Linna Bresette, State labor department; Miss Clara Francis, librarian State Historical Society.



Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the senior editor of the *Woman's Journal*, Henry B. Blackwell. Headquarters were established in Topeka. Petitions for Presidential suffrage with about 32,000 signatures had been secured to be presented to the Legislature of 1903. There was an increased vote of women at the spring election and forty-two were elected as county officers, for whom only men could vote.

The State convention of 1903 was held in Abilene December 8-9 and Miss Kimber was again re-elected. She reported suffrage meetings conducted at the Winfield, Beloit and Lincoln Chautauquas. Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Colorado was the outside speaker and afterwards spoke in four of the principal cities. Mrs. Sadie P. Grisham of Cottonwood Falls was elected president at the convention held in Topeka Nov. 9, 10, 1904. The increase of membership of nearly a thousand was largely accredited to the efforts of Mrs. Alice Moyer, State organizer. Presidential suffrage was again adopted for the year's work. The suffrage departments were maintained at the Chautauqua meetings and literature and letters were sent to every member of the incoming Legislature. The convention of 1905 was held in Topeka October 20-21. Mrs. Grisham refused a second term and Mrs. Roxana E. Rice of Lawrence was elected president. On Oct. 14, 1906, the convention met in Topeka and Mrs. Rice was re-elected and with others of her board represented Kansas at the national convention in Chicago the next February.

The annual meeting of 1907 was again held in Topeka on November 14 and a report from the national convention was given by the vice-president, Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, but all propositions and resolutions offered by the mother organization were either rejected or referred to a committee and at the conclusion of Mrs. Monroe's report she moved that "the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association withdraw from the National." After discussion to the effect that it could do more effective work alone the motion was carried. Mrs. Monroe was elected president, Mrs. J. D. McFarland first and Mrs. Rice second vice-president. The treasurer reported \$260 in the treasury and was instructed to pay \$25 to the Susan B. Anthony memorial fund. The board

decided to publish the *Club Member*, devoted to women's activities.

The convention of 1908 met October 30-31 in Topeka, the Good Government Club and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of that city uniting with the association in an evening program. Mrs. A. H. Horton was elected president, Mrs. Monroe first and Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter second vice-president. The fact was evident that there had been no organization work and little activity throughout the State for several years, and, as there was now no connection with the National Association, interest was awakened only at biennial periods by the convening of the Legislature.

At the convention of 1909 in Topeka, December 10, 11, T. A. McNeal of this city, former member of the Legislature, principal speaker at the evening meeting, chided the women and declared that the little advance made along suffrage lines of recent years was not because of men's lack of interest but on account of women's indifference. Mrs. Catharine A. Hoffman was elected president; Mrs. R. V. Chambers first and Mrs. McCarter second vice-president; Mrs. E. E. Raudebush, secretary; Mrs. Emma Sells Marshall, treasurer; Mrs. McFarland and Mrs. Rice, auditors. The president appointed an advisory board of fifteen men and women and named Mrs. Genevieve Howland Chalkley State organizer. The press was used to advantage and good speakers from Kansas and neighboring States helped to make woman suffrage a more popular subject. A number of meetings of a semi-social nature were held in the capital city before the Legislature met. One, "a Kansas equal suffrage banquet," followed a business meeting of the association, Jan. 28, 1910, at Hotel Throop. About one hundred guests were present, Governor W. R. Stubbs and wife and former Governor W. E. Hoch and wife having seats of honor. Mrs. Hoffman was toastmistress and about twenty men and women responded to toasts.

Mrs. Hoffman's policy was to make a strong appeal to the next Legislature for the submission of a full suffrage amendment to the voters. On Dec. 9, 1910, she called her officers and a number of well known workers to a conference in Topeka and a plan of action was outlined. A room in the State Historical

Department, which through the courtesy of Geo. W. Martin had been used as legislative headquarters in other years, was again retained with Mrs. Monroe as superintendent. Mrs. William A. Johnston, Mrs. Stubbs and Mrs. C. C. Goddard were appointed a legislative committee. Governor Stubbs had been re-elected in November, 1910, and in his message to the Legislature in January he strongly advised the submission. Then the battle royal for votes opened. The resolution was introduced early in January. Every legislator was asked by each member of the committee to vote for it; many of the members' wives were in Topeka and teas, dinners and receptions became popular, at which the "assisting ladies" were asked to keep the subject of woman suffrage to the front and in this way many men and women were interested and educated.

Mrs. Hoffman was a conservative but diligent worker and among her able assistants were a number of men and women from the colleges and universities. Mrs. Lillian Mitchner, president of the State W. C. T. U., was a constant helper. The names of all the valiant workers would be those of hundreds of Topeka people and hundreds more out in the "home districts," who used their influence with the legislators, and those of wives of Senators and Representatives who influenced their husbands' votes. The State House headquarters was a busy place and a large amount of work was done there. The amendment resolution was passed by the votes of the men but it could not have been done without the careful, well planned work of the women. It was adopted by a large majority in both Houses and signed by Governor Stubbs Feb. 12, 1911.

The State convention met in Representative Hall, Topeka, May 16, 1911. Kansas women were now for the third time entering a campaign for political liberty, which made the meeting one of unusual interest. Mrs. Hoffman could not serve longer and the following officers were elected: Mrs. Johnston, president; Mrs. Stubbs first and Mrs. Cora W. Bullard second vice-president; Miss Gertrude Reed, corresponding secretary; Miss Helen N. Eacker, recording secretary; Mrs. S. A. Thurston, treasurer; Mrs. William Allen White, auditor; district presidents, Mrs. Bullard, Mrs. Chalkley, Mrs. P. H. Albright, Mrs. L. C.

Wooster, Mrs. Matie Toothaker Kimball, Mrs. Anna C. Waite, Mrs. W. Y. Morgan, Mrs. Nannie Garrett. An enthusiastic mass meeting was held in the evening, the speakers, Chief Justice William A. Johnston; John McDonald, former Superintendent of Public Instruction; George W. Martin, secretary of the State Historical Society; David Leahy, secretary to the Governor, and Mrs. Mitchner; Mrs. Hoffman presiding. The next day a joint meeting of the old and new officers was held. The treasurer reported \$37.50 received as membership fees, and \$100, a gift from Mrs. Catt. This was a small sum to begin a campaign for about 500,000 votes, but all hearts were filled with courage. Later three district presidents resigned and Mrs. Minnie J. Brinstead, Mrs. H. Wirick and Mrs. M. B. Munson were appointed; also Mrs. Hoffman, chairman of press; Dr. Alberta Corbin, of membership extension, and Miss Effie Graham of education.

These eighteen women constituted a board of management. At its meeting July 10 a program was submitted by the president of the association for the complete organization of the State. Organization, education and publicity were the watchwords adopted. The need of money was so pressing that the board made personal pledges of from \$25 to \$200, which in many instances were more than doubled before the vote was taken. This act of self-denial and consecration gave strength and courage to go to others, for worthy as was the cause money would not come without asking. The big public is much like the Lord, who helps those who help themselves. The half-million voters to obtain and almost as many women living in 105 counties to educate meant work as well as faith.

The hottest summer and the coldest, stormiest winter followed and the workers learned what it meant to travel across country with the mercury ranging from 110 in the shade to 22 degrees below zero; to have a Turkish bath while making a "votes for women" speech or be delayed for hours on a freight or passenger train by a snow blockade. By January, 1912, however, one-third of the counties were organized, many newspapers pledged to help, and headquarters established in the best business building in Topeka. Then began a "day in and day out" battle for votes.

At first there was one stenographer, later three and two secretaries, and the president broke all the maximum hour laws. Besides the regular county and precinct organizations, college clubs were formed and a Men's State League, with Dr. E. S. Pettyjohn president. This league had a large and influential membership, including the Governor, the Chief Justice and other State officers; many prominent business men, leading ministers, lawyers, teachers, professors and politicians. It gave the campaign prestige with the voters and its members were invaluable as advisers and active workers.

The State convention was held in Wichita, May 7-9, 1912. Greetings were given by Mrs. W. J. Babb, the new president of the district; Mrs. W. T. Johnston, hostess and president of the county, and Mrs. Sally Toler, president of the City Federation of Clubs. Mrs. Mitchner pledged the support of the W. C. T. U. and Mrs. W. D. Atkinson, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, brought its endorsement and pleaded with other State organizations to "bring in the reserves." Telegrams and letters were read from Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal*; Governor John F. Shafroth of Colorado; Judge Ben Lindsey of Denver; Omar E. Garwood, secretary of the National Men's League; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Association; Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont of New York; J. H. Braly of California and others. Dr. Helen Brewster Owens of Ithaca, N. Y., field organizer, gave an interesting report of her work, which included addressing 176 audiences and organizing five college leagues. The first "motion" was that application be made for reinstatement in the National Association, and it was carried unanimously. Pledges amounting to \$1,000 were given in five minutes to finance a whirlwind campaign proposed by Mr. Braly similar to the one successfully made in California the year before.

The evening meeting was held in the Crawford Theater and many were unable to gain admission. Mrs. Johnson presided, Mayor W. W. Winnick gave the address of welcome and Mrs. Stubbs responded. The Rev. Olympia Brown of Wisconsin, a pioneer suffragist, and Miss Jane Addams of Chicago were the principal speakers. During the convention encouraging reports

were made by chairmen of the three departments and eight congressional districts and many county presidents. The State officers were all re-elected; Mrs. C. W. Smith was made president of the sixth district and Mrs. Babb of the eighth. The afternoon features were an automobile ride by courtesy of the Commerce Club and a street meeting where Miss Addams made her first outdoor speech, standing on the rear seat of an automobile. An evening reception at the Masonic Temple was a delightful finale to the biggest, most enthusiastic suffrage convention ever held in the State.

An executive board meeting and a conference took place May 9, at which date the State, district and county officers of the organized forces numbered more than 2,000 women. These with the men in favor and most of the newspapers created a suffrage sentiment which reached every corner of the State. Nearly all of the forty field workers were Kansans, but assistants and money came from other State organizations and individuals. The National Association contributed in literature and money \$2,076. Mrs. Laura M. Johns, now of California, and other "formerly of Kansas" women sent counsel and gifts. Kansas people gave most of the money which the campaign cost, and some of the \$6,000 expended was so sacred that it was handled with tearful eyes and reverent touch. For instance, one letter enclosed a check for \$100, representing "the life savings of Mary," who wanted it used in a campaign State. In another was \$10 "from mother's money, who wanted this justice for women, but it did not come while she lived." Another woman wrote: "This is my sainted mother's birthday and I want this \$5 used in her memory." One had made provisions in her will to leave \$200 for the next campaign, but thanked God it had come while she could work as well as give. There were the widows' mites, many times meaning sacrifice and toil, and single dollars came from women who were too old or too ill to work but wanted to have a part. There were also a few surreptitious dollars from women whose husbands were boasting that their wives did not want to vote, and "joy dollars" for sons and daughters or the new-born babe. All these gifts were thrice blessed.

With votes as with most of the dollars—they were not coming

unsought, and in order to make sure of them they must be looked for in their own habitat. This the women did on horseback, in wagons, carriages, steam cars and automobiles. They were found in the shops, offices and stores, at the fairs, conventions and Chautauquas, at the theater and the circus, on the farms and the highways, at the fireside and in the streets. One automobile trip covered a part of the same route travelled by the Rev. Olympia Brown and other suffrage workers in the campaign of 1867, when they often rode in ox-teams or on Indian ponies, stopped over night in dugouts or sod houses and finally were driven back by hostile Indians. This mental picture made the trip over good roads and through villages of pretty homes seem like a pleasure ride. Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky; the president, Mrs. Johnston; Mrs. Kimball and Mrs. Hoffman, who furnished the car, made one trip of 1,000 miles in the fifth district and Miss Clay was then placed in charge of the sixth district offices, where she rendered valuable service for two weeks longer, all gratuitous.

Arthur Capper, owner and publisher of the *Topeka Daily Capital*, and L. L. Kiene, editor of the *State Journal*, were most helpful. The favorable Catholic vote was largely due to the excellent work of Mrs. Mary E. Ringrose and her sister of California and to David Leahy of Wichita, an active worker in the Men's League. W. Y. Morgan, member of Congress from Kansas, and Professor S. J. Brandenburg of Oxford, Ohio, looked after the voters in the colleges and universities. Four-year-old Billy Brandenburg came with his mother to help in the automobile tours and was adopted as the "campaign mascot." At the street meetings his little cap was often heavy with nickels and quarters when he helped take collections. Kansas had often stood in the lime-light, but while the women avoided the humdrum, all spectacular methods were discouraged and they won by keeping their efforts on dignified, conservative lines.

All along those in charge of the campaign were warned that the big interests whose business thrives on the degradation of human life would rather defeat suffrage in Kansas than in any other two States. Early in the summer of 1912 a bound book of letters, entitled "Business Versus Woman Suffrage," was brought out by a certain C. F. Tibbles of Chicago, cunningly

devised to arouse the prejudice of every kind of business man or reform worker. Later two other editions were issued, enlarged and more daring in their statements. They were left in railway coaches and sent to newspaper offices with strong appeals for the publishing of the letters from time to time, but Kansas men had fought too many battles with the saloon power not to recognize its hydra head. Toward the last came one clothed in the official garb of the exalted Methodist Church, but warning had been sent by the women of Oregon, where he had united his efforts with the worst elements to defeat the suffrage amendment in two campaigns. The Men's League, the press and the ministers co-operated with the women and "Clarence, the Untrue," was effectively bound and gagged. About this time one of the good friends in Kansas City, Mo., discovered that the same plan which had defeated the amendment in Ohio was going to be used in Kansas, and he loyally reported it to headquarters. A busy day followed and Mrs. Edwin Knapp, Miss Eacker and the president remained up all night getting out letters to expose the plan. These were sent to all of the weekly newspapers for their last issue before the election and an Associated Press letter to be used in the Sunday and Monday issues.

Thanks to the splendid manhood of Kansas, these were sufficient, and women came into their own on November 5, 1912, by a vote of 175,246 ayes, 159,197 noes—a majority of over 16,000. No other State had won by so large a majority and because the count was made and the victory reported first of the three that were carried in 1912, Kansas claims the right to the seventh place on the list of equal suffrage States.<sup>1</sup>

The Jubilee Convention, May 19-20, 1913, was held in the Baptist Church at Lawrence, and men and women came from every part of the State. The evening program was under the auspices of the Men's League, Dr. Pettyjohn, presiding. Pro-

<sup>1</sup> Among the many who aided in campaign work were Judge and Mrs. Frank Doster, Mr. and Mrs. J. K. Coddling, the Hon. A. M. Harvey, the Hon. Geo. Waters, the Hon. C. C. Gafford, the Rev. Festus Foster, the Rev. S. S. Estey, D.D., William Allen White, Sim Bromlette, John J. Brown; Mesdames Doster Cook, C. W. Smith, Nanon Herren, Lucia Case, Lida Buckley, Sherman Medill, Margaret Brandenburg, Edwin Knapp, L. S. Corbin, Adrian Greene, Adrian Sherman, Pansy Clark, Z. Nason, Geo. W. Rose, Effie Van Tuyl, Eva M. Murphy, Effie Frost; Misses Laura French, Eva Corning, Florence Welch, Bertha Hemstead, Olga House, E. Galloo, Mary Dobbs, Dorothy Sherman.



fessor W. H. Carruth of the State University gave the address of welcome and the Hon. W. S. Guyer, an active helper in the campaign, responded. Addresses were made by Governor George H. Hodges (Democrat), ex-Governor W. R. Stubbs (Republican), the Hon. W. Y. Morgan and the Rev. C. M. Sheldon. The theme was The New Citizen, and she had a liberal share of the compliments and good advice. At a large evening meeting Mrs. Agnes Riddle, member of the Colorado House of Representatives, gave an interesting address. As befitted a jubilee convention, there were feasting and music, but the subjects discussed revealed a serious realization of the enlarged responsibilities which the vote involved. The name of the association was changed to the Good Citizenship League. Mrs. Johnston declining re-election, received the title of president emeritus, and Mrs. Chalkley was elected president; Mrs. Stubbs first and Mrs. Laura Reed Yaggy second vice-presidents; Miss Eacker, recording secretary; Mrs. Magdalen B. Munson, treasurer; Mrs. W. T. Johnston, auditor, and eight district presidents.

During the months that followed, educational work and helpful interest in States having campaigns was carried forward. At a meeting in Emporia, April 3, 1914, the measures to be supported in the next Legislature by the association were chosen and a study of the political situation was made. The candidates for Governor, Arthur Capper (Republican), George H. Hodges (Democrat) and Professor George W. Kleihege of Washburn College (Socialist) presented the principles of their parties. Henry J. Allen (Progressive) sent greetings and Dean Relvix of Ottawa University explained the tenets of this party. A legislative school followed, attended by women from many sections of the State. A rally to help the campaign in Missouri was held in Kansas City October 15, with a banquet and speeches on the Missouri side and an all day and evening meeting on the Kansas side. The principal speakers were Dean Sophonisba Breckinridge of the University of Chicago and Justice J. S. West of the Kansas Supreme Court. The annual convention met in Lawrence Dec. 19, 1914, and Mrs. Bullard was elected president.

In 1915 the convention was held in Topeka. As war problems were filling the hearts and minds of the people, only a business

meeting was held. The usual resolution urging the delegation in Congress to use all honorable means to put through the Federal Suffrage Amendment was passed.

In 1916 the convention was held in Memorial Hall, Topeka, and the name Equal Suffrage Association was restored. Governor Capper commended the women for their good influence on legislation. Mrs. Catt, president of the National Association, reviewed its activities, and urged Kansas women to work for the Federal Amendment and go to the national political conventions. Money was raised for the Iowa campaign. There had been several attempts to organize a "militant" suffrage society in Kansas under the name of the Congressional Union and a number of men and women had been innocently led into it. A "question box" conducted by Mrs. Catt did much to clarify the situation, making it plain that there was no chance of united work by the two organizations as they were diametrically opposed in methods. She addressed the Commercial Club at a noon luncheon and many business men testified to the good results of woman suffrage. Mrs. W. Y. Morgan was elected president. The Kansas members of Congress, all of whom were in favor of the Federal Amendment, were continuously urged to press for its submission. About fifty Kansas women marched in the great suffrage parade in Chicago at the time of the Republican national convention in June.

The convention met in Topeka June 21, 1917, and Mrs. Morgan declining re-election, Mrs. Charles H. Brooks of Wichita was made president. The annual meeting of 1918 was held in Wichita June 12. The money had been raised to send two envoys to the Southern States and then on to Washington, Mrs. Henry Ware Allen and Mrs. Yaggy, both of charming personality and belonging to the Democratic party, to obtain the help of Congressmen from the South, and it is gratifying to remember that the securing of the last necessary votes in the House in January might be attributed to the efforts of these two women. It was voted to send money and speakers to help in the Oklahoma campaign, where the liquor interests were making a strong fight against the amendment. Mrs. Brooks' excellent work soon brought results. It was hard to raise money for anything except

winning the war but she never lost sight of the fact that winning votes for the Federal Amendment was winning democracy for the world. Almost without exception the officers of the association represented families with men in uniform. The suffragists sold in the Third and Fourth Liberty Loans \$20,000,000 worth of bonds and they worked in every "drive" through the Woman's Committee of the Council of Defense. Mrs. Brooks and her entire board were re-elected. As guests of the Wichita Equal Suffrage Society delegates and visitors were entertained at tea in the home of the Hon. Henry J. Allen.

The convention of 1919 was held in Wichita June 10-11. Mrs. Brooks had been elected president of the National League of Women Voters and the Kansas association loyally changed its name to the State League of Women Voters. A largely attended "victory dinner" was given at the Lassen Hotel. Mrs. Brooks was succeeded by Mrs. Henry Ware Allen, who later resigned, and the Executive Board in November called on the well beloved veteran, Mrs. Catharine A. Hoffman, again to take the presidency. A special meeting of the association and a citizenship school were held in Wichita Jan. 19-25, 1920, the latter conducted by Miss Marie B. Ames of St. Louis, the regional director of the National League of Women Voters.

**LEGISLATIVE ACTION.** After an amendment to the State constitution was defeated by the voters in 1894, women asked for full suffrage only now and then, but encouraged by Henry B. Blackwell of Massachusetts they made special efforts after 1900 to obtain the vote for presidential electors.

1901. The Presidential suffrage bill passed the Senate by a vote of 22 to 13, but the next day the vote was reconsidered on motion of Senator G. A. Knofster and the bill defeated by 23 to 13. It died on the House calendar. On January 14 Representative J. A. Butler of Wyandotte county introduced a bill the purpose of which was to deprive women of Municipal suffrage. A storm of protests began at once to pour in and it was estimated that 10,000 letters were sent to members by women from their home districts. The bill was twice killed in committee and received less than ten votes, amid derision and laughter, when its author tried to have it placed on the calendar.

1903. Senator Dumont Smith introduced the Presidential suffrage bill and worked faithfully for it, but it was defeated on January 28 by 21 noes, 13 ayes. Cyrus Leland introduced it in the Lower House, where it was killed in Committee of the Whole on February 11 by 62 noes, 57 ayes. At this session an extension of bond suffrage was granted to women. They had had the right to vote on bonds for school buildings since 1887, but this act extended the privilege to all other public improvements in cities of the first class.

1905. Governor Edward W. Hoch in his message to the Legislature recommended full suffrage for women and a committee of seven on the Political Rights of Women was appointed in the House. Early in the session the politicians stated that no full suffrage measure would be introduced. Later I. W. Crumley, chairman of the committee, introduced a bill for Presidential suffrage, which passed the House, 65 ayes, 50 noes, and was killed in the Senate.

1907. A House concurrent resolution to submit a constitutional amendment died in Committee of the Whole and no action was taken in the Senate.

1909. The House bill conferring Presidential suffrage was reported favorably, made a special order for February 16 and received 59 noes, 57 ayes. The Senate bill was reported adversely.

1911. The amendment resolution was introduced by Representative Henry Block, and all available space on the floor and in the galleries was filled during the discussion. It passed on February 7 by 94 ayes, 28 noes. The Senate resolution introduced by Senator George H. Hodges was passed on February 11 by 27 ayes, 12 noes. A two-thirds majority is required to pass an amendment resolution and Senator Frank Travis cast the last and deciding vote. It was signed by Governor Stubbs. The amendment went to the voters Nov. 5, 1912, and received a majority in favor of 16,049.

1913. The attitude of the Legislature this year was in marked contrast to that of previous sessions and those who feared that women would lose influence by being enfranchised were certainly undeceived. Judging from the number of welfare bills

introduced without their solicitation it seemed that the members were vying with each other as to who should champion the most. Instead of dodging or ignoring the requests of women's committees their advice and wishes were sought.

1915. The following resolution was passed unanimously by both Houses: "Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of Kansas, the House concurring therein, that it is the judgment of this Legislature that the granting of the right of suffrage to the women of the State, so long withheld from them, was not only an act of justice to a disfranchised class, but that it also has proved to be of great good to the State and to the women themselves." This was approved March 15 by the Governor and sent to Congress, and similar resolutions were passed by each Legislature until the Federal Amendment was submitted.

1919. An Act this year required that instruction must be given in the public schools in civic government, patriotism and the duties of a citizen.

Among the women who were active in legislative work were Mesdames Lillian Mitchner, C. C. Goddard, W. R. Stubbs, J. D. McFarland, E. E. Rodebush, E. S. Marshall, Lilla Monroe, A. H. Horton, Lottie Case, Frank Lindsay, Festus Foster and S. S. Estey.<sup>1</sup>

RATIFICATION. Governor Henry J. Allen called a special session of the Legislature for the purpose of ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment eleven days after it had been submitted by Congress on June 4, 1919. Representative Minnie J. Grinstead introduced the joint resolution and it was passed unanimously on June 16 by both Houses and approved by the Governor and forwarded to the Secretary of State on the 17th.

<sup>1</sup> A complete résumé of the unexcelled welfare legislation of the past twenty years was sent with this chapter but had to be omitted for lack of space. The first State constitution in 1859 guaranteed the same educational rights to women as to men. The State University at Lawrence has 54 women on its faculty; the State Agricultural College, 52; the State Normal, 46.—Ed.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### KENTUCKY.<sup>1</sup>

When the Equal Rights Association was formed in 1888 Kentucky was the only State that did not permit a married woman to make a will; a wife's wages might be collected by the husband; property and inheritance laws between husband and wife were absolutely unequal; fathers were sole guardians of their children and at death could appoint one even of a child unborn; the age of consent was 12 years and it was legal for a girl to marry at 12. An infinitesimal number of women had a bit of School suffrage. In the rest of that century, under the leadership of Miss Laura Clay, with the able assistance of such women as Mrs. Josephine K. Henry, Mrs. Eliza Calvert Obenchain and many others, much was accomplished in the improvement of the laws and in other ways beneficial to women.

No State convention was held in 1900. Conventions took place annually in the autumn from 1901 to 1917 inclusive in the following cities: Louisville, Lexington, Covington, Newport, Richmond, Ashland, Owensboro, most often in Lexington. The convention of 1918 was postponed on account of the influenza epidemic and held in Louisville March 11-12, 1919. The convention which should have been held in the fall of this year was postponed because of work for ratification and became a "victory" convention held Jan. 6-7, 1920, in Frankfort and Lexington.

The first president of the Equal Rights Association, Miss Laura Clay of Lexington, elected in 1888, served until November, 1912. The constitution was then amended at her desire to prevent a president from succeeding herself and to provide for a three-year term. Mrs. Desha Breckinridge of Lexington was elected in November, 1912, and in 1915 Mrs. Thomas Jefferson

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Madeline McDowell (Mrs. Desha) Breckinridge, president of the State Equal Rights Association 1912-1915 and 1919-1920; vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association 1913-1914.

Smith of Frankfort. In 1916, Mrs. Smith resigning because of her election to the National Board, Mrs. John Glover South of Frankfort was elected to fill out the unexpired term. In March, 1919, Mrs. Breckinridge was again elected.

For many years the association worked on a non-dues-paying basis and was supported by voluntary contributions. Increase of activity is indicated by the following figures: The financial report for 1903 shows that \$359 were spent; that for 1917 gives an expenditure of \$7,838. In 1912 there were 1,779 members, with organizations in 11 counties; 4,655 members were reported in November, 1913, and 10,577 in November, 1914, with completely organized suffrage leagues in 64 counties; partially organized leagues in 23; a roll of members in 32 and but one county in which there was no membership.

Many suffrage addresses have been made in the State by eminent Kentucky men and women and in later years by outside speakers including Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Senator Helen Ring Robinson, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Max Eastman, Walter J. Millard, Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson; Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst of England, and Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary.

Propaganda work has been done by means of the press and the lecture bureau, by the offering of prizes in schools and colleges for the best essays on woman suffrage and at the State, Blue Grass and county fairs through speaking and circulating literature. In recent years many newspapers have given editorial support and many more have given space for frequent articles furnished by the press bureau. Notable among those of recent date is the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, in which for many years Colonel Henry Watterson inveighed against woman suffrage in immoderate terms. From the time it passed into the hands of Judge Robert W. Bingham, and "Marse Henry's" connection with it ceased, it consistently and persistently advocated suffrage for women, including the Federal Amendment. Miss Clay writes: "The paper with the largest circulation of any in the State outside of Louisville and of great influence in central Kentucky, the *Lexington Herald*, owned and edited by Desha Breckinridge,

has from the beginning of the century editorially advocated and insisted upon suffrage for women, including School, Presidential and full suffrage, whether through 'State rights' or Federal Amendment. It has given unlimited space to suffrage propaganda and is largely responsible for making the question one of paramount political moment." The *Herald* of Louisville has been also a valued supporter of the cause.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of which Mrs. Frances E. Beauchamp, always a prominent suffragist, has for thirty years been president, and the Federation of Women's Clubs have continually worked with the State Equal Rights Association for the improvement of conditions affecting women. By mutual agreement bills in the Legislature have been managed sometimes by one and sometimes by the other.

In addition to organizing the suffrage forces and creating favorable sentiment the principal work of the State Association has been to secure action by the Legislature for suffrage and better laws and conditions for women. This work was under the direction of Miss Clay until the end of her presidency, with a corps of able assistants, and she continued to help the legislative work. She was always sustained by the interest and generosity of her sister, Sallie Clay (Mrs. James) Bennett of Richmond, Ky. Mrs. S. M. Hubbard of Hickman was the largest contributor and was a strong factor in the western part of the State. As early as 1902 a bill for the franchise for presidential electors was presented. In 1904, to the amazement of the suffragists, the act of 1894 was repealed which gave School suffrage to the women of the three third-class cities, Lexington, Covington and Newport. The reason given was that too many illiterate negro women voted. It was made a strict party measure, but one Democrat voting against the repeal and but one Republican for it.

Following this action the women went to work to obtain School suffrage for all women in the State able to read and write. In organizing this protest against the repeal Mrs. Mary C. Roark, afterwards head of the Eastern Kentucky Normal School, was a leader. Mrs. A. M. Harrison, member of the school board in Lexington, was prominently identified with the effort. This proved a long, hard struggle, as it was considered



an entering wedge to full suffrage by the liquor interests and ward politicians of the cities and was bitterly fought. Year after year the bill was defeated in the Legislature. At the request of the suffrage association in 1908 the State Federation of Women's Clubs took charge of it as a part of its work for better schools, but it was defeated that year and in 1910. The Federation did not cease its work and in 1912 the Democratic party included a School suffrage plank in its platform. It already had the support of the Republican party and this year the bill passed both Houses by a vote of more than two to one. The Democrats were in control of the two Legislatures that rejected it and also of the one that passed it. Mrs. Breckinridge was legislative chairman for the federation during the years covering these three sessions.

In 1912 the suffragists accepted the invitation of the Perry Centennial Committee to have a suffrage section in the parade in Louisville and their "float" attracted much attention. This is believed to have been the first suffrage parade in the South.

In 1914 amendments to the new primary law were made by the Legislature securing the right of women to vote in the primary elections for county superintendent of schools. This right was in doubt the year before and was denied in many counties. Much work was done by the association in acquainting the women of the State with their rights under the new law. This year after many efforts a resolution to submit to the voters an amendment to the State constitution giving full suffrage to women was before the Legislature, presented by Senator J. H. Durham of Franklin and Representative John G. Miller of Paducah, both Democrats. Favorable reports were obtained from Senate and House Committees, it was placed on the Senate calendar, but after its defeat in the House by 52 noes, 29 ayes, was not considered.

In 1915 a plank was obtained in the Republican State platform endorsing woman suffrage, largely through the work of Mrs. Murray Hubbard, chairman of a committee from the Federation of Women's Clubs. When the Legislature met in January, 1916, the Republicans, under the leadership of Edwin P. Morrow, caucused and agreed to support solidly the resolution to submit a suffrage amendment to the State constitution. The legislative work of the State association was managed by Mrs. Breckin-

ridge, chairman, and Mrs. Hubbard, vice-chairman. The resolution was presented in the Senate by Thomas A. Combs and in the House by W. C. G. Hobbs, both of Lexington and both Democrats. It passed the Senate by 26 ayes, 8 noes. In the House it was held in the committee and although three test votes were made in an effort to bring it out and a majority was obtained on one of them, a two-thirds vote was necessary and it was not allowed to come to a vote. No Republican in the Senate gave an adverse vote and only three in the House. Governor A. O. Stanley (Democrat) used the full strength of the administration, even invoking the aid of the Kentucky delegation in Congress, to kill the measure in the House.

This year the Republican and Progressive State conventions endorsed woman suffrage, the Democrats refusing to do so. At the national Republican convention in Chicago the Kentucky member of the Resolutions Committee voted for the suffrage plank in its platform. At the national Democratic convention in St. Louis all the twenty-six delegates, on account of the "unit ruling," cast their votes for the State's rights suffrage plank.

During 1917 suffrage work was displaced by war work, of which Kentucky suffragists did a large share. They were asked to raise \$500 for the Women's Oversea Hospitals of the National Association and more than doubled the quota by the able management of Mrs. Samuel Castleman of Louisville. Under the direction of Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson of Lexington a plan to raise money for an ambulance to be named in honor of Miss Laura Clay, the pioneer suffragist, was successfully carried through.

In 1918 for the first time there was every reason to believe that a resolution to submit a State amendment would pass the Legislature, but a majority of the State suffrage board voted to conform to the desire of the National Association to avoid State campaigns and concentrate on the Federal Amendment and no resolution was presented.

At the State convention, held March 11, 1919, resolutions were adopted calling upon all Kentucky members of Congress to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment; calling on the Legislature to ratify this amendment, when passed, at the first opportunity and asking it to enact a law giving to women a vote

for presidential electors. Miss Clay, who for over thirty years had been the leader of the suffragists, withdrew from the State association, which she had founded, and formed a new organization to work for the vote by State action alone, as she was strongly opposed to Federal action. It was called the Citizens' Committee for a State Suffrage Amendment and opened headquarters in Lexington. It issued an "open letter to the public," an able argument for the State's control of its own suffrage and an arraignment of interference by Congress, which it declared would "become possessed of an autocratic power dangerous to free institutions." It conducted a vigorous campaign against every move for a Federal Amendment and met the representatives of the old association at the Republican State convention in May to prevent their securing an endorsement of it. In an eloquent speech before the platform committee Miss Clay urged it to reaffirm the State's rights plank in the National platform and pledge the party to secure the submission to the voters of a State suffrage amendment and to support it at the polls. The plank adopted was as follows: "We reaffirm our belief in the justice and expediency of suffrage for women and call upon our representatives in the Congress of the United States, in the Legislature and in all executive positions to use their votes and their influence for all measures granting political rights to women."

The Federal Suffrage Amendment was submitted by Congress June 4. Both organizations urged their claims at the Democratic State convention in September and the platform contained the following plank:

We favor the ratification by the Legislature of Kentucky at its next session of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending to women the right of suffrage and we urge our representatives in the Legislature and all executive or other officers to use their votes and influence in every legitimate way to bring about the ratification of the same. We pledge ourselves to support in the next General Assembly, if the Federal Amendment has not become operative by that time, the submission of an amendment to the State Constitution granting suffrage to women on the same terms as to men and when the amendment is submitted to support it at the polls as a party measure.

Every candidate for the nomination for Governor had stood on a suffrage platform and the successful Democratic candidate,

Governor James D. Black, defeated at the election by Edwin P. Morrow, was a staunch and life-long suffragist. When he was filling out Governor Stanley's unexpired term and he received a telegram in June, with all other Governors of Southern States, from the Governor of Louisiana, asking him to oppose ratification of the Federal Amendment, he gave to Mrs. Breckinridge a ringing interview for use in the press to the effect that he would not oppose it. Governor Morrow, a Republican, had always been a friend of woman suffrage in whatever form it was asked.

Kentucky suffragists could easily remember when they could poll but one vote in Congress—that of John W. Langley. When in 1919 the final vote was taken on the Federal Amendment but one of the State's ten votes in the Lower House, that of A. B. Rouse of Covington, was cast against it. There was one vacancy. Senator George B. Martin voted for the resolution and Senator J. C. W. Beckham against it. He had voted against it in February, when, having passed the House, it was lost in the Senate by a single vote.

RATIFICATION. The November legislative election in 1919 resulted in a Republican House and a Democratic Senate. The Republicans caucused and agreed to vote for ratification. Governor Morrow urged it in a vigorous message personally delivered to the Legislature in which he said:

A government "of the people by the people" can not and does not exist in a commonwealth in which one-half of its citizens are denied the right of suffrage. The women of Kentucky are citizens and there is no good or just reason why they should be refused the full and equal exercise of the sovereign right of every free people—the ballot. Every member of this General Assembly is unequivocally committed by his party's platform declaration to cast his vote and use his influence for the immediate enfranchisement of women in both nation and State. Party loyalty, faith-keeping with the people and our long-boasted chivalry all demand that the General Assembly shall break all previous speed records in ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment and passing all measures granting political rights to women.

By agreement, a Democrat, Senator Charles M. Harriss, presented the resolution for ratification in the Senate, and a Republican, Joseph Lazarus, in the House. On Jan. 6, 1920, the first day of the session, it was passed by a vote of 30 ayes, 8 noes in

the Senate and 72 ayes, 25 noes in the House. The affirmative vote by parties was as follows: In the two Houses 39 Democrats out of a possible 65, and 63 Republicans out of a possible 73. That any measure should pass on the first day of the session was unprecedented in Kentucky legislative history. Democrats were in control of the two Legislatures—1914 and 1916—which defeated the full suffrage measures. Democrats were in control of the Legislature in 1918 which undoubtedly would have passed a resolution for a State amendment, a Presidential suffrage bill, or would have ratified the Federal Amendment had Congress acted in time. The leaders of both parties by this time had seen a great light!

The delegates who had gathered in Frankfort for the State convention were entertained at a buffet luncheon by the local suffrage organization, went in a body to the State House and had the gratification of seeing the Federal Amendment ratified. A glorification meeting was held that night at Lexington, twenty-five miles away, at which Governor Morrow told why the new women voters should enter the Republican party and Judge C. S. Nunn and Senator Harriss, leader of the Senate, told why they should enter the Democratic party. The latter were introduced by former Senator Combs, who had sponsored the suffrage cause among the Democrats in the last two Legislatures. The convention closed with an address by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst of England the following night, and on the next day the officers and members of the association went to Frankfort again to see the Governor sign the ratification.

As it was not certain that the amendment would be completely ratified before the general election in November the Legislature decided to pass a bill giving to women the right to vote for presidential electors. On March 11 it passed the House and on the 15th the Senate by almost the same vote given on the Federal Amendment. Only three Senators voted against it—Thomas J. Gardner of Bardwell, Hayes Carter of Elizabethtown and C. W. Burton of Crittenden. On the 16th bills were passed making necessary changes in the election laws to insure the voting of the women in the primaries and at the regular elections.

Kentucky women who rendered conspicuous service in the

lobby work at Washington under the auspices of the National Suffrage Association were Mrs. John Glover South, Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, Mrs. Edmund M. Post, Mrs. Samuel Castleman, Mrs. Charles Firth and Mrs. Samuel Henning. They were equally helpful in the State political work and among many others who deserve especial mention are Mrs. James A. Leech, Mrs. J. B. Judah and Mrs. Robinson A. McDowell. The association is indebted to Mr. McDowell for legal assistance. An important factor was the press work of Miss Eleanor Hume.<sup>1</sup>

The organizing of classes in citizenship was begun in the summer of 1919 and the services of a specialist in politics and history, Miss Mary Scrugham, a Kentucky woman, were secured to prepare a course of lectures for their use. These were published in the *Lexington Herald* and supplied to women's clubs, suffrage associations and newly formed Leagues of Women Citizens, soon to become Leagues of Women Voters.

The Equal Rights Association voted at its convention in January, 1920, to change its name to the League of Women Voters as soon as ratification of the Federal Amendment was complete or Presidential suffrage granted. The league was fully organized on December 15, with Miss Mary Bronaugh of Hopkinsville chairman.

The first vice-president of the State Equal Suffrage Association, Mrs. South, was elected as chairman of the Women's Division of the National Republican Committee, and the second vice-president, Mrs. Castleman, as Kentucky member of the National Democratic Woman's Committee.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the presidents the following served as officers of the association: Vice-presidents: Mrs. Mary B. Clay, Mrs. Mary Cramer, Mrs. N. S. McLaughlin, Mrs. John Castleman, Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson, Mrs. Charles Firth, Mrs. Judah, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Samuel Castleman, Mrs. Leech, Mrs. McDowell, Mrs. Joseph Alderson, Mrs. F. A. Rothier. Corresponding secretaries: Miss Anna Miller, Mrs. Mary C. Roark, Mrs. Alice Carpenter, Miss Clay, Mrs. Herbert Mendel, Mrs. South. Recording secretaries: Mrs. Emma Roebuck, Mrs. McDowell, Mrs. Firth, Mrs. J. D. Hays. Treasurers: Mrs. Isabella Shepherd, Mrs. Warfield Bennett, Mrs. Judah. Auditors: Miss Laura White, Mrs. Charles L. Nield, Mrs. W. F. Lillard, Mrs. Alderson. Historians: Mrs. Mary Light Ogle, Mrs. M. B. Reynolds. Press work: Mrs. Obenchain. Members National Executive Committee: Miss Mary E. Giltner, Mrs. Post, Miss Clay.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### LOUISIANA. PART I.<sup>1</sup>

The history of woman suffrage in Louisiana is unique inasmuch as it records largely the activity of one club, an influence, however, which was felt in the upbuilding of sentiment not alone in Louisiana but in almost every Southern State. When in 1900 Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt on her accession to the presidency of the National American Woman Suffrage Association called for conventions in the Southern States it was found that in Louisiana the State Suffrage Association, formed in 1896 by the union of the Portia and Era clubs, had lapsed because the former was no longer in existence. The Era Club, however, was flourishing under the stimulus and prestige gained by the successful Drainage, Sewerage and Water Campaign of 1899.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Catt decided that, while it was a new precedent to recognize one club as a State association, it would be done in this case. Mrs. Evelyn Ordway was made president, Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick, vice-president; Miss Jeannette Ballard and Miss Jean Gordon, secretaries, and Mrs. Otto Joachim, treasurer of the new association at a meeting in May, 1900, at New Orleans. It went on record at this first meeting as a State's rights organization, which Mrs. Catt ruled was permissible under the dual character of the National Association's constitution.

The secretary entered into active correspondence with individuals in all sections of the State known to be favorable to suffrage, but all efforts to secure clubs were unsuccessful. The Era Club, therefore, extended its membership over the State in order that representation in the national suffrage conventions

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Kate M. Gordon, corresponding secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1901 to 1909; president of the State Suffrage Association from 1904 to 1913; president of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference from its founding in 1914 to its end in 1917.

<sup>2</sup> The gaining of partial suffrage for taxpaying women and this campaign are fully described in the Louisiana chapter in Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage.

could be state-wide. It had a standing Legislative Committee and for thirteen years its activities constituted the work of a State association. In 1904, Mrs. Merrick, Louisiana's pioneer suffragist, was made honorary president; Miss Kate M. Gordon, president; Mrs. James McConnell, vice-president; Mrs. Armand Romain, corresponding secretary; Miss Jean Gordon, recording secretary; Mrs. Lucretia Horner (now Mrs. James McBride), treasurer. There was no change in this board until 1913 except that on the death of Mrs. Romain in 1908 Mrs. Judith Hyams Douglas was appointed in her place.

Clubs were formed during the years in various towns, but did not survive, until in 1913 a league was organized in Shreveport which did excellent work under its presidents, Mrs. S. B. Hicks, Mrs. S. P. Weaver and Mrs. J. M. Henry. The first State convention was held Nov. 12, 1913, in New Orleans, and the following officers were elected: Miss Jean Gordon, president; Mrs. George Wesley Smith, Rayville; Mrs. James C. Wooten, Monroe; Mrs. Louis Hackenjoes, Alexandria, vice-presidents; Mrs. R. M. Carruth, New Roads, corresponding secretary; Miss Lois Janvier, New Orleans, recording secretary; Miss Olivia Munson, Napoleonville, treasurer; Mrs. Fannie Wolfson, Coushatta, auditor.

This board was unchanged until 1915, when Mrs. Clarence King of Shreveport became treasurer and Mrs. M. H. Lawless of Garden City and Mrs. D. C. Scarborough of Natchitoches, auditors. There was no further change until 1920, when Mrs. McBride became treasurer and Mrs. Horace Wilkinson took Mrs. Scarborough's place. State conventions met in Alexandria in 1914 and in Shreveport in 1915. Conferences were held in twenty-five parishes in anticipation of the proposed constitutional convention of 1915. A convention was held in Alexandria in July, 1918, and chairmen were appointed in forty-eight parishes in preparation for the State amendment campaign.

In reviewing the history of woman suffrage in Louisiana three factors stand out prominently as influences that molded a favorable public opinion. These are the national suffrage convention in 1903; the inauguration of charity campaigns on the lines of political organization and the forming of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference, the object of which was to place



the Democratic party on record for woman suffrage in this Democratic stronghold of the "solid South."

In public opinion woman suffrage was largely associated with the Abolition movement. In 1900 Miss Gordon had accepted an invitation to address the convention of the National Association in Washington on the famous Sewerage and Drainage Campaign of women in New Orleans. Then and there she decided that the most important work before Louisiana suffragists was to bring this conservative State under the influence of a national convention. In 1901 she attended another convention and was elected corresponding secretary of the National Association. In 1903 she brought its convention to New Orleans and it proved to be one of the most remarkable in the history of the association.<sup>1</sup> So impressed was Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president at large, with the possibilities in the South that she volunteered a month's series of lectures in the next autumn and many places in Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas came under the spell of her eloquence.

The influence of this convention was immediately seen in the increasing membership of the Era Club. Its leaders recognized that the best policy to rouse both men and women to the value of suffrage to the individual and the community was by applied politics in social service. It had already secured a partial franchise for taxpaying women and its achievements in the following years made it an acknowledged power.<sup>2</sup> In 1910 a great charity and educational benefit was launched for the Anti-Tuberculosis League and the Woman's Dispensary. A complete plan of organizing with Era Club members as ward and precinct leaders taught them political organization.

By 1913 the movement for a Federal Suffrage Amendment was growing so insistent that southern women who were opposed to this method felt the necessity of organizing to combat it and to uphold the State's rights principle of the Democratic party. Through the initiative of Miss Gordon a Call for a conference

<sup>1</sup> For full report see Chapter III of Volume V.

<sup>2</sup> Among the accomplishments of the Era Club were the following: Publication of the assessment rolls of New Orleans; admission of women to the School of Medicine in Tulane University; first legislation in the State against white slavery; the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference; equalized division of Tulane scholarships between boy and girl students.

was sent in August to leading women in every southern State and signed by twenty-two from almost as many States asking the Governors to meet in New Orleans for a conference. It said:

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. 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's right the force of public opinion will make it mandatory through a National Constitutional Amendment. . . .

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 largely to 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.

It was not expected that the Governors would come, but the desired publicity was secured and several of them sent representative women. At the invitation of the Era Club the conference was held in New Orleans Nov. 10-11, with an excellent attendance. The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference was organized with Miss Gordon president. On May 1, 1914, headquarters were opened in New Orleans in charge of Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer of Pennsylvania, as executive secretary, who had had long experience in suffrage organization and press work. For the next three years Miss Gordon went regularly to these headquarters and gave her entire time to the promotion of the Southern Conference without financial remuneration. In October a 20-page magazine, the *New Southern Citizen*, made its appearance, which became self-supporting and proved to be a most valuable factor in the work of the conference. The first convention was held in Chattanooga, Tenn., on Nov. 10, 1914, just before that of the National American Association in Nashville, which its delegates attended. It was welcomed by the Mayor, the president of the Chamber of Commerce and many club presidents. Delegates were present from twelve States and in addition a number of distinguished visitors. Mrs. Oliver H. P.

Belmont brought with her Miss Christabel Pankhurst of Great Britain and both made addresses. About \$1,500 were pledged.

Miss Gordon said in her president's address: "The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference has for its immediate object to make the Democratic party declare itself in favor of votes for women in its next national platform. This, we southern suffragists believe, is the first step in what will prove a veritable landslide in the South. The conference therefore recommends to the suffragists of the South the adoption of a policy of concentration upon the Democratic party to declare itself."

In December, 1915, a national conference was held in Richmond, Va. Smaller conferences were held in Atlanta, Greenville, S. C., and Little Rock. Miss Gordon visited most of the cities of the South to organize the women. In July, 1916, an executive meeting was held in St. Louis at the time of the national Democratic convention. Its Resolutions Committee gave a hearing to the representatives of the conference, Miss Clay, Mrs. O. F. Ellington of Little Rock, Mrs. Boyer, Mrs. Wesley Martin Stoner of Washington. Miss Gordon made an extended appeal for an endorsement of woman suffrage in the party platform and presented a resolution to "secure for women self-government while preserving to the State a like self-government." This was not adopted, but the platform did recommend "the extension of suffrage to the women of the country by the States."

Although the principal object of the conference had been attained, its leaders hesitated to dissolve it because of its excellent magazine and work yet to be done. It was maintained until May, 1917, when the entrance of this country into the World War made its discontinuance seem advisable.<sup>1</sup>

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. Prior to 1904 it was an unheard of thing for women in Louisiana to take an active part in legislative procedure. A woman's club, the Arena, had been instrumental in obtaining the first "age of consent" legislation, but a Unitarian minister had entirely managed the Legislature. Therefore the tyros who formed the first Legislative Committee of the Era Club showed their ignorance and enthusiasm when their program

<sup>1</sup> Further matter on the Conference will be found in Vol. V, Chapter XXI.

included at least twelve bills which they proposed to have enacted into law in one session.<sup>1</sup> Without any friends at court it was with considerable relief that they followed advice to put them all in the hands of an influential lobbyist. Reform bills were not in his line and the session was drawing to a close with nothing done when the Gordon sisters cast precedent and propriety to the winds, telegraphed to the Senator from their district for an audience, boarded a morning train for Baton Rouge and descended upon the Capitol. Article 210 of the State constitution adopted in 1898 made women ineligible to serve in any official capacity. One of the first acts of the Era Club had been to try to have it amended so as to allow the appointment of a woman to fill a vacancy on the School Board. The surprised Senator met them on their arrival, learned the object of their visit and they will never know whether sympathy, amusement or curiosity actuated the Committee on Judiciary to whom he appealed for a hearing, but a few minutes after their arrival they were pleading their cause before its members. They then called on Governor Newton Blanchard, who offered to have Article 210 amended to enable the appointment of a factory inspector, but in their zeal for the larger object they declined.

1906. Wiser by two years' experience, the Legislative Committee was glad to accept Lieutenant Governor Jared Y. Sanders's offer of an amendment for the above purpose, and Miss Jean Gordon was appointed factory inspector for the city of New Orleans. It was not long before she realized that the Child Labor law, under which she must operate, was not worth the paper on which it was written. She then studied the child labor laws of every State and selected what was best suited to southern conditions, and put it into form for submission.

1908. The legislative program was limited to the attempt to amend Article 210, pass a School suffrage bill and the Child Labor bill. The School suffrage bill, under the skillful management of Senator R. E. Gueydan, assisted by Senators Albert Estinopal and James Brady and Lieutenant Governor Thos. C.

<sup>1</sup> Among those specially identified with legislative work were Mrs. Celeste Claiborne Carruth, Mrs. McBride, Mrs. Hackenjoes, Mrs. Fred W. Price, Mrs. Wooten, Mrs. Wallace Sylvester, Mrs. George Wesley Smith, Mrs. Lawless.

Barrett, passed the Senate but failed in the House. The Child Labor bill passed the House but not the Senate.

1910. Senator Gueydan introduced the amendment of Article 210. Representative S. O. Shattuck introduced the first resolution to strike out the word "male" from the State constitution, with instructions from the women to substitute a School or Municipal suffrage bill if a favorable report was more likely to result. By this time the women had sufficiently progressed to address a joint suffrage committee hearing in the House in the presence of an immense audience, Miss Belle Van Horn, Mrs. Parker, Mrs. Douglas, Miss Gordon and labor representatives presenting suffrage arguments. The School suffrage bill was substituted and received a unanimous favorable report, but not the necessary two-thirds vote.

1912. The amendment to Article 210 was introduced by Martin Manion in the House and William Byrnes in the Senate. In the interim between the sessions Mrs. O. W. Chamberlain, legislative chairman, had rolled up a monster petition from all sections of the State and the favorable report of the committee was followed by the required two-thirds vote in the House. There seemed no hope in the Senate, but Miss Gordon appealed to Senator Byrnes to call it from the calendar. There was active lobbying among the opponents, but it finally passed and was sent to the voters! In the campaign for it the Newcomb College Alumnae, the State Nurses' Association and the Federation of Women's Clubs were very active, but it was defeated.

An interesting phase of this year's session in connection with the suffrage amendment was the presenting of the idea of Primary suffrage for women by Miss Gordon at the hearing. She had grown so tired of hearing from the opponents of woman suffrage that their objection rested solely upon the fact that negro women would be enfranchised, that on the part of the Legislative Committee she offered as a substitute for the full suffrage bill one limiting it to the white primary elections. This novel offer was received with great applause by the assembled members of the two Houses, but was not accepted. [See Arkansas and Texas chapters for Primary suffrage for women.]

1914. The full suffrage bill was introduced by Representative

Manion and a quiet committee hearing held, with representatives from the State Suffrage Association and the Woman Suffrage Party. It received 60 ayes, 41 noes in the House, but not the necessary two-thirds. Amending Article 210 had become a city administration measure and was slated for success. A donation towards a Tuberculosis Hospital in New Orleans had been made by Mrs. John Dibert and the gift was municipalized by a condition which required a certain annual revenue from the city. She desired to be a member of the hospital board, but was ineligible under this article. The Era Club gave notice that it would challenge her eligibility and she supported its position. The long desired amendment was on the way to a successful passage, but went on the rocks because of the club's campaign against a financial measure for refunding the city debt known as the Nine Million Bond issue, in which the provisions for the public schools and the teachers' pay were totally inadequate and it was to be in effect for fifty years! The Era Club and the Mothers' Co-operative Club protested and worked against this political-financial alliance. In retaliation twenty-four hours before the election the order went to the voters to defeat the amendment to Article 210, which would have made women eligible to serve on school and charity boards, and they did so.

1918. Governor Ruffin G. Pleasant recommended in his message the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution. The State association had a resolution for it introduced in the House by Frank Powell; the Woman Suffrage Party one in the Senate by Leon Haas, and it passed in both.

CAMPAIGNS. There have been two campaigns in the interest of woman suffrage in Louisiana, one for preparing for an expected constitutional convention which would have met in 1915, and the other in 1918 to amend the State constitution by striking out the word "male." A special session of the Legislature in 1915 proposed a convention to revise the constitution and submitted the question to the voters. Immediately Miss Jean Gordon, president of the State Suffrage Association, accompanied by Miss Lilly Richardson and Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, visited the various parishes and formed working committees in 40 of the 63. The enthusiastic reception wherever they went was prac-

tical testimony to the sentiment for woman suffrage that they knew existed and could be utilized if the politicians could be made to submit the amendment to the voters. The latter rejected the proposal to hold a convention, but the work done by the women laid the foundation for the campaign three years later.

In 1918 there was finally submitted for the first time the long desired amendment to the State constitution to enable women to vote. To Governor Pleasant is due a great debt of gratitude, for every influence that he could bring to bear was exerted, not alone to secure its submission but also its ratification. He had particularly urged in his Message at the opening of the Legislature the great importance of the South's realizing the danger threatened from the proposed submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The State Suffrage Association was in the midst of opening the campaign when the Woman Suffrage Party announced that they would retire from all suffrage activity and devote themselves to Red Cross work. Robert Ewing, member of the Democratic National Committee, owner of the New Orleans *Daily States* and Shreveport *Times*, and a political power, offered his support if the Woman Suffrage Party would unite with the State association and leave the Federal Amendment question entirely out of the campaign. They finally agreed to this and a joint committee was formed of the president and three capable women in each organization. Headquarters were opened in New Orleans; the parish committees which were organized in 1915 were found to be ready for active work. A petition to be signed was sent to each with a strong official letter from the Campaign Committee. A bitter three-cornered Senatorial fight was under way and the women were asked to delay action until after the September primaries, which they consented to do.

All was ready for beginning a whirlwind campaign on October 1, when suddenly just before that date the influenza epidemic broke out and no assembling of people was allowed. To add to the difficulties, instead of the usual dry, clear weather of this season there came a deluge of rains that lasted for six weeks and the condition of the roads made it wholly impossible to do any work in the outlying districts. Thus there was practically no campaign in the way of making personal appeals to the voters,

but in New Orleans and other cities thousands received urgent letters from Miss Gordon and other leaders. Notwithstanding these adverse conditions, the majority against the amendment was only 3,600, nearly all of it in New Orleans, where it was the result of direct orders from Mayor Martin Behrman, through the ward "bosses" of a perfectly controlled "machine." From parish after parish in the State came reports of precincts not even being opened on account of the epidemic and the weather. There is no doubt that others which reported an adverse majority were really carried for the amendment. At a public meeting of protest immediately after Miss Gordon made an address recalling the glorious history of the Democratic party and comparing it with this election which had repudiated its highest principles.

In 1920 the State Suffrage Association stood alone in again having a resolution introduced for amending the State constitution, all the other suffrage societies concentrating on the ratification of the Federal Amendment, which had been submitted by Congress on June 4. It was presented in the Lower House by L. L. Upton, in the Senate by J. O. Stewart. They were followed immediately by Representative S. O. Shattuck and Senator Norris C. Williamson with one to ratify the Federal Amendment. At the close of the session Miss Jean Gordon issued the following statement:

To the Friends of Woman Suffrage:

Now that the smoke of battle has cleared . . . as president of the State association I feel that an unbiased statement of facts should be given in order that the history of woman suffrage in this State may be correctly recorded. Having been at Baton Rouge from the opening day of the Legislature until its adjournment I can give all the facts and some of the reasons for one of the most remarkable controversies ever held in Louisiana.

The proposed amendment to the State constitution having been defeated in 1918 by the malevolent influences of the influenza throughout the State and Mayor Behrman in New Orleans, it was necessary to have another sent to the voters in 1920.

Congress having submitted a Federal Amendment to the Legislature it was to be expected that men and women who believe in centralizing the voting power in Congress would work for its ratification, but that those who claimed to be ardent suffragists would work to defeat State submission after they found the sentiment for ratification amounted to almost nothing in both Houses seems incredible. The fact remains, however, that while the actual defeat of the



State amendment was due primarily to personal animosity on the part of Senator Leopold of Plaquemine parish, when he realized what he had done he said that if it was possible to have it re-introduced he would vote for it, thus giving the necessary twenty-eight votes. After all arrangements for re-consideration had been made, Senator Louque, a faithful suffragist of many years' standing, provoked because one of his bills had been defeated, slipped away and it was again deprived of the one vote needed.

In the Senate Chamber were those nine Senators who proclaimed all through the session their intense belief in woman suffrage—so intense that they wanted the women enfranchised immediately and they wished to help all the women of the United States—these and many other reasons were given by them for standing firmly for a Federal Amendment but they voted against State submission, knowing the Federal Amendment had been killed overwhelmingly. Therefore the real defeat of the State amendment must be accredited to the following nine Senators: Bagwell, Brown, Cunningham, Hood, Johnston of Bossier, Lawrason, Wear, Williamson and Wood. . . .

Very different was the spirit among the proponents of the Federal Amendment in the House. Men who have always been suffragists voted for both Federal and State suffrage. . . . When Senators Craven, Johness, Johnson of Franklin and Durr saw the Federal Amendment was hopelessly defeated they voted for State submission. When Mayor Behrman caught the vision of how a Federal Amendment could help him in the September primary, he had Senators Davey, Thoele and Roberts vote for it, though it was reported that all had said no power on earth could ever make them do it. After it was defeated they continued to vote against the State amendment. The interpretation put upon their attitude was that they would not help it because its success would be considered a victory for Mr. Ewing, as his *Daily States* had been the only city paper to stand for State submission. Be it said to the credit of Senators Boyer, Butler, Clinton, Doussan, Domengeaux, Dugas, Weil and Wilbert that although avowed anti-suffragists, they worked hard to secure the submission of the State amendment while so-called ardent suffragists worked overtime for its defeat.

#### LOUISIANA. PART II.<sup>1</sup>

Louisiana had no State organization for woman suffrage when in March, 1913, Mrs. A. B. Singletary of Baton Rouge organized there the State Equal Suffrage League,<sup>2</sup> and in April Mrs. John T. Meehan organized the Woman Suffrage Party of Louisi-

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this part of the chapter to Miss Ethel Hutson, chairman of publicity for the State Woman Suffrage Association from its organization in 1913 to its close in 1920.

<sup>2</sup> Other workers were Mrs. Lydia, Wickliffe Holmes, Professor W. O. Scroggs, Mrs. C. C. Devall, Mrs. C. Harrison Parker, Mrs. Horace Wilkinson, Mrs. Elmo Bodly, Mrs. D. R. Weller, Alma Sabourin, Nellie Spyker.

ana in New Orleans.<sup>1</sup> Both enrolled men as well as women, affiliated with the National American Suffrage Association and worked harmoniously for the enfranchisement of Louisiana women by State and national legislation. Later the League became the Sixth District branch of the Party. When the Woman Suffrage Party was organized its platform contained only a pledge to work for an amendment to the State constitution, but after affiliating with the National Association it was pledged to work also for a Federal Suffrage Amendment, and this was fully understood by the members.

By June 15 the Party, with Mrs. Edgar M. Cahn as State chairman, had enrolled 300 members. It held open air rallies, organized by legislative districts, which are known as "parishes," and in the seventeen wards of Orleans parish congressional chairmen were appointed by the beginning of 1914. This year the Teachers' Political Equality Club and the Newcomb College Suffrage Club became branches of the Party, and the Orleans Parish Branch was organized. Delegates were sent to the national suffrage convention at Nashville in November.

The first State convention of the Party was held in April, 1915, at Baton Rouge and Mrs. Meehan was elected chairman. Throughout the summer suffragists of all groups campaigned vigorously for the recognition of woman suffrage in the State constitutional convention expected in the autumn, but the convention itself was voted down at the polls. A Men's League was formed and among its members were Dr. Henry Dickson Bruns, W. A. Kernaghan, M. J. Sanders, Solomon Wolff, Oscar Schumert, I. A. Strauss, J. J. Fineran, Lynn Dinkins, James Wilkinson, Louis J. Bryan, Captain James Dinkins, L. H. Gosserand, Rabbi Max Heller and Rabbi Emil Leipziger.

In 1916 the resolution for a constitutional amendment to eliminate the word "male" again failed to pass when introduced by Frank E. Powell of De Ridder in the Lower House, though

<sup>1</sup> Among charter members of the Woman Suffrage Party were Mrs. E. C. G. Ferguson, Mr. and Mrs. O. W. Chamberlain, Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Myers, Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Graham, Mrs. Rosella Bayhi, Mrs. M. M. Reid, Mrs. Margaret Hunt Brisbane, Miss Florence Huberwald, Edward Wisner, Marshall Ballard, James M. Thomson, Lynn Dinkins, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Edmonds, Trist Wood, Ethel Hutson, Mr. and Mrs. N. J. Cosu, all of New Orleans; Mrs. J. R. Mouton, of Jennings, Katherine Channelle and W. E. Krebs, of Lake Charles, Mrs. M. M. Bodenbender of Covington.

asked for by all the suffrage organizations, which now included a new group—the Equal Rights Party—formed by Miss Florence Huberwald. Owing to the absence of Mrs. Meehan, Mrs. H. B. Myers, vice-chairman, was active head of the party most of the year. In November Mrs. Lydia Wickliffe Holmes of Baton Rouge was elected State chairman at the annual convention in New Orleans. Under her leadership all the groups in accord with the policy of the National Suffrage Association were merged before the close of 1917, so that the Woman Suffrage Party now included the Equal Suffrage League, the Equal Rights Party and the Louisiana League for Equal Suffrage, formed the winter before in New Orleans by Mrs. W. J. O'Donnell. At the annual convention in New Orleans Mrs. Holmes was re-elected.

State headquarters, known as Suffrage House, were established in New Orleans in February, 1918, a large house on St. Charles Avenue, which was furnished largely through the efforts of Mrs. O'Donnell, who was in charge. In May a resolution for a State suffrage amendment, introduced in the Upper House by Senator Leon Haas of Opelousas, was combined with one brought by Representative Powell in the House, and passed on June 18, to be submitted to the voters in November. Active campaigning for its adoption at the polls began in September under a Joint Campaign Committee of the Woman Suffrage Party and the State Suffrage Association. In spite of the influenza epidemic thousands of signatures were obtained to a petition asking Governor Ruffin G. Pleasant to issue a proclamation calling on the electors to vote for it. This he did and those in the State at large responded favorably, but their voice was nullified by the adverse votes cast in the machine-controlled wards of New Orleans at the behest of Mayor Martin Behrman, and the amendment was lost by 3,605 votes. The annual convention held at Suffrage House in New Orleans after the election chose Mrs. Holmes again for president.

In the winter of 1919 an attempt was made to secure such a modification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment before Congress as might meet the objections of southern opponents by removing the fear of federal interference with elections. An amendment was devised by Assistant Attorney General Harry

Gamble and National Committeeman Robert Ewing, which would leave its enforcement to the States. They went to Washington accompanied by Mrs. Holmes and obtained the consent of the officers of the National Suffrage Association. Senator Gay of Louisiana introduced it and it was unanimously reported out of the Committee on Woman Suffrage, but the session was just closing and consent for a vote on it was refused.

On the social side an "inquiry" dinner dance given at the Country Club in New Orleans in May to discuss why Louisiana women were not yet enfranchised was attended by the Governor and many other prominent politicians from all parts of the State. The annual convention was held in the autumn at the headquarters, now removed to 417 Royal Street, and Mrs. Holmes was elected to her fourth term.<sup>1</sup>

The Woman Suffrage Party conducted a vigorous fight for ratification of the Federal amendment from the opening of the Legislature May 10, 1920, until its defeat on June 15. The final vote for ratification was given by the Legislature of Tennessee in August, which insured the complete suffrage for women in all the States. At the annual convention of the Woman Suffrage Party in New Orleans, December 8-9, its formal dissolution took place, followed immediately by the organization of the State League of Women Voters, a branch of the National League, with Mrs. Philip Weirlein as chairman. The Party's seven years of work for the enfranchisement of Louisiana women by State and national legislation were fittingly recognized at a dinner in the Restaurant de la Louisiane, at which the men and women who had aided the cause in various ways were honored. Prominent men predicted happy results of woman's political freedom. Gifts in appreciation of services were made to Martin H. Manion, Marshall Ballard and Norris C. Williamson. General Robert Georges Nivelle, the hero of Verdun, was present and congratulated the women, expressing the hope that ere long the women of France would gain their political liberty. A silver vase was presented

<sup>1</sup> Among other officers and workers were: Mrs. H. Aschaffenburg, Mrs. Eva C. Wright, Mrs. J. G. Skinner, Mrs. C. A. Meissner, Mrs. C. G. Robinson, Mrs. Lee Benoist, Miss E. J. Herral, Mrs. W. W. Van Meter, Miss Anna Morrell, Mrs. L. B. Elliott, Mrs. J. E. Friend, Mrs. J. E. Wilkinson, Mrs. A. F. Storm, Mrs. James M. Thomson, Mrs. Reuben Chauvin.

to the retiring chairman, Mrs. Holmes, from her fellow workers, and she was unanimously chosen honorary chairman of the new league.

RATIFICATION. On the eve of departure for the national convention in February, 1920, Mrs. Holmes, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party, went to John M. Parker, who had just been nominated for Governor by the Democratic party, and asked: "If the thirty-sixth State ratifies the Federal Suffrage Amendment while we are in Chicago will you send Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt a telegram of congratulations?" To this he answered: "You write a message and sign my name to it—I'll stand for anything you may say." "If, however, the amendment is not ratified and it becomes necessary for Louisiana to make the fight for it," Mrs. Holmes continued, "what must I tell Mrs. Catt you will do?" "Just say to her," he replied, "that I am a suffragist, and she will understand." Mr. Parker had joined the Progressive party in 1912 and in 1916 he had made a campaign as its candidate for vice-president on a platform that strongly endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment, so his support of ratification was fully expected.

On their return from the convention the leaders of the Party began to line up the important men of the State by letter and by personal interviews. Beginning with the ex-Governors, they secured the endorsement of L. E. Hall, H. C. Warmoth, N. C. Blanchard, Jared Y. Sanders and W. W. Heard. Against these, however, was the present Governor, Ruffin G. Pleasant, who took an aggressive stand for State's rights, although at a public banquet eight months earlier he had told the women that 'if Louisiana women could not obtain the ballot by State enactment he would favor Federal action.' Among those who declared for ratification were J. J. Bailey, Paul Capdeville, F. R. Grace, T. R. Harris, A. V. Coco, Semmes Walmsley, Rufus E. Foster, Howell Morgan, Percy Saint, E. N. Stafford, Phanor Breazeale, Donaldson Caffery and many other men of affairs. The *New Orleans Item* had always advocated woman suffrage and the Federal Amendment especially; the *Times-Picayune* now approved ratification, as did nearly all the papers in the State. The Orleans Democratic Association, which had put Governor Parker in

office, passed a resolution endorsing it. The State Central Committee chairman, Frank J. Looney, and the National Democratic Committeeman, Arsene Pujo, were in favor, and North Louisiana was almost solid for it. The opposition was chiefly in New Orleans, where certain elements under ward-boss leadership were opposed to woman suffrage in any form.

Mrs. Holmes had a number of interviews with Governor-elect Parker alone, with other women and with Marshall Ballard, editor of the *Item*, one of his valued supporters. She was always led to believe that he would help when the time for it came, although some of his strongest adherents were opposed to ratification. It was deemed best to make the fight along non-partisan lines, and so he was asked if it would be wiser to have two of his own supporters take charge of it or to have one who had opposed him in the primary campaign. He advised the latter course and Norris C. Williamson of East Carroll parish, his opponent, was selected to introduce the bill in the Senate, and S. O. Shattuck of Calcasieu, a supporter and the introducer of the first woman suffrage bill in the Legislature in the Lower House. The day Mayor Martin Behrman came out for ratification, Mr. Parker said to Mrs. Holmes: "I have always been for woman suffrage any way it could be obtained and I have never understood a suffragist's taking any other stand."

Early in March Governor-elect Parker told a group of suffragists that the women should get together on a program for the Legislature if they wished to be successful. Acting on this suggestion the Party publicly invited all suffrage organizations to come together and form a Joint Ratification Committee. Men and women from all parts of the State attended this meeting on April 7 and one of the speakers, Charles Rosen, pledged Parker to ratification, while Marshall Ballard vouched for the authenticity of his statement. The bodies that composed this committee were the Natchitoches Equal Rights Club, represented by Mrs. S. J. Henry; the Shreveport Suffrage Club by Mrs. J. D. and Mrs. W. A. Wilkinson; the Louisiana branch of the National Woman's Party, by Mrs. M. R. Bankston, Mrs. E. J. Graham, Mrs. Rosella Bayhi; the Woman Suffrage Party by Mrs. Joseph Devereux, Mrs. J. E. Friend. Mrs. Holmes was made chairman,

headquarters were taken in Baton Rouge and 46 lobbyists were at the Capitol day and night during the session.

On reaching Baton Rouge the women saw the "anti" forces lining up with the "State's rights" advocates and witnessed the curious spectacle of women who had worked for woman suffrage for a generation allying themselves with the paid organizers of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, headed by Miss Charlotte Rowe of Yonkers, N. Y., its field secretary. Ex-Governor Pleasant and his wife came out as leaders of the opposition, assisted by the Misses Kate and Jean Gordon and other advocates of State action.<sup>1</sup> It was early seen that the fight for the Speakership might endanger the ratification program and the women were careful to take no part in it. R. F. Walker was chosen, an unfortunate choice for the suffragists, for he leaned strongly toward the "anti" side in his rulings, as did Lieutenant Governor Hewitt Bouanchaud.

Although in his campaign speeches in the autumn Mr. Parker had repeatedly said: "I am for suffrage; it is almost here, and we must have it," his platform as sent into some of the parishes had contained a "State's rights" plank, designed, with or without his knowledge, by some of his backers, to placate those who feared the Federal Amendment on account of its supposed effect on the negro question. This was not known to the ratification leaders and therefore he created great consternation by announcing shortly before his inauguration that he "was going to keep his hands off the suffrage fight; that it was a matter for the Legislature." After the Speakership contest was over he refused to receive a delegation of women and declined to allow any member of the Ratification Committee to approach him. On May 10, 1920, the General Assembly convened in Baton Rouge and on the 11th the rival woman suffrage bills were introduced. Representative L. L. Upton presented the State amendment in the House. The Federal amendment measure was a joint resolution. The attention of the country was centered on the fight in Louisiana. Thirty-five State Legislatures had ratified and the Republicans were claiming the credit. Democratic leaders were very desirous of having it for the final ratification. Appeals were sent out to prominent Democrats within and without the State

<sup>1</sup> For their further efforts see Tennessee chapter in this volume.

for help in putting it through. Colonel William J. Bryan was one of the first to respond, urging it to help the Democratic party in the coming campaign. Senator Williamson called on the new "convert," Mayor Behrman, and he appealed to the New Orleans "organization" Senators, but was not entirely successful.

On May 13 Governor Pleasant submitted the Federal Amendment to both Houses, with a message which filled several columns of print, urging them not to adopt it but to pass in its stead the resolution for a State amendment. On the 16th, Senator N. C. Simmons, a former leader of the anti-suffrage forces, issued an appeal for ratification, ridiculing Governor Pleasant's "negro peril" bugaboo. This same day Mrs. George Bass, chairman of the Women's National Democratic Committee, came to Baton Rouge at the request of the Joint Ratification Committee and addressed a large meeting in the Istrouma Hotel in favor of it.

John M. Parker was inaugurated Governor May 17. The next day he received a telegram from President Woodrow Wilson which said: "May I not very respectfully urge your favorable interest and influence in the matter of the Federal Suffrage Amendment? It seems to be of the deepest national significance and importance." The Governor answered that he found a great difference of opinion among the legislators, large numbers opposed to any form, and, all being Democrats, any dictation on his part would be unwise.

Efforts made by the "antis" to force an immediate vote on the Federal Amendment failed and it was decided that all suffrage bills should take the usual course and be referred to committees for hearings. Women thronged the capital. On June 2 the House passed the Upton bill for State suffrage by 93 ayes to 17 noes. That same night a hearing before the Joint Committees on Federal Relations was held, which lasted five hours, with some notable speeches. S. O. Shattuck, Phanor Breazeale, Percy Saint, Judge Rufus E. Foster, Congressman Jared Y. Sanders, Mrs. Holmes, Mrs. Bass, Mrs. E. J. Graham, Miss Florence Huberwald, Mrs. Joseph Devereux and Mrs. M. R. Bankston appeared for the Federal Amendment, while the opposition was voiced by Senator Stewart, ex-Governor Pleasant, Miss Kate Gordon, and Miss Charlotte Rowe. On June 4, the Federal



Amendment was reported favorably in the Senate. "Get suffrage out of the way" became the slogan, but neither side was ready to risk a vote. The Federal bill was passed to third reading. On June 8 former Speaker of Congress Champ Clark addressed the General Assembly and urged its ratification as an act of justice to women and a great benefit to Louisiana and the Democratic party. The next day the vote on ratification was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 22 to 19 in the Senate while the Upton bill was returned to the House calendar.

On June 14, Homer Cummings, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, wired Behrman urging his help on the ground of party advantage, to which the Mayor replied that he was doing all he could. On June 15 the ratification of the Federal Amendment was defeated in the House by a vote of 67 noes to 44 ayes, and Representative Jordan then introduced a resolution definitely rejecting it, which was passed by 60 ayes to 29 noes. The House declined to hear Congressman John E. Raker of California on the ground that they had heard enough on woman suffrage. The Upton bill for a State amendment was defeated in the Senate by 23 noes to 16 ayes on June 17.

On June 18, Representative Conrad Meyer sought to re-introduce the Federal measure but permission was refused by 61 to 18, while a motion to re-consider the Upton bill passed the Senate by 18 to 12. Every possible pressure was brought to bear by the Governor's forces to secure its passage. All kinds of tactics and tricks were employed but on July 7 it was again defeated, lacking one vote of the necessary two-thirds. Those who were making the fight for the Federal Amendment finally appealed to Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, Democratic nominee for President, to use his influence. On July 7 he sent a telegram urging the ratification and saying that "the Legislature owed such action to the Democratic party." A strong effort was made to obtain another vote but it failed by 46 ayes, 52 noes, and the Legislature adjourned on July 8 with the record of having defeated both ratification and a resolution to let the voters decide on amending the State constitution for woman suffrage. Senator Williamson issued a statement saying: "There was never a time during the entire session when Governor Parker could not have had the Federal Amendment rati-

fied and he is the only man in the State who could have done it. He had control of both House and Senate and when he went after anything with all his force he did not fail to get it."

The last day of the session Mrs. Holmes, chairman of the Joint Ratification Committee, went to Governor Parker and told him that she would place the blame where it belonged; that the women had helped put him in office and he had not stood by them, to which he answered: "Go to it." She therefore issued a statement on July 15 saying in part: "The responsibility for the failure of this Federal Amendment to enfranchise 27,000,000 women, including those of Louisiana, rests on Governor John M. Parker. This assertion is borne out by every woman who lobbied at Baton Rouge and by all the fair-minded men. It was in his power to secure ratification the day the session opened; it was in his power the day Woodrow Wilson wired and asked his support; it was in his power when Governor Cox sent his request. The women, who, in their zeal for a broad-visioned progressive leader of clean, honest characteristics, did all in their power to elect him Governor—those are the women who in sorrow today must realize that it is the only thing he stood for that he did not 'put across.'" . . .

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### MAINE.<sup>1</sup>

There were meetings and some organized work for woman suffrage in Maine from the early '70's but little activity until toward the close of the century. In August, 1900, a convention of the State association with a "suffrage day" was held at Ocean Park, Old Orchard Beach, attended by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. This year under the presidency of Mrs. Lucy Hobart Day, organized work was systematically begun, with meetings in eight or ten towns. State conventions were held annually for the next twenty years, in October with but four exceptions.

In 1901 special attention was given to enrollment and new sections of the State were reached in this way. The literature and press departments also extended their work. The summer assembly at Ocean Park made "suffrage day" a part of its regular program. At the convention held at Saco in 1902 plans were made to ask the next session of the Legislature to grant Municipal suffrage to taxpaying women. The State Grange passed a resolution in favor of this measure, placed woman suffrage on its convention program and from that time gave active support to the movement.

The State convention took place at Auburn in 1903 and the association became an incorporated body that year. The organization of county leagues was begun in 1904 and a successful convention was held in Portland. In 1905 after eight years of efficient service, Mrs. Day retired from the presidency. She had organized several departments in the association and was in charge of the campaign to secure Municipal suffrage for taxpaying women. Mrs. Fannie J. Fernald was elected as her successor

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Caroline Colvin, Professor of History in the State University, Miss Helen N. Bates, president of the State Woman Suffrage Association, 1912-1916, and Miss Mabel Connor, president, 1917-1919.

at the convention held at Old Orchard Beach. She travelled extensively over the State, speaking before Granges and other organizations and securing their interest and endorsement. She also had charge of the legislative work.

In 1906 woman suffrage was endorsed by the Maine Federation of Labor, an important accession. The annual convention again was welcomed in Saco. At the convention of 1907 in Farmington it was voted to support the National American Association in its efforts to secure a Federal Suffrage Amendment. A department of church work was established. In 1908 at the convention in Portland it was arranged to petition Congress for the submission of this amendment. In 1909 and 1910 the usual propaganda work was continued under the presidency of Mrs. Fernald and the usual State conventions were held at Old Orchard and Portland. In 1911 Mrs. Fernald left the State and the Rev. Alfreda Brewster Wallace was elected president at the convention in Portland.

The association increased in size and interest and at the convention of 1912 in Portland Miss Helen N. Bates of that city was elected president with a very capable board. At this time the association began to do more aggressive work in personally urging the members of Congress to support the Federal Amendment. Miss Bates acted as chairman of the Congressional Committee until the submission of the amendment, when the favorable vote of every member of the Maine delegation had been secured.

In 1913 the College Equal Suffrage League was formed to help the association in its legislative work, with Mrs. Leslie R. Rounds as president. The annual convention took place at Portland this year and the next, and in 1915 at Kennebunk. Many newspapers in the State had become favorable to suffrage and propaganda was carried on through fairs, moving pictures, street speaking, etc. In 1914 the Men's Equal Suffrage League was formed with Robert Treat Whitehouse of Portland president and Ralph O. Brewster secretary. Many leading men of the State joined this League, which helped in the legislative and campaign work. The Methodist Episcopal Church endorsed woman suffrage at its state conference.

In February, 1916, a Congressional conference was held in Portland in the interest of the Federal Amendment, with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in attendance and speaking at public meetings with Mrs. Maud Wood Park and Mrs. Glendower Evans. It was attended by women from all parts of the State and as a result of the great interest aroused many new leagues were organized. Miss Bates resigned on account of ill health in March and her term of office was finished by Mrs. Augusta M. Hunt of Portland, who had always been deeply interested in the suffrage cause. The National Association sent Mrs. Augusta Hughston, one of its field directors, to put into operation a state-wide plan of organization. At the State convention in Portland in October Mrs. Katharine Reed Balentine, daughter of the Hon. Thomas B. Reed, was elected president. The outlook seemed favorable for securing the submission of a suffrage amendment to the voters. This year Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston of Bangor was appointed State organizer and legislative chairman and work begun for this purpose.

From January 8th to 20th, 1917, the National American Association held a suffrage school in Portland to prepare for the expected campaign. The instructors were Mrs. Nettie R. Shuler and Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, its corresponding and recording secretaries, and Mrs. T. T. Cotnam. The subjects taught were Suffrage History and Argument, Organization, Publicity and Press, Money Raising and Parliamentary Law. This school was attended by suffragists from different sections of the State. Later Mrs. Edward S. Anthoine and Mrs. Henry W. Cobb of the State association carried on suffrage schools in other towns and cities. On February 9, 10, Mrs. Catt went to Portland to attend a board meeting of the association at the home of the president, Mrs. Balentine, to confer on the approaching campaign.

CAMPAIGN. In February, 1917, urged by the suffrage leaders, the Legislature submitted the amendment. This had been done against the urgent advice of Mrs. Catt, the national president, who knew of the slight organization there, and she wrote to them Oct. 9, 1916: "If Maine goes into a campaign for 1918 with the chances largely against success, we feel that it

would be a general damage to the cause and a waste of money. If it would plan instead to go into a campaign in 1919, taking three years for preparation, we should feel that it was far more certain of victory. Let us look at the resources you need to get and which you have not yet secured: (1) a fund to begin with of at least \$5,000 or \$6,000; (2) at least five State officers who can give practically all of their time, with the determination to win as many other people to the same sacrifice as they are making themselves. I most earnestly recommend that you ask your Legislature this year for Municipal and Presidential suffrage, making a good strong campaign for this, which it can grant without referring it to the voters."

A copy of this letter was sent to the president of the association and at its annual convention held in October it was read and a long discussion followed. A delegate thus reported it: "Only a few delegates agreed with her. Many women never having been in a campaign declared that victory was sure. The convention almost unanimously voted for the referendum and when the vote had been taken and the cheers had subsided, the grand sum of \$500 was raised for the campaign. . . ." Nevertheless the National Association at its next convention (still believing that the referendum would not be submitted until 1918), voted to back the Maine campaign, although against the judgment of Mrs. Catt.<sup>1</sup>

At the request of the Maine association the National Association made it possible for Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston to take the position of campaign manager. Through her extensive work for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union she was widely acquainted in church, club and suffrage circles, was experienced in campaigning and an eloquent speaker. In her report after the election she said: "Maine presented as difficult a field for the conducting of a suffrage campaign as has ever been faced by any group of suffragists in any part of the country. The referendum was submitted the very last of February and as the election came so early in September only about six months' time was given us for the campaign. Deducting from this time the months of April

<sup>1</sup> The above paragraphs have been copied for the sake of historical accuracy from an official report of the national corresponding secretary.—Ed.

and May, on account of the almost impossible condition of the roads, and June with its heavy rains, there was left but little more than three months for active work. Early in the campaign our country entered the World War, and the whole thought and attention of the people were given to securing support for the Liberty Bonds, Red Cross, Navy League and other patriotic and preparedness work. This greatly handicapped us in the raising of finances and the creating of organization, the two foundations upon which the structure of a successful campaign must be built, and the two things which more than anything else the State of Maine needed, so far as the amendment was concerned."

A campaign committee was formed from members of organizations in the State in favor of suffrage, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Federation of Women's Clubs, Men's Suffrage League, Civic League, Referendum League, the Grange and the State Suffrage Association, and headquarters were established in Bangor. There were only fourteen suffrage societies in the State, not all active. Eleven of the sixteen counties had an organizer in charge for the last six weeks and 269 local committees were formed in the different towns but many of them were ineffectual, as they were made up of untrained women and the time was too short to train them. The argument for suffrage, however, was put before the voters very thoroughly. One hundred thousand were circularized with the convincing speeches of U. S. Senator Shafroth of Colorado and later with a leaflet *Have You Heard the News?* which carried the strong appeal of the suffrage gains over the entire world. House to house distribution of "fliers" was made in many communities. Altogether 1,500,000 leaflets were distributed, ten to every voter in the State. In hundreds of towns there was absolute ignorance on the subject. The clergy were circularized three times—over a thousand of them—the State Grange twice, committees of the political parties and members of the Legislature twice.

As soon as a committee was organized petition blanks were sent to it and in this short space of time the names of over 38,000 women of voting age asking for the suffrage were obtained, nearly all by volunteer canvassers. The names from each county were sent to the voters from that county and 100,000

received these lists. The petitions did a vast amount of educational work among the women and answered the men who insisted that the women did not want to vote.

The newspapers on the whole were favorable. Especial mention should be made of the valuable assistance continued throughout the campaign of the *Lewiston Journal*, *Portland Argus*, *Kennebec Journal*, *Brunswick Record* and *Waldo County Herald*. The *Portland Express* gave editorial support. The *Bangor Commercial*, owned and edited by John P. Bass, made a bitter fight against the amendment and refused generally to publish even letters on the other side. It would not publish President Wilson's letter even as a paid advertisement. From July 1 to September 10 Mrs. Rose L. Geyer, a member of the staff of the *Woman Citizen*, official organ of the National Suffrage Association, conducted the publicity work in connection with Miss Florence L. Nye, the State press chairman. On August 18 the *Lewiston Journal* issued a supplement for the State association, edited by Miss Helen N. Bates, of which 65,000 copies were distributed through twenty-two newspapers.

President Wilson sent a letter to Mrs. Livingston on September 4 appealing to Democratic voters as follows: "May I not express through you my very great interest in the equal suffrage campaign in Maine? The pledges of my party are very distinct in favor of granting the suffrage to women by State action and I would like to have the privilege of urging all Democrats to support a cause in which we all believe." On September 8 former President Roosevelt sent the following telegram addressed to the Campaign Committee: "I earnestly hope that as a matter of plain justice the people of Maine will vote 'yes' on woman suffrage."

The letter and telegram were put on the moving picture screens, which were also used in other ways for propaganda. The poster sent by the National Association and those printed by the Campaign Committee, fastened on trees, fences, windows and every available space, carried the message to all passers by. Mrs. Livingston said in her report: "We can not express too gratefully our appreciation of the value of the work accomplished by the experienced organizers sent to us by the National Association



and by Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island; of that of Mrs. Mary G. Canfield of Vermont, who gave her services for one month; and of the untiring and successful labors of Mrs. Augusta M. Hunt, who had charge of York and Cumberland counties."

The entire State was thoroughly covered by public meetings, over 500 being held during the last three months. It would be impossible to give the names of all who spoke at these meetings but among the more prominent were Governor Carl E. Milliken, U. S. Senator Bert Fernald, former Senator Charles F. Johnson, Representative Ira G. Hersey, former Representative Frank E. Guernsey; among the members of the Legislature and other influential men, former Attorney General W R Pattangall, Judge Robert Treat Whitehouse, Ralph O. Brewster, Frank W. Butler, Daniel A. Poling, the Rev. Arthur L. Weatherly. On July 23, 24, in Augusta, and July 25, 27, in Bangor, Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Shuler addressed mass meetings in the evenings and held conferences with the workers through the days. In September Mrs. Catt gave a week to speaking at public meetings in various cities. Other speakers were Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, Dr. Lee Anna Starr, Mrs. Sara A. Gilson, Miss Emma L. McAlarney, Miss Anne E. Coughlin and the Misses Loitman. The members of the Men's League were active and helpful. The mass meetings were well attended and in all the cities and many of the towns street meetings were very successful. Mrs. Livingston travelled more than 20,000 miles in the State, delivered 150 addresses and raised over \$4,000.

Not in any other State campaign had the women anti-suffragists taken so conspicuous a part. There was a society of considerable social prominence in Portland and the associations in Massachusetts and New York sent nearly twenty speakers and workers, all women except J. B. Maling of Colorado and Charles McLean of Iowa, whose utterances had more than once been repudiated by the men and women of their States. Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., president of the National Association, addressed parlor meetings. Toward the end of the campaign their numbers became much less, as they learned that the

"machines" of both political parties expected to defeat the amendment.

The election took place Sept. 10, 1917, and the amendment received 38,838 noes, 20,684 ayes—lost by 18,154, the negative majority nearly two to one. About half as many men voted for it as the number of women who signed a petition for it. Mrs. Livingston gave as the principal reasons for the defeat: 1. Inherent conservatism and prejudice. 2. Resentment at the "picketing" of the White House by the "militant" suffragists. 3. Briefness of the campaign. 4. Inability because of lack of organization to reach the rural vote. 5. Reactionaries of both parties uniting in opposition.<sup>1</sup>

In her summing up Mrs. Livingston said: "Without the aid of the National American Association the campaign would have been impossible. The magnificent generosity with which it furnished speakers, organizers, posters and literature will make the women of Maine forever its debtors."<sup>2</sup>

At the convention of the State Association in September, 1917, in Augusta, Miss Mabel Connor was chosen president and at the conventions of 1918 in Lewiston and 1919 in Portland was re-elected. At the convention in October, 1918, having recovered somewhat from its defeat, the association voted to introduce a bill for the Presidential suffrage in the next Legislature in 1919. The Legislative Committee consisted of Mrs. Balentine, chairman; Miss Connor, Miss Bates, Mrs. Pattangall, Mrs. Cobb and

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Clarence Hale, State president of the anti-suffrage organization, issued the following: "The large majority vote cast against suffrage today must indicate, as did the great vote of Massachusetts in 1915, that the East is not in favor of the entrance of women into political life. The result should satisfy the suffragists for all time and they should now practice the principles of democracy and fairness, which they are so ready to preach, by refraining from further disputing the will of the people . . . We can now return to give our services to the State and the nation in woman's normal way."

On November 7 the "East" spoke again when the voters of New York by a majority of 102,353 gave full suffrage to women.

<sup>2</sup> Besides paying the expenses of the suffrage school, the National Association paid the salary of Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston as campaign manager; the salary of Miss Lola Walker from February 10 to September 10; the salaries of eight other organizers who worked for varying periods and the expenses of four; for 120,000 Shafroth speeches; circularized 1,200 of the Protestant and Catholic clergy; prepared especially for Maine 125,000 baby fliers and 100,000 copies of Have You Heard? and furnished envelopes and stamps for them; 14,000 pieces of literature for advanced suffragists; 1,000 copies of Do You Know? to circularize the politicians; 400 each of thirteen different kinds of posters; 500 war measure fliers; 2,000 blue and yellow posters. The Leslie Commission contributed the services of Mrs. Geyer for press work from July 1 to September 10. This campaign cost the National Association \$10,282 and the Leslie Commission \$4,986, a total of \$15,268.—Ed.

Mrs. Guy P. Gannett, with Miss Lola Walker as executive secretary to the chairman.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. The State Suffrage Association and the State Woman's Christian Temperance Union always worked for woman suffrage measures in the Legislature in cordial cooperation, beginning in 1887.

1901. Suffrage bills did not come out of committee.

1903. A bill was introduced for Municipal suffrage for tax-paying women by Representative George H. Allan of Portland. The Joint Standing Committee eliminated "taxpaying" and reported a bill giving Municipal suffrage to all women. The State Suffrage Association did an enormous amount of work in behalf of this bill, sending letters to 15,000 women representing 239 cities and towns who were paying taxes on approximately \$25,000,000. Several thousand answers urging the bill were received, coming from every county and from 237 of the cities and towns. It was lost in the Senate by a tie and in the House by a vote of 110 noes, 29 ayes.

1905, 1907, 1909, no suffrage bills were reported out of committee.

1911. Four members of the Judiciary Committee made a minority report in favor of the suffrage measure and the House voted to substitute the minority report but the Senate refused to concur.

1913. A new resolve asking for submission of a suffrage amendment was drafted by George H. Allan and introduced in the Senate by Ira G. Hersey, which gave a vote of 23 ayes, 6 noes. In the House the vote was 89 ayes, 53 noes—only six more votes needed for the necessary two-thirds.

1915. A joint resolution to submit a full suffrage amendment passed the Senate by 26 ayes, 4 noes; the House vote by 88 ayes, 59 noes—ten more votes needed for the two-thirds. Introduced by Representative Lauren M. Sanborn.

1917. The resolution was adopted in the House February 21 by 112 ayes, 35 noes; unanimously adopted by the Senate February 22. In signing it the next day Governor Carl E. Milliken said to the suffrage leaders: "You have appealed to reason and not to prejudice. Your campaign has been a very fine example of

what a campaign should be." The amendment was defeated at the polls in September.

1919. In March an Act granting women the right to vote for Presidential Electors, prepared by George H. Allan, was introduced in the Senate by Guy P. Gannett of Augusta and in the House by Percival P. Baxter of Portland. The joint committee by 8 to 2 reported "ought to pass." The hearing before the Judiciary Committee was called one of the best ever held. Lewis A. Burleigh of Augusta, editor of the *Kennebec Journal*, and Professor Frank E. Woodruff of Bowdoin College made the principal speeches. Telegrams were read from U. S. Senator Fernald and Representatives Ira G. Hersey, John A. Peters and Wallace H. White, Jr., urging the passage of the bill. The "antis" were present in force and made a hard fight. They were fully answered by Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker of Connecticut. An effort was made to attach a clause to the bill referring it to the voters but it was thwarted, Senator Leroy R. Folsom of Norridgewock making a strong speech against it. In the House a still more determined effort was made to secure a referendum but it did not succeed. Speeches were made by Frederick W. Hinckley, Percival F. Baxter and Elisha W. Pike, legislators, and Mrs. Katharine Reed Balentine, chairman of the Legislative Committee, and Miss Mabel Connor, president of the State Suffrage Association. On February 26 the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 25 ayes, 6 noes. On March 19 it passed the House by 85 ayes, 54 noes.

The favorable vote was obtained after six months of quiet, continuous and intensive political work by the Legislative Committee. Members of the Legislature worked for the success of the bill; the Governor supported it and the press was largely in favor.

The anti-suffragists immediately announced their proposal to bring the Presidential Suffrage Law before the voters under the initiative and referendum, upon petition of at least 10,000 legal voters filed within a specified time. The effort to secure these names lagged and without doubt would have been given up had it not been for Frank E. Mace, former State Forest Commissioner, who organized committees all over the State at the eleventh hour

and petitions bearing 12,000 signatures were filed July 3, within 90 days after the Legislature adjourned, as required. As there was doubt about the constitutionality of this referendum, the State Supreme Court, on July 9, 1919, was requested by Governor Milliken to decide. On August 6 the Court rendered its decision that the Act came within the provisions of the initiative and referendum. As the petition did not ask for a special election the Governor sent out a proclamation for the referendum to be submitted at the next general election Sept. 13, 1920. The Federal Suffrage Amendment was declared to be adopted on August 26 but there was no way in which the referendum could legally be omitted from the ballot. Therefore on September 13 the women, already having full suffrage, went to the polls to vote on getting partial suffrage and the official count showed 88,080 ayes, 30,462 noes.

**RATIFICATION.** Governor Milliken called a special session of the Legislature for November, 1919. In his message he recommended the ratification of the Federal Amendment in the strongest possible manner, saying that if only one woman in Maine wanted to vote she should have the chance. The anti-suffrage forces of the entire country were concentrated on Maine at this time to prevent ratification and it was with the greatest difficulty that a movement to postpone action until the regular session was defeated. The amendment was ratified in the Senate on November 4 by 24 ayes, 5 noes; in the House on November 5 by 72 ayes, 68 noes. After the vote was taken an attempt to reconsider was made but was unsuccessful.

The same Legislative Committee of women that had charge of the Presidential bill had charge of the ratification.

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At the annual convention of the State Suffrage Association in Portland in October, 1919, it was voted to hold a School for Citizenship at Bates College in August, 1920. Mrs. George M. Chase was made chairman of the Committee of Arrangements and the work was largely carried out by Miss Rosamond Connor, 100 women from many parts of the State attending and deriving much benefit. Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker was the principal instructor. At a meeting of the association in Augusta on

November 12 it was merged into the League of Women Voters with Miss Mabel Connor as chairman.

Suffrage work in Maine was carried on for many years in the face of the greatest obstacles but there was always a small group of devoted women willing to make any sacrifice for the cause, who carried the torch until another group could take it, and every step gained was fought for. The history would be incomplete without mention of the Portland Equal Franchise League, of which Mrs. Arthur L. Bates was president, which for many years was the backbone of the State association. The list of State officers who freely gave their services is too long to publish. Among other prominent workers not already mentioned were Dr. Jennie Fuller of Hartland; Mrs. Zenas Thompson and Miss Susan Clark of Portland; Mrs. Isabel Greenwood of Farmington; Miss Anna L. Dingley and Miss Alice Frost Lord, connected with the Lewiston *Journal*.<sup>1</sup>

Among the men not mentioned elsewhere, who advocated woman suffrage in the face of criticism and with no advantage to be gained, were Judge William Penn Whitehouse and Obadiah Gardner of Augusta; Leonard A. Pierce of Portland; L. B. Dessy of Bar Harbor; E. C. Reynolds of South Portland.

<sup>1</sup> Among the active workers in the Anti-Suffrage Association were Mesdames John F. A. Merrill, Morrill Hamlin and George S. Hobbs, all of Portland; Norman L. Bassett, John F. Hill, and Charles S. Hichborn, all of Augusta; George E. Bird, Yarmouth; Miss Elizabeth McKeen, Brunswick.

Among the men actively opposed were the Rev. E. E. Newbert, Benedict F. Maher, Samuel C. Manley, Charles S. Hichborn, all of Augusta; ex-Governor Oakley C. Curtis, of Portland; Governor-elect Frederick H. Parkhurst, of Bangor; U. S. Senator Hale, opposed but finally voted for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### MARYLAND. PART I.<sup>1</sup>

When the fourth volume of the History of Woman Suffrage closed in 1900 it left the Maryland association just eleven years old. Since 1894, when the Montgomery County and the Baltimore City Associations united, it has been represented by accredited delegates in every national convention. These thirty-one years of organized effort by no means represent all of the suffrage agitation in the State.<sup>2</sup>

As Baltimore is the only large city and contains more than half the population of the State it is not surprising that this city has been the real battleground of the movement. Twenty-five State conventions have been held here, continuing one or two days, and two State conferences of two days each. The first of the conferences was arranged by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the new national president, and held in Baltimore in 1900, at which time Miss Susan B. Anthony was the guest of honor and was presented with a purse of gold for her 80th birthday by the Maryland women. The second conference was held in 1902. The speakers at these conferences besides the national officers were Helen Morris Lewis of North Carolina, Annie L. Digges of Kansas, Clara Bewick Colby of Washington, D. C., Dr. Cora Smith Eaton of Minneapolis and Catharine Waugh McCulloch of Chicago. The day sessions were devoted to business and discussions, followed by addresses in the evening. The State

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, president of the Baltimore Suffrage Club twenty-five years and of the State Woman Suffrage Association eighteen years.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. William Tindall, of Washington, has the records to prove that in 1838, when the people of Georgetown voted on a proposal to withdraw from the State of Maryland, 63 women cast their ballots. As early as 1867, through the efforts of Lavinia C. Dundore, a large equal rights society of men and women was organized in Baltimore, which continued until 1874 and was represented in the national conventions by its president, Mrs. Dundore. A Baltimore paper of April 4, 1870, says: "A petition, asking for the right of suffrage and political justice, was presented to the House of Delegates, signed by Eliza S. White, Lavinia C. Dundore, Ellen M. Harris and 150 other ladies. It was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations."

convention of 1901 met in the Friends' Meeting House; that of 1902 in Heptasophs Hall, with a bazar and supper; that of 1903 in the Friends' Meeting House. The local speakers were Dr. O. Edward Janney, R. Henry Holme, Lizzie York Case, Annie Davenport, Emma Maddox Funck and Mary Bentley Thomas. Out of town speakers were Mrs. Catt, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, national vice-president at large; Harriet May Mills of New York and Emma M. Gillett, a lawyer of Washington, D. C. The convention of 1904 met in the Church of the Disciples. A supper was served between sessions and Dr. Shaw and the Rev. Peter Ainslie spoke to crowded houses at night.

The convention of 1905 was held in the Harlem Avenue Christian Church. Memorial services were held for George W. Catt, husband of the national president. The following departments of work were adopted: Peace and Arbitration, Church, Enrollment, Finance, Legislation and Press. Dr. Shaw spoke in the evening on The New Democratic Ideal. Invitations were given in 1904 and 1905 to the National American Suffrage Association to hold its annual convention in Baltimore. The second was accepted and the convention took place Feb. 7-13, 1906. Half of the \$1,200 raised for it was given to the National Association. Most of the delegates were entertained in homes. The meetings were held in the Lyric Theater and the audiences at the evening sessions numbered from 1,500 to 3,000. The State association sent out 20,000 invitations. Music was provided for every session by the Charles M. Stieff Piano Company and clergymen came from various churches for the opening devotional services. Three men gave unlimited time and assistance to the work of the convention, Dr. J. William Funck, Dr. Janney and Charles H. Holton. As this was the native city of Miss Mary Garrett and Dr. M. Carey Thomas they united as hostesses of the association during the convention and thereafter became important factors in the national work.<sup>1</sup> This was the last convention attended by Miss Anthony, who died a month later. A memorial service was held in Baltimore, the following taking part: the Rev. Alexander Kent of Washington, Mary Badders Holton, Mrs. Funck, Mrs. Janney, Mrs. Holme and

<sup>1</sup> For full account of the convention see Chapter VI, Volume V.



Miss Maddox. Music was furnished by the Cecilian quartette of women's voices.

The State convention of 1906 was held in the Friends' Meeting House, addressed by Ellen Spencer Mussey of Washington. In 1907 the convention met in Arundell Hall November 21 and in the Hampden Methodist Church the 22nd. The afternoon program included interesting talks by six Baltimore men—Henry White, Dr. Funck, Dr. Janney, R. Henry Holme, State Forester Albert M. Beasley and the Rev. B. A. Abbott, pastor of the Harlem Avenue Christian Church. A large number of fraternal delegates were present. The Rev. Ida C. Hultin of Boston spoke at both evening sessions.

In 1908 the annual meeting was held in McCoy Hall, Johns Hopkins University, with Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Maud Nathan of New York and Rachel Foster Avery of Philadelphia as speakers. Dr. Lewellys F. Barker presided at the evening meeting. In 1909 the convention took place in the Baltimore Business College, Nov. 23, 24, with Dr. Barton O. Aylesworth of Colorado and the Rev. John Roach Straton of the Seventh Baptist Church as the orators at the evening sessions. Memorial services were held for Henry B. Blackwell. A supper and bazar were pleasant features. In 1910 the convention was held in Osler Hall, Cathedral Street, with both sessions devoted to business. A noteworthy event of the year was the election of Miss Sarah Richmond, a pioneer suffragist, as president of the State Teachers' Association, the first woman to be accorded this honor in the fifty years of its existence. Prizes of \$25 were offered for essays on woman suffrage by girls in the high school.

At the convention of 1911 in Heptasophs Hall the California victory of October 11 was celebrated with a banquet attended by 400 men and women, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood of Washington presiding. The meeting on the next evening was addressed by Miss A. Maud Royden of London on The Economic, Spiritual and Religious Aspect of Woman Suffrage. During the year a leaflet had been issued entitled Opinions of Representative Men of Maryland on Woman Suffrage, through Miss Mary B. Dixon, chairman of publicity, and 600 suffrage posters were placed in the counties. In Baltimore they were made into double faced

placards and men were employed to carry them through the business sections. Suffrage petitions and resolutions had been endorsed by the State Federation of Labor, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Ladies of the Maccabees, Grange and Jewish Council of Women.

The convention of 1912 was held in the Baltimore Business College, the afternoon devoted to discussions of plans of work, reports, etc., followed by a supper and bazar. A report was given of the organization of a Men's League for Woman Suffrage by Dr. Donald R. Hooker, Dr. Funck, Dr. Janney, the Rev. James Gratten Mythen, Dr. Warren Lewis, Jacob M. Moses, S. Johnson Poe, Frank F. Ramey and William F. Cochran. In the evening there was a debate on the enfranchisement of women by the boys of the Polytechnic Institute, Samuel M. North, a member of the faculty and a pioneer suffragist, presiding. At the convention of 1913 the twenty-fourth anniversary of the State association was celebrated in Veteran Corps Hall with a supper, dance and addresses by Laura Clay of Kentucky, Clara Bewick Colby of Washington, Ella S. Stewart of Illinois and Lucy Burns of New York. The convention of 1914 was held in the Royal Arcanum Building. The speakers were Mrs. Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin, Mrs. Nathan of New York, Mrs. Louis F. Post of Illinois and Mr. Western Star. It was reported that at the great suffrage parade held the preceding March in Washington Maryland had the largest delegation.

The business session of 1915 was held in the W. C. T. U. Building and the evening session in the Universalist Church, whose pastor, the Rev. C. Clifton Clark, spoke on the pro-suffrage side. This year a union of all the organizations in the State was effected under the name of the Woman Suffrage Party of Maryland. Mrs. Funck was elected president and served two years.

The annual meeting of 1916 was held on the lawn at the home of Elizabeth Bruce Gwynn; that of 1917 on the grounds of the Young Woman's Christian Association; in 1918 at Tolchester Beach and in 1919 at the home of Evelyn Albaugh Timanus. The workers during these years always were volunteers, who served without financial compensation. The association is in-

debted for the past ten years to Mary Elizabeth Ward for all stenographic work and to Margaret A. Maddox for most of the publicity work.

Among those who have represented their counties in State conventions are the following: Montgomery county, Mary Bentley Thomas, Sarah Miller, Rebecca Miller, Mary E. Moore, Mary Magruder; Baltimore county, Elizabeth Herring, Josephine E. Smith, Julia F. Abbott, Anna S. Abbott, Ella Warfield, Kate Vanhorn, Mrs. Charles Weed, Mrs. James Green, Mary C. Raspe, Ethel C. Crosby; Harford, Annie H. Hoskins, Lydia Reckord, Eliza Edell; Carroll, Maggie Mehring; Cecil, Alice Coale Simpvers; Somerset, Florence Hoge; Caroline, Miss Eliza Messenger; Anne Arundel, Mrs. Wilhelmina Nichols; Howard, Miss Elizabeth B. Wilson.

**BALTIMORE CITY CLUB.** For more than twenty years this club averaged from four to twenty public meetings annually in theaters, churches and suffrage headquarters. Scores of business and executive meetings were held and sociables, suppers, lawn fetes, banquets, excursions and bazars were given. The club opened the first headquarters in 1902 at 107 West Franklin Street, one of the city's noted thoroughfares. In 1908 they were established on North Gilmore Street, West Baltimore, and in 1912 on the corner of Baltimore and Carey Streets. At both localities the plate glass windows were decorated with pictures of suffrage leaders, cartoons, platforms of political parties and literature; afternoon tea was served and public meetings held at night. It also inaugurated Sunday afternoon meetings which became very popular and it was responsible for bringing to Baltimore many men and women of national and international distinction. The first English "militant" to speak in Baltimore was Mrs. Annie Cobden Sanderson, on My Experience in an English Jail, in January, 1908, in the Christian Temple, the Rev. Peter Ainslie, the pastor, introducing the speaker, who made a profound impression. Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst came next, speaking in Osler Hall on Ideal Democracy, followed by Sylvia Pankhurst and Mrs. Philip Snowden, the latter speaking at the Seventh Baptist Church, the pastor presiding.

In 1909 at a mass meeting one Sunday afternoon in the

Lyric Theater an audience of over 2,000 was present, more than half of them men, with Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Florence Kelley the speakers; Judge Jacob M. Moses of the Juvenile Court presided and a number of men of distinction were seated on the platform. Mrs. Catt spoke at a mass meeting in the Academy of Music in March, 1913, at which Miss Eliza H. Lord of Washington, D. C., presided and Senator William E. Borah of Idaho was a guest. Other Sunday afternoon meetings were held in Ford's, Albaugh's, the Garden and the New Theaters with well known speakers. Baltimore clergymen assisting at these meetings, besides those already mentioned, were the Rev. Dr. Frank M. Ellis and the Rev. Dr. J. W. Wills; the Reverends Kingman Handy, Henry Wharton and W. H. Baylor of the Baptist Church; George Scholl and Thomas Beadenkoph of the Lutheran Synod; Richard W. Hogue and George W. Dame of the Episcopal, E. L. Hubbard of the Methodist and Wynne Jones of the Highlandtown Presbyterian Churches.

Through the State Woman Suffrage Association and the Baltimore City Club much educational work was done from 1900 to 1910 in the way of public and parlor meetings. The pictures of suffrage leaders were placed in the public schools. The History of Woman Suffrage and the Life of Susan B. Anthony were given to public libraries. Boys and girls were trained for suffrage debates and prizes given for essays. Subscriptions were solicited for *Progress* and the *Woman's Journal*; press work was pushed; opportunities were sought to speak before all kinds of organizations and there was a wide distribution of suffrage literature. Handsomely engrossed resolutions were presented in 1902 to Senator Jacob M. Moses in appreciation of his having introduced the bill in the Legislature to permit women to practice law in Maryland; and to Miss Maddox, the first to be admitted to the bar, a gold pin bearing the State coat-of-arms as an expression of esteem for her onerous work in securing its passage.

In 1906 and thereafter by specially appointed committees suffrage planks were requested in the platforms of the political parties but with no success. In 1907 a delegation appeared before the State Federation of Labor asking for its endorsement of woman suffrage, which was refused.

For 1908 the slogan was, Convert the public school teachers. To this end a mass meeting was held in Baltimore with Miss Grace C. Strachan, a district superintendent of the public schools of New York; the Rev. Olympia Brown of Wisconsin and Mrs. Emma Smith Devoe of the State of Washington as speakers. Mrs. Funck attended tri-county conventions of teachers, speaking on woman suffrage and distributing 5,000 leaflets. Three women attended the hearing before the House Judiciary Committee of Congress in the interest of the Federal Amendment, Mrs. Funck addressing the committee. Independence Day was observed by a parade and street speaking by Mrs. Colby, Mrs. Timanus and others.

In 1911 the first debate on woman suffrage took place before the Men's Club of the Harlem Park Methodist Church, Mrs. Funck taking the affirmative side against two members of the Anti-Suffrage Society, Mrs. Francis T. Redwood and Mrs. Haslup Adams. The following year another debate was held at the State Normal School by the pupils. In both instances the affirmative won.

In 1914 a large suffrage bazar was held under the auspices of all the clubs in the Fifth Regiment Armory with good financial results. This year the association entered the political arena, the logical culmination of previous years of work. Legislation and Publicity was the slogan. It specialized in ward work, besieged legislative and political leaders with telegrams and letters, visited their offices and homes, watched at the polls, worked to defeat anti-suffrage candidates; addressed shop and factory employees, spoke on street corners and at county fairs, made use of suffrage posters and unique advertisements and had parades.

The State Woman Suffrage Association has had but two presidents, Mary Bentley Thomas of Ednor, 1894-1904 and Emma Maddox Funck, 1904-1920. The latter was president of the Baltimore City Society 1897-1920. Others who served as State officers ten years and more were Mary Badders Holton, Evelyn Albaugh Timanus, Etta H. Maddox, Anne Webb (Mrs. O. Edward) Janney, Pauline W. Holme, Mary Young Taylor, Edna Annette Beveridge, Nellie C. Cromwell, Florence E. Barnes, Mary E. Moore, Margaret Smythe Clark and Annie H. Hoskins.

Space will not permit the names of the many women who were loyal and helpful during these years. Women were not left entirely alone to fight the battle and many men besides those mentioned assisted and encouraged.

The Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized in Baltimore in 1911, opening its first headquarters in North Charles Street with Mrs. N. C. Talbott as executive secretary. Later there was some organization in the counties. The members through public meetings, legislative hearings and distribution of literature vigorously carried on their opposition to women's enfranchisement. The society was affiliated with the National Anti-Suffrage Association and was organized for the purpose of fighting the movement to enfranchise women by both Federal and State amendments. The presidents were Mrs. John Redwood, Mrs. Oscar Leser, Mrs. Rufus Gibbs and Mrs. Robert Garrett, the last named serving until after the Federal Amendment was adopted. Other women active in opposition were Mrs. Michael Wild, Mrs. Rosalie Strauss, Mrs. W. P. E. Wyse, Mrs. P. Lea Thom, Mrs. Coyle Haslup Adams, Mrs. George A. Frick and Mrs. William L. Marbury. This association gave substantial aid in money and other ways to the Maryland legislators who went to Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee to work against the ratification of the Federal Amendment by their Legislatures.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. The Maryland Woman Suffrage Association in connection with its suffrage activities worked in the Legislature for other progressive measures, among them the use of the public schools for social centers; equal pay for equal service; appointment of women on boards of education and on all public institutions; the abolition of capital punishment; initiative and referendum; co-education; abolition of child labor.

1906. Legislators declined to introduce any suffrage measure and treated the request as a joke.

1907. A special committee appointed by the Legislature to revise the election laws was asked that the word "male" be stricken out. No attention was paid to the request.

1910. The resolution for submitting an amendment was framed by Etta H. Maddox, introduced by Delegate William

Harry Paire, the Republican floor leader, and referred to the Committee on Constitutional Amendments. The hearing was held in the House of Delegates at Annapolis on February 24 before the committee and an audience that taxed the chamber's capacity. Miss Maddox presided and introduced the speakers—Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association; the Rev. John Roach Straton, the Rev. Peter Ainslie, Attorney John Grill, Dr. Flora Pollack, Mrs. Mary Badders Holton, Mrs. Funck, the Rev. Olympia Brown of Wisconsin, Dr. J. William Funck and Miss Belle Kearney of Mississippi. An evening meeting also was held in the same place in the interest of the amendment. On March 24 Carville D. Benson of Baltimore county moved to lay it on the table which was done by a vote of 61 ayes, 18 noes. No action was taken by the Senate.

1912. All the suffrage societies united in asking for the submission of a State amendment for full suffrage. Their best speakers appeared before the committees. A petition was presented to both Houses, signed by 30,000 voters, but it polled only 22 affirmative votes in the House. Soon after a limited suffrage bill, sponsored by the Equal Suffrage League, failed by a vote of 16 noes, 9 ayes in the Senate.

1914. The amendment resolution was introduced in the House by Charles H. McNab of Harford county and in the Senate by William Holmead of Prince George county. It was supported by all the suffrage societies, and ably advocated but lost by 34 ayes, 60 noes in the House and defeated in the Senate. A resolution introduced in the Senate asking for the full suffrage for women with an educational and property qualification, endorsed only by the Equal Suffrage League, failed to get a hearing. One in the Senate requiring a literacy test only was not reported.

1916. The constitutional amendment for full suffrage was introduced in the House by Lloyd Wilkinson (Democrat) of Baltimore and in the Senate by Sydney Mudd (Republican) of Charles county and strongly supported. House vote was 36 ayes, 64 noes. The Senate committee reported favorably and the vote stood 17 ayes, 7 noes, William F. Chesley the only Republican

who voted no. The lobbyists were Mrs. Hooker, Mrs. Dora Ogle, Mrs. Robert Moss, Miss Lucy Branham, Miss Maddox, Miss Gwendolyn Willis, the Rev. Olympia Brown, Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott, Mrs. Ross Thompson, Miss Emma Weber, Mrs. William H. Maloy, Mrs. Calvin Gabriel, Mrs. Timanus, Mrs. Howard Schwartz, Mrs. Funck. This was the last time a State amendment was asked for.

1917. At the special session a bill for Presidential suffrage, supported by the State association and the Just Government League, passed the Senate by a vote of 18 ayes, 6 noes, after a joint hearing held in the State House, where the outside speakers were Dudley Field Malone, U. S. Senator Shafroth and Representative Jeannette Rankin. In the House it failed by a vote of 41 ayes, 56 noes.

1918. The Presidential suffrage bill received in the House 42 ayes, 53 noes; in the Senate 12 ayes, 13 noes.

RATIFICATION. For twenty-five years the women of Maryland tried to get some form of suffrage from their Legislature without success and it is not surprising that they felt obliged to look to a Federal Amendment for their enfranchisement. The delegation in Congress was divided on its submission, Senator Joseph I. France (Republican) voting in favor and Senator John Walter Smith (Democrat) in opposition; two Representatives in favor and five in opposition. After it had been sent to the Legislatures for ratification in June, 1919, pressure was brought to bear on Governor Emerson C. Harrington to call a special session, as it was reported that a majority in favor might be secured. U. S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer urged it in a letter July 10, saying: "Pennsylvania has already ratified and it will be a service to our party if a Democratic State like Maryland will promptly follow suit." The Governor advised waiting till the regular session as "this Legislature was not elected with the question of this amendment before the people."

The regular session convened Jan 7, 1920, and Albert Cabell Ritchie had been elected Governor. Mrs. William Milnes Maloy was chairman of the Suffrage Campaign Committee and Mrs. Robert Moss of the legislative work in Annapolis, and the committee was composed of prominent suffragists from all the



societies. A mass meeting took place on January 20 in the State Armory at Annapolis, with addresses by U. S. Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, State Senator Oliver Metzertott and Mrs. Donald R. Hooker. State Senator George Q. Bartlett read letters from Senator France advocating ratification. Many members of the Legislature were seated on the platform. At the close of the meeting Mrs. Maloy offered a resolution in favor of ratification, which was carried by a large majority.

On Friday, February 6, Governor Ritchie submitted the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment to the General Assembly. Senator Metzertott (Republican) introduced a resolution for ratification in the Senate and Representative Cobourn (Democrat) in the House. It was sent to the Senate Committee on Federal Relations, Senator Grason, chairman; to the House Committee on Constitutional Amendments, Mr. Roberts chairman. A hearing was set for February 11 but on being informed that most of the suffrage leaders would be in Chicago attending the national suffrage convention at that time and that others of their speakers could not be present, Senator Grason said that, with Mr. Robert's consent, the hearing would be postponed until the 18th.

The suffragists heard no more and great was the surprise of those of the committee who were left to find on returning to Annapolis February 10, when the session reconvened, that Mr. Roberts absolutely refused to delay and the hearing would take place on February 11. A hasty canvass of his committee showed that a majority was in favor of deferring it until the 18th, so the suffragists returned to their homes. The next morning the Baltimore papers announced that it would be held that day. The suffragists learned that the preceding night Speaker Tydings had transferred the suffrage amendment from the Committee on Constitutional Amendments, which was favorable to it, and had put it into the Committee on Federal Relations, which was hostile! There were of course no members of the suffrage committee present at the hearing. Mrs. Rufus Gibbs, president of the State Anti-Suffrage Association, urged the defeat of ratification. William F. Marbury made a strong argument against it. Senator Legg of Queen Anne's, who had announced that he "would do just what Governor Ritchie desired," spoke against it.

Delegates Cobourn, Shartzter, Curry and the minority floor leader, Vernon Simmons, explained how the suffragists had been deceived and made an earnest plea for fair play.

It had been intended to bring the measure to a vote immediately but the feeling against this was so intense that it was finally set for the 17th. The suffragists demanded a hearing but the House committee refused it and made an adverse report on the resolution to ratify. The Senate committee granted one for the morning of the 17th. Long before the hour set suffragists from many places began to gather. At 10:30 the larger delegations arrived, heralded by Farson's band, and marched straight into the State House. Their number was so large that Chairman Grason adjourned from the committee room to the Senate Chamber. Mrs. Hooker presented resolutions and petitions for ratification from organizations representing over 125,000 residents of Maryland. They were from many State labor associations, patriotic societies, the Grange, Federation of Women's Clubs, Women's Trade Union League, Teachers' Association, Graduate Nurses, Goucher College Alumnae, clubs for every conceivable purpose. She was followed by Mrs. Edward Shoemaker, chairman of the women's State branch of the National Council of Defense, who made an eloquent appeal for the proposed amendment. Judge J. Harry Covington, member of Congress, gave a strong legal and political argument, answering that of Mr. Marbury. Mrs. Henry Zollinger represented the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association and Judge Oscar Leser spoke in opposition. The Hon. Thomas Parran summed up for the suffragists.

At twelve o'clock the suffragists went to the reception room of the Governor, who announced that he wished to give them all the time that they desired to present their case. The speakers were Mrs. Sydney M. Cone, Mrs. Shoemaker, Miss Kate McLane, prominent in war work; Mrs. Robert Moss, Guion Miller representing the Society of Friends; Mrs. Robert H. Walker, the college women; Miss Hunt, the nurses; Miss Mary Dubrau, the eastern shore. The Governor, answering, said that the ratification was a question for the Legislature alone to determine; that the platform on which he ran pledged the Democratic party against

it and that he could not ask the legislators to repudiate the platform. Mrs. Hooker in vigorous language held him wholly responsible for the action they took on it.

In the afternoon Representatives Cobourn, McBride, Shartzler, Demarco, Jones and Gambrill spoke for ratification. The vote stood 64 noes, 36 ayes. The same afternoon Senators Metzertott, Gibson, Bartlett and Robins earnestly urged ratification; Senators J. Frank Parran, McIntosh and Legg spoke against it. The vote stood 18 noes, 9 ayes, seven Republicans and two Democrats. In the House 32 of the 45 Republicans and 4 of the 56 Democrats voted in favor.

Undaunted by their defeat the suffragists gathered in front of the State House and with colors flying and band playing martial airs marched two by two around the Capitol, receiving many cheers and good wishes from the spectators. A brief meeting was then held at which resolutions of appreciation were passed for all the brave men who had fought so valiantly for democracy.

Committees of both Houses had reported a resolution of definite rejection, which the Senate passed, and a delegation of women from the Anti-Suffrage Association, headed by Mrs. Gibbs, carried it to Washington and presented it to the Acting Secretary of State, serving formal notice that "the State of Maryland denies the lawful right and power of Congress to propose the amendment for woman suffrage and the validity of such an amendment as part of the Federal Constitution even if ratified by three-fourths of the States."

The Maryland Legislature was by no means satisfied with its demonstration of State's rights in defeating the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment but it undertook to interfere with the rights of other States. On February 24 the House of Delegates voted by 54 to 44 for a joint resolution to send a delegation of seven anti-suffrage members to West Virginia to urge its General Assembly to follow the course of Maryland in rejecting the amendment. This was adopted by the Senate with little delay and three of its members were appointed to accompany four selected by the House. The next day two resolutions drawn up by Mr. Marbury were introduced in the Legislature. One was to "repeal, rescind and recall the resolutions ratifying the so-

called Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States." The other authorized and requested the Governor to call on the national government, in behalf of the State of Maryland, to "have the so-called Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act declared null and void." The reason for his opposition to woman suffrage was clearly apparent.

On March 30 by a vote of 20 ayes, 7 noes, the Senate passed a joint resolution introduced by George Arnold Frick authorizing and directing the Attorney General of Maryland to bring suit or suits to prevent the Secretary of State of the United States from proclaiming the Federal Amendment prior to the holding of a referendum thereon in certain States, and to test the validity, should the same be ratified by the elected Legislatures of three-fourths of the States. This also passed in the House. The opponents thought that now they had spiked every gun but in September it was discovered that the vote on ratification had been pigeonholed instead of being sent by the Governor to the Secretary of State in Washington. Immediately there was hustling to bring it again before the two Houses and on September 22 it was rejected in the Senate by a vote of 17 to 8 and in the House by 51 to 42, nearly a month after the Federal Amendment had been proclaimed!

A Men's Anti-Suffrage Association had been formed under the name of the Maryland League for State Defense and a suit was brought by its board of managers. This was called the case of Leser vs. Garnett, Judge Leser and his associate lawyers representing this League, Mr. Garnett representing the Board of Registry of the 7th Precinct of the 11th Ward of Baltimore. On Oct. 12, 1920, Judge Leser challenged the registration there of Cecilia S. Waters (white) and Mary D. Randolph (colored) in order to test the validity of what the "antis" called the "alleged" 19th Amendment. The plea was that it exceeded the amending power of Article V in the Federal Constitution and that it was not legally ratified by 36 States. The States arraigned as having illegally ratified were West Virginia and Missouri. The case came before the court of common pleas, Judge Heuisler presiding. Besides Mr. Marbury the attorneys for the petitioners were Thomas Cadwalader, Senator Frick and Everett P. Wheeler

of New York. The defendants were represented by George M. Brady, Roger Howell, Jacob M. Moses and Assistant Attorney General Lindsay C. Spencer. The case occupied four full days and the petitioners lost. Judge Heuisler ruled that the power to amend the Constitution of the United States granted by the Fifth Article thereof is without limit except as to the words, "equal suffrage in the Senate." He added: "The court is further of the opinion from all the exhibits and other evidence submitted that there was due, legal and proper ratification of the amendment by the required number of State Legislatures." Mr. Wheeler contended that three-fourths of the States had not legally ratified, to which the Court answered: "There was one legal and proper ratification of the amendment by the required number of State Legislatures."

The case was carried up to the State Court of Appeals and argued on April 7. On June 28 the Judge affirmed the decision of the lower court. The case was then taken to the U. S. Supreme Court, which gave a decision adverse to all these claims and established the validity of the Federal Suffrage Amendment beyond all further controversy.

#### MARYLAND. PART II.<sup>1</sup>

The Woman Suffrage League of Maryland was organized Feb. 27, 1917, in Baltimore at a meeting called with the approval of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. J. Ross Thompson of Garrett Park was elected president and served for two years. The league started with a sustaining membership of 1,400, including organizations in Baltimore and thirteen counties. By 1920 the city was organized by congressional districts and some of these by wards; twenty of the twenty-three counties had organizations, some of them strong branch leagues, others merely small groups with a chairman.

The history of the league must be traced through its mother, the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore, back to the Mary A. Livermore League, a society of Friends, which had been founded

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Clara Turnbull Waite, vice-president of the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore.

in 1905 with Mrs. Edward O. Janney as president. In the spring of 1909 this league, in order to broaden its scope, became the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore. Mrs. Elisabeth King Ellicott was elected president and filled this office with wisdom and rare executive ability until her death in May, 1914. The league, as a branch of the State Suffrage Association, sent Miss Julia Rogers as a delegate to the national convention held in Seattle in 1909. This year a mass meeting was held in McCoy Hall, Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Thayer of the Medical School presiding. Miss Ethel Arnold of England was the speaker and made many converts.

In 1910 the league had a bill introduced in the Legislature giving Municipal suffrage to "every bona fide resident of the city of Baltimore, male or female, 21 years of age. . . . (a) If such person is qualified to vote for members of the House of Delegates; or (b) can read or write from dictation any paragraph of more than five lines in the State constitution; or (c) is assessed with property in said city to the amount of \$300 and has paid taxes thereon for at least two years preceding the election. . . ." The league was fortunate in securing as attorney Judge Jacob M. Moses of the Juvenile Court. He conducted a hearing on February 16 in the House of Delegates attended by both branches of the Legislature. Six hundred women and men went on a special train to Annapolis, carrying a petition for the bill representing 173,000 names. The speakers were Dr. Howard Kelly of Johns Hopkins, president of the Men's League; Dr. Mary Sherwood of the medical department; Judge Moses, Mrs. Ellicott, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper of New York, Miss Janet Richards of Washington, Misses Julia Rogers, Mary E. Lent, Ellen La Mott and Sarah Brookes. The House committee reported eight to one in favor. The advocates in the House were Robert H. Carr, who introduced the bill, H. Pairo, R. F. Beacham and Mr. Henderson. It received 67 noes, 24 ayes and did not come before the Senate. Three other woman suffrage bills were defeated this session.

In 1909-1910 Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, chairman of the Lecture Committee, was instrumental in securing many noted speakers for public meetings. In 1910 she formed the Just Government

League of Maryland, which was affiliated with the National Association for six years. Miss Lent was president two years and then Mrs. Hooker continuously.

In 1910 a field secretary was engaged by the Equal Suffrage League, ward organization progressed and money was raised through rummage sales, lawn fetes, suppers at headquarters, etc. In 1911 the *New Voter* was started, a lively suffrage paper, with Miss Anne Wagner as editor-in-chief. A committee was appointed, with Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott chairman, to investigate methods in the Criminal Court of conducting trials when young girls were witnesses in cases of assault, etc. This committee attended trials and employed a woman to keep records of cases and decisions. Later it had the first woman probation officer appointed and paid her salary until 1916, when Mayor Preston agreed to its payment by the city temporarily.

The State Equal Franchise League was founded in 1911 and became auxiliary to the National American Association. Mrs. Elisabeth King Ellicott was the president for two years and she was succeeded by Mrs. W. J. Brown, who was president for one year. The affiliated societies were the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore, Woman Suffrage Club of Montgomery county, Just Franchise League of Talbot county, Junior Suffrage League of Walbrook, College Suffrage League of Frederick, Equal Franchise Leagues of Thurmont and Emmitsburg, Junior Suffrage League of Bryn Mawr School and Political Equality League of Baltimore county. It joined in the work of the other associations for various bills in the Legislature until 1914, when it disbanded, and, the constitution of the National Association now permitting the direct affiliation of any suffrage society numbering 200 members, the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore became a direct auxiliary. In May, 1914, it met with a great loss in the death of Mrs. Ellicott, who had organized and held it firm for the non-partisan, non-political, educational principles of the National Association. She left \$25,000 in the hands of trustees, the interest to be used by the league until equal suffrage had been obtained in Maryland. Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott then became president and successfully continued the work. The extensive

development of the Children's Playground Association under her leadership is well known throughout the State.<sup>1</sup>

The Woman Suffrage League of Maryland was formed in February, 1917, and the Baltimore City Committee took the active place of the Equal Suffrage League, which became a funding body to carry out the bequest of Mrs. Ellicott, with Miss Caroline Roberts as president, whose unwearying and ceaseless service had been for years an inspiration to her fellow workers. Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, chairman of Campaigns and Surveys for the National Association, went to Baltimore this month, meeting there Miss Emma MacAarney and Miss Eleanor Furman, two of the national organizers, and planning a speaking and organization route. The organizers remained in Maryland two months and were very successful in interesting new groups of people all over the State, who joined the new Woman Suffrage League. Later Miss Alice Hunt, a national organizer, took up this work for four weeks. The total cost to the National Association was over \$600.

In the spring of 1917 a Suffrage School was held in Baltimore by the league to which all were invited. The National Association sent some of its best teachers, among them Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson and Mrs. Shuler, members of its official board. The climax of the week was a parade, street speeches and a mass meeting, at which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, national president, was the principal speaker. An outcome of the school was the printing in Maryland newspapers of the suffrage literature supplied by the National Association.

When the United States entered the World War Mrs. Ellicott, president of the league, was appointed by the Governor a State member of the Woman's Council of National Defense and the league cooperated in all of the departments of war work created by the National Suffrage Association. A Red Cross Circle was established in its headquarters and it entered actively into the sale

<sup>1</sup> Additional names of women who held office or were prominent in work of the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore or the State Equal Franchise League of Maryland are Drs. Fannie Hoopes, Lillian Welsh, Mary Sherwood, Florence Sabin, Claribel Cone, Nellie Mark; Mesdames Pauline Holme, George Lamb, S. Johnson Poe, J. Williams Lord, Frank Ramey, C. C. Heath, George H. Wright, J. H. Webb-Peploe, Jacob M. Moses, Mary N. Parry and W. W. Emmart; Misses Mary Bartlett Dixon, Elisabeth Gilman, A. Page Keid, Henrietta Norris, Romaine McIlvaine and Emma Weber.



of Liberty Bonds. Its war work brought into it many new members.

In the work for ratification of the Federal Amendment the League joined the other suffrage societies in the headquarters at Annapolis and in public meetings, house to house canvass, interviews with legislators and the other work of a vigorous campaign. The officers were: Mrs. Ellicott, president; Mrs. Edward Shoemaker, Mrs. William Milnes Maloy and Mrs. Sidney Cone, vice-presidents; Miss Julia Rogers and Mrs. Robert Moss, corresponding and recording secretaries; Mrs. Frank Ramey, treasurer; Mrs. George Crawford and Mrs. William Silver, auditors.

The officers of the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore were Miss Caroline Roberts, president; Miss Clara T. Waite, vice-president; Mrs. William Chatard, secretary; Miss Mary Claire O'Brien, treasurer: with eight directors.<sup>1</sup>

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. This has been described. A Ratification Committee of Men was formed in 1919 with N. Winslow Williams chairman, De Courcy W. Thom vice-chairman, Arthur K. Taylor secretary, Donald R. Hooker, treasurer. Prominent members of the Allied Building Trades Council, Carpenters' Union and other labor organizations were on the committee and every county had a chairman. In Allegany it was Francis J. Drum, president of the Maryland and D. C. Federation of Labor; in Baltimore county B. John Black, master of the State Grange. In other counties it was a member of Congress or the Legislature or a Judge or some one of influence.

<sup>1</sup> Among these directors, active members of the city committee, chairmen of standing committees and devoted workers not elsewhere mentioned were Mesdames Edwin Rouse, Jr., chairman of the city committee; Caleb Athey, Harvey Bickel, C. C. Peffer, J. W. Putts, John Parker, A. Morris Carey, C. C. Heath; Esther Moses and Esther Katz.

## CHAPTER XX.

### MASSACHUSETTS.<sup>1</sup>

From the beginning of the present century the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, organized in 1870, steadily gained in membership year after year. Its annual conventions for many years were held in Boston in January and those of the New England Woman Suffrage Association in May, when the two united in a great Festival, which generally took place in Faneuil Hall. The day sessions usually were held in the rooms of the New England Women's Club, the evening sessions in some large place, in 1901 at Faneuil Hall.

At the State annual meeting Jan. 23, 1901, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, who had been president since 1893, presided and among the speakers were Mrs. Helen Campbell, the Rev. Charles W. Wendte, Dr. Emily B. Ryder and the Rev. Ida C. Hultin. Mrs. Livermore was re-elected and Mrs. Maud Wood Park succeeded Miss Alice Stone Blackwell as chairman of the State Board of Directors. The office of president had always been mainly honorary and the actual work was done by the chairman of this board. The other officers chosen were Henry B. Blackwell, corresponding secretary; William Lloyd Garrison, treasurer; Miss Eva Channing, clerk; Miss Amanda M. Lougee, Richard P. Hallowell, auditors; Mrs. Judith W. Smith, member National Executive Committee. There was a long list of distinguished vice-presidents. Mr. Blackwell had been secretary for over twenty years and was re-elected.

At the Festival on May 22, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe presided, Miss Sarah Cone Bryant was toastmistress and there were addresses by William M. Salter, the Hon. William Dudley Foulke

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for the first part of this chapter to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, an officer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1890 to 1912 inclusive; president of the New England Woman Suffrage Association from 1911, and president of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association almost continuously from 1909 to 1920; and for the second part of the chapter to Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the State association from 1909 for many years,

and others of note. On May 23 at the annual meeting of the New England Association, organized in November, 1868, reports were made from the New England States, and addresses by the Rev. Florence Kollock Crooker, Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Mrs. Inez Haynes Gillmore and others. Mrs. Howe, who had been its president since 1893, was re-elected, with a board composed of eminent men and women.

During the year the State association sent out 1,246 press articles, circulated many thousand pages of literature and printed several leaflets. It held well-attended fortnightly meetings at its headquarters, No. 3 Park Street, and gave a brilliant reception in honor of Mrs. Livermore's 80th birthday. It compiled a list of about forty persons ready to give addresses on suffrage and sent a speaker free to every woman's club or other organization willing to hear the subject presented. It held ten public meetings and sent out 11,000 circulars to increase the women's registration and school vote in Boston. Many addresses under its auspices were given by Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz, Professor Anna May Soule of Mt. Holyoke and Señorita Carolina Holman Huidobro of Chile. Massachusetts contributed four-fifths of the money given to the Oregon campaign of 1900 from outside that State, and the Massachusetts booth (named the Lucy Stone booth) at the National Suffrage Bazar that year took in more money than that of any other State except New York. The College Equal Suffrage League's prize of \$100, for the best essay in favor of suffrage by a college student, was won by Ava M. Stoddard of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The above is a sample of the activities carried on year after year by the association during the first decade of the century.

In 1901 the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government was organized through the efforts of Mrs. Mary Hutcheson Page, with Pauline Agassiz (Mrs. Quincy A.) Shaw as president, Mrs. Fanny B. Ames, chairman of Executive Committee, and Mrs. Park as executive secretary.<sup>1</sup> It continued to be a power in the State till suffrage was won and aimed to devote

<sup>1</sup> Later presidents were Mrs. Page, Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley, Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw and Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes. When Mrs. Park was called to Washington to become national congressional chairman in 1916 Mrs. Wenona Osborne Pinkham succeeded her as executive secretary.

itself not only to suffrage but to all activities in which women could be especially useful to the community.

The National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, a smaller organization, disbanded in 1901 after nearly twenty years of existence. Mrs. Sarah A. P. Dickerman was acting president, Miss Lavina A. Hatch secretary. It had held eleven monthly meetings during the past year, done congressional work and contributed to the Susan B. Anthony table at the national bazar in New York.

1902. At the annual meeting on January 23, Mrs. Park presided and a work conference was substituted for the usual public meeting. The Festival was held on May 28 with the Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer presiding. Other speakers were the Rev. Dr. James H. Ecob, Professor John Graham Brooks, the Rev. Ida C. Hultin, Colonel T. W. Higginson and the Rev. Charles F. Dole. Miss Vida Goldstein of Australia addressed a number of meetings this year. An enrollment of suffragists was begun. There was an increase of women's registration for the school vote in fourteen cities, in Boston of about 5,000. An investigation of the tax records by Mr. Blackwell showed that in Boston alone 18,500 women paid taxes on several hundred million dollars' worth of property.

1903. At the annual meeting of the State association on January 13, Mrs. Shaw and Mrs. Park presided. Mrs. Livermore was made honorary president and Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead president, Mrs. Mary Schlesinger, vice-president; Miss Harriet E. Turner, corresponding secretary; William Lloyd Garrison, treasurer; Mrs. Otto B. Cole, clerk; Mr. Blackwell, member of the National Executive Committee. Mrs. Page, chairman of the Organization Committee, reported that forty towns had been visited. There were speeches by Mrs. Livermore and Mrs. Enid Stacy Widdrington of England. Miss Blackwell presided at the New England annual meeting May 27 and the Rev. Charles G. Ames at the Festival the next day. On August 13 Lucy Stone's birthday anniversary was celebrated by a pilgrimage to the old farm house near West Brookfield where she was born. About 400 persons gathered from various States, even California being represented. Her niece, Mrs. Phebe Stone Beeman, president of the

Warren Political Equality Club, presided and there were addresses by Mrs. Livermore, Mr. Blackwell, the Rev. Mary A. Safford and others. The beautiful weather and the beautiful scenery combined with the beautiful memories to make it a memorable occasion. Mrs. Livermore wrote afterwards: "It was greater and grander than any public day, not specially devoted to religion, that I have ever known. The hill was a Mount of Transfiguration, the faces of the people shone."

The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw addressed a series of meetings throughout the State. Mrs. Page, Mrs. Park, Mrs. Diaz, Mrs. Esther F. Boland, Miss Bryant and George H. Page spoke repeatedly for the association. Work conferences were held in various counties and equal rights plays by Mr. Page were performed for the benefit of the cause. The State headquarters were moved from Park Street to a house at No. 6 Marlboro Street, the use of which was given by Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw. Massachusetts this year contributed more money to the National Association than did any other State. The time of the State annual meeting was changed to October and it began to be held outside of Boston, a second one for this year in the Newtons, October 29 and 30. It opened with a reception by the Newton League at the Hunnewell Club House, where Mrs. Electa N. L. Walton presided and Mayor Weeks of Newton and the Hon. Samuel L. Powers gave addresses of welcome. The following day at West Newton Mrs. Livermore presided, the Hon. Gorman D. Gilman gave the address of welcome and Mrs. Florence Kelley and Dr. Shaw spoke. The Enrollment Committee reported obtaining 11,169 signatures. A resolution of tribute was passed to Miss Harriet E. Turner, who retired after 21 years' devoted service at headquarters, where she had suggested some of the most successful lines of work. Mrs. Page was chosen as chairman of the State board, Mrs. Susan S. Fessenden succeeding her later in the year.

1904. The Festival was held on May 10, Mrs. Howe presiding. The speakers were Judge Edward E. Reynolds of Portland, Maine, the Rev. Florence Kollock Crooker of Michigan, Frank K. Foster of the State Federation of Labor, Mrs. Livermore, Professor George E. Gardner of the Boston University

Law School, Mrs. May Alden Ward, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, Mr. Blackwell and Mrs. Mead. The State meeting was held at Attleboro, October 21, in the Opera House, with the usual list of well known speakers. The International Peace Congress, held in Boston this year, gave an impetus to the movement. The men from abroad were much impressed by the American women. Other notable events were the celebration by the State W. C. T. U. of the quarter centennial of the granting of School suffrage and a conference of women ministers of different denominations, called by Mrs. Howe. There was a Suffrage Day at the big Mechanics' Fair in Boston, with addresses by Miss Jane Addams, Miss Sheriff Bain of New Zealand and W. P. Byles of England. A library of books bearing on the woman question was started at headquarters with a fund given by Miss M. F. Munroe in memory of Mary Lowell Stone.

1905. There was a very large attendance at the Festival on May 10, with Mrs. Mead presiding. Professor Edward Cummings was toastmaster, ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt spoke and the Festival then resolved itself into a celebration of Mr. Blackwell's 80th birthday (May 4), with the presentation of a silver pitcher from the State association and addresses by William Lloyd Garrison and Mrs. Livermore. She had insisted upon coming, although by no means able. She said, "Mr. Blackwell and I have worked together for nearly half a century; we have gone anywhere and everywhere for woman suffrage. This evening he has been doing his best to persuade me to go out to the Oregon convention. I can not say half that ought to be said of his character, his devoted service, his fraternal spirit." She died a few days later and there was profound sorrow for her loss.

At the meeting of the New England Association on May 11 Miss Blackwell presided. Francis J. Garrison was elected treasurer. The State annual meeting was held at Holyoke, October 24, 25, in the Second Baptist Church and Mayor Nathan P. Avery gave the address of welcome. Miss Blackwell was made chairman of the board of directors; Mrs. Mead was elected president; Mrs. Schlesinger vice-president. The association took part in the celebration of the centennial of William Lloyd

Garrison on December 10. He had been a life-long champion of equal rights for women and his last public speech was made at a suffrage hearing in the State House. There was a noteworthy memorial meeting for Mrs. Edna D. Cheney, long a pillar of the suffrage association and of the New England Hospital for Women and Children. Catherine Breshkovsky, "the little grandmother of the Russian revolution," visited Massachusetts this year and addressed a number of meetings arranged by the suffragists, including a large one in Faneuil Hall.

The convention was held in October, 1906, at Lowell in the Trinitarian Congregational Church. Harriet A. Eager gave a stone from the pavement of the little church at Delft Haven in Holland, where the Pilgrims attended their last religious service before sailing for America and the association presented it to the Cape Cod Memorial Association to be placed in the monument. The World's W. C. T. U. convention in Boston this month aroused much interest and enthusiasm. At the opening banquet Miss Blackwell gave the address of welcome in behalf of the women's organizations.

1907. The annual meeting took place in Worcester at Trinity Church. Letters were read from Colonel Thomas W. Higginson and Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, the only two survivors of the 89 men and women who signed the Call for the first National Woman's Rights Convention, held in Worcester in 1850; and a poem from the Rev. Antoinette L. Brown Blackwell, D.D., the only survivor of the speakers on that occasion. Dr. Shaw gave an address and conducted a question box and there was a symposium on Why I am a Suffragist by five young women, one a grandniece and namesake of Margaret Fuller.

A noteworthy meeting was held on March 23, 1907, by the Boston Equal Suffrage Association to consider "the indebtedness of women of collegiate and professional training to the leaders of the suffrage movement." Every woman's college in the State was represented, as well as law and medicine. Mrs. Fanny B. Ames presided and college girls in cap and gown acted as ushers. The speakers were Mrs. Howe, Miss Georgia L. White, Assistant Professor of Economics at Smith College; Professor Helen M. Searles of Mt. Holyoke; Dr. Emma Culbertson of the New

England Hospital for Women and Children; Miss Emily Greene Balch, Associate Professor of Economics and Sociology at Wellesley; Miss Caroline J. Cooke, instructor in Commercial Law at Simmons, and Mrs. Park of Radcliffe.

On August 13 suffragists from different parts of the State again made a pilgrimage to Lucy Stone's old home, West Brookfield, to celebrate her birthday. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, a daughter of Richard Cobden, one of the "militant" English suffragettes, spoke at the women's colleges and elsewhere. The Boston association, in connection with the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, gave courses in citizenship, addressed by heads of State and city departments. Mrs. Fessenden conducted many classes in Parliamentary practice (these were continued year after year), and there was a "suffrage day" in the woman's department of the great Food Fair.

The Association of Collegiate Alumnae celebrated its quarter centennial in Boston November 5-9, which brought many distinguished suffragists from other States. In 1872 the New England Women's Club had given a reception for the only three college women then in this city. In 1907 this association had 3,147 members, several hundred of them in Boston alone. At the Whittier Centennial celebration at Amesbury on December 17 the poet's championship of equal rights for women was recalled with his work for other reforms. The Boston Federation of Suffrage Societies was organized by the Association for Good Government. The State Federation of Labor and the State Letter Carriers' Association endorsed woman suffrage.

The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women changed its organ *The Remonstrance* from an annual to a quarterly and sent out a copy broadcast. The suffragists followed with an answer. The *Woman's Journal* pointed out that the M. A. O. F. E. S. W., according to its own official reports, had sold \$40.86 worth of literature in 1905, \$13.50 worth in 1906 and \$12.30 worth in 1907, and that in 1906 the total receipts were \$2,907, of which \$2,018 were expended on salaries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the annual meeting of the M. A. O. F. E. S. W. on May 1, officers were elected as follows: President, Mrs. G. Howland Shaw; vice-presidents, Mrs. J. H. Coolidge, Miss Anna L. Dawes, Mrs. Charles D. Homans, Miss Agnes Irwin, Mrs. Henry M. Whit-



1908. The State annual meeting was held in Boston October 27, 28. Mrs. Mead presided and Mrs. Ethel Snowden of England was the chief speaker. There was a reception to Mrs. Howe, with addresses by Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott, Mrs. Carota Von Koch of Sweden and Mrs. Howe. Miss Jane Addams gave suffrage lectures this year at Radcliffe, Smith, Mt. Holyoke and Wellesley colleges and Boston University, arranged by the College Equal Suffrage League, with large audiences and much enthusiasm. Mrs. Snowden spoke for the State association at Faneuil Hall and a reception was given by the College and Boston suffrage associations. Another large suffrage meeting in Faneuil Hall was addressed by Professor Charles Zueblin. Mrs. Park and Mrs. Eager held a series of meetings in Berkshire county, arousing much interest. At the suffrage booth in the Boston Food Fair, in charge of the Newton League, 6,255 names were added to the enrollment. The association by this time had more than 100 local branches. This year 145 labor unions endorsed equal suffrage. The association carried on a "poster campaign," putting up posters in towns and at county fairs. Mrs. FitzGerald composed the inscriptions and Mrs. George F. Lowell with a group of friends put them up. At the Biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs held in Boston every mention of suffrage was cheered and no one got such an ovation as Mrs. Howe, the fraternal delegate from the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

1909. The College Equal Suffrage League of Massachusetts attained a membership of 320 this year and a suffrage club was formed at Radcliffe College. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology any notices put up by the suffragists were at once torn down. The State annual convention was held in Boston October 22, 23, with the evening meeting in Tremont Temple, and Miss Blackwell was elected president. For the first time the report of the Legislative Committee was given by Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley, who continued to be its chairman for years.

ney; corresponding secretary, Miss L. C. Post; recording secretary, Miss Elizabeth Johnson; treasurer, Mrs. James M. Codman; executive committee, the officers and Miss Sarah H. Crocker Mrs. Gorham Dana, Mrs. Charles Eliot Guild, Miss Katherine E. Guild, Miss Elizabeth H. Houghton, Miss Sarah E. Hunt, Mrs. Francis C. Lowell, Mrs. J. H. Millet, Mrs. B. L. Robinson, Mrs. R. H. Saltonstall, Miss E. P. Sohler and Mrs. Henry M. Thompson.

Ex-Governor Long presided at a memorial meeting for Henry B. Blackwell, with addresses by Edwin D. Mead, Julia Ward Howe, the Rev. Charles G. Ames, Professor Sumichrast, Moses H. Gulesian, Francis J. Garrison, James H. Stark of the Victorian Club, Meyer Bloomfield and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows. Mr. Blackwell was called by Mrs. Catt "one of the world's most heroic men." He was the only man of large abilities who devoted his life to securing equal rights for women. In his youth a reward of \$10,000 was offered for his head at a public meeting in the South because of his leading part in the rescue of a young slave girl. He made his first speech for woman's rights at a suffrage convention in Cleveland in 1853. Two years later he married Lucy Stone. She had meant never to marry but to devote herself wholly to the women's cause but he promised to devote himself to the same cause. He was the unpaid secretary of the American Woman Suffrage Association for twenty years, of the Massachusetts association for thirty years and of the New England association for nearly forty years. He traveled all over the country organizing suffrage societies, getting up conventions and addressing Legislatures. He attended the Republican national conventions year after year trying to get a suffrage plank and in 1872 secured a mild one in the national platform and a strong one in that of Massachusetts. He took part in constitutional amendment campaigns in Kansas, Vermont, Colorado, Michigan, Rhode Island and South Dakota. In 1889, when Washington, Montana and North Dakota were about to enter the Union as States, he attended the constitutional convention of each to urge equal suffrage. He was an editor of the *Woman's Journal* from its founding in 1870 till his death. An able writer, an eloquent speaker, he was widely beloved for his kindness, humor and geniality.

Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the leader of the "militant" suffragettes of England, visited Boston this year. She was met at the station by the suffragists with automobiles and flags and was taken through the streets to the headquarters—Boston's first suffrage procession—and later addressed in Tremont Temple a huge audience, critical at first, highly enthusiastic at the close. A reception was given by prominent suffragists to Miss Ethel M.

Arnold of England, and there were lectures by her and Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman; a series of "petition teas" and meetings addressed by Dr. Shaw, Miss Leonora O'Reilly, a labor leader of New York; Judge Ben Lindsey of Denver; Charles Edward Russell, the Rev. Thomas Cuthbert Hall; and by Mrs. Snowden, Dr. Stanton Coit and the Misses Rendell and Costello, all of England.

In June the first of the open-air meetings that later became so important a feature of the campaign was held on the Common at Bedford. The speakers were Mrs. FitzGerald, Mrs. Leonora S. Little, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick and Mrs. Crowley. The attendance was small; people were shy at first of seeming to countenance such an innovation but the crowds grew as the meetings continued and it was found to be the best if not the only way to reach the mass of voters. A summer campaign of 97 open-air meetings was held, the speakers traveling mainly by trolley, covering a large part of the State and reaching about 25,000 persons.<sup>1</sup> Suffrage buttons and literature were distributed, posters put up, and sometimes mammoth kites flown to advertise the meetings. Mrs. H. S. Luscomb had presented a kite big enough to hold up a banner six feet wide by forty deep. The campaigners were resourceful. At Nantasket, when forbidden to speak on the beach, they went into the water with their Votes for Women banner and spoke from the sea to the audience on the shore.

1910. Among the speakers at the Festival in May were Mrs. Frances Squire Potter, former Professor of English at the University of Minnesota; Professor Max Eastman of Columbia University, secretary of the New York Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and Professor Henry S. Nash of the Episcopal Theological School. At the State annual meeting in Lowell, October 27, 28, Philip Snowden, M. P., of England was a speaker. In connection with the convention Mrs. Park spoke before the Woman's Club; Rabbi Fleischer before the Board of Trade; Miss Alice Carpenter at the Congregational Church in Tewksbury;

<sup>1</sup> Additional speakers through the summer were Miss Margaret Foley, Miss Gertrude Y. Cliff, Miss Edith M. Haynes, Mrs. Marion Craig Wentworth, Miss Florence Luscomb, Miss Katherine Tyng, Miss Alfretta McClure and Miss Rosa Heinzen, the last four college girls.

four factory meetings were held; the suffrage slides were exhibited twelve times at the Merrimac Theater; Miss Foley and Miss Anne Withington addressed seven trade unions; 27,000 fliers were distributed and four street meetings held.

An eight-weeks' summer campaign of open-air meetings was conducted through the great industrial cities of eastern Massachusetts, with from four to six regular and occasional special speakers. Three Englishwomen, Miss Margaret G. Bondfield, Miss M. M. A. Ward and Miss Emily Gardner, reinforced the American speakers, Miss Foley, Mrs. FitzGerald, Mrs. Glendower Evans, Miss Emily Pierson of Connecticut, and others. In each city, besides the outdoor meetings, there was some special feature; in two, garden parties; in Brockton, the women joined the circus parade, driving in a decorated team and giving out fliers. In Fall River they got two popular stores to wrap a colored flier in every parcel. In Taunton they had an evening band concert on the Common, accompanied with red fire and speeches. In Lawrence Miss Foley made a balloon ascension and showered down rainbow literature upon an eager crowd. Several times the women spoke from the vaudeville stage and showed colored lantern slides. They spoke in parks and pleasure resorts and outside the factories as well as in the streets and at one Yiddish and one French meeting. They held 200 meetings and talked to about 60,000 persons. Afterwards they held outdoor meetings in and about Boston and sent an automobile of speakers and literature to the Aviation Meet. A fall campaign of open-air speaking followed. Mrs. Park came home from a tour around the world and lectured on the women of different countries. Mrs. A. Watson-Lister of Australia and Mrs. Dora B. Montefiore of England addressed a number of meetings.

A week of meetings took place in Springfield, State speakers cooperating with the local suffragists, among them Mrs. Henry Phillips, president of the suffrage league; Mrs. McDuffie and Mr. Myrick, publisher of the "Farm and Home" and "Good House-keeping." Headquarters were opened in a vacant store with daily meetings and teas; addresses were given before the Board of Trade, the teachers, the Woman's, the Mothers', the Socialist and the College Clubs, the Y. M. C. A. training school and

other groups; colored slides of suffrage events were shown and prominent local women opened their homes for social affairs. Much interest was aroused and permanent Springfield headquarters were opened soon afterwards. Boston started to organize by wards and invitations were printed in various languages. The first meeting, in Ward 8, arranged by Mrs. Leonard, was attended by nearly 1,000 women and there were speeches in English and Yiddish. A class to train suffrage speakers was started. A suffrage club was organized in the College of Liberal Arts of Boston University. The suffragists sent Alfred H. Brown to help the campaign in the State of Washington.

The general sorrow for the death of Julia Ward Howe on October 17 brought support to the suffrage movement. In her later years people had revered her as they revered the flag and all her great influence had been placed unreservedly at the service of this cause. A large memorial meeting was held in Faneuil Hall on December 16.

1911. The State convention was held in Boston October 27, 28, the evening meeting at Tremont Temple addressed by Dr. Shaw and Professor Edward Howard Griggs. The Boston association raised \$1,100 for the campaigns in Oregon, Kansas, Wisconsin and Michigan and gave Mrs. Park's services to Ohio and Michigan. A Men's League for Woman Suffrage was organized at Harvard University under the presidency of A. S. Olmstead. At the meeting of the New England Association Miss Blackwell was elected president. Mrs. Howe had held the office twenty-six years.

Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, one of the few surviving pioneers, passed away this year. He had been a champion of women's rights for more than sixty years. When a young minister he spoke for the cause. He signed the Call for the First National Woman's Rights Convention in 1850. He married Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell in 1855 and prefixed an approving foreword to their published protest against the inequalities of the marriage laws. He took part in organizing the American Woman Suffrage Association, was its president for a year and an officer in the New England and Massachusetts associations until his death. For years he was a great power as a

lecturer and writer and addressed suffrage conventions in many States. Beginning with 1870 he contributed a long series of brilliant editorials to the *Woman's Journal*. He wrote four books on the woman question and gave 1,000 books about women to the Boston Public Library. The founder of Smith College said she was led to leave her fortune for that purpose by reading his article, *Ought Women Learn the Alphabet?*

1912. The State annual meeting was held in Boston, October 11, with an unusually large attendance from western Massachusetts. In 1913 it met in Boston May 27, 28. The executive secretary, Mrs. Marion Booth Kelley, reported that 111 indoor meetings and 45 outdoor meetings had been held in the past six months. It was voted to have a suffrage parade in Boston the following spring. There was much doubt of the propriety of this but when a rising vote of the women present was taken to see how many would march almost the whole convention rose.

1914. The State annual meeting was held in Boston May 1 and 2, and again in 1915 on May 13-15. The latter opened with a brilliant banquet at the Hotel Somerset, attended by about 800. Mrs. Park presided and among the speakers were ex-Governor Bass of New Hampshire, ex-Governor Foss of Massachusetts, Dr. Hugh Cabot and Mrs. Judith W. Smith, aged 93. Suffrage clubs were reported at Wellesley, Smith and Mt. Holyoke Colleges, the last formed largely through Miss Mildred Blodgett, assistant professor of geology. A band concert and a mass meeting on the Common closed the convention.

1916. At the State annual meeting in Boston May 18, 19, dues were abolished and provision made for organizing the State along political party lines, as recommended by the National Association. Mrs. B. F. Pitman of Brookline gave a large reception. The treasurer reported receipts of \$67,232, expenditures of \$63,483.<sup>1</sup>

1917. At the annual State meeting on May 10 resolutions were adopted calling upon the 125,000 enrolled members to "show their patriotism by doing their utmost to help their country

<sup>1</sup> Much help was given for years by the steady financial support of Mrs. R. D. Evans, Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw and Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw. The last named paid the rent of the suffrage headquarters during many years and her heirs continued this assistance for some time after her death in 1917.

and the world," especially along the five lines recommended by the National Suffrage Association; urging nation-wide prohibition as a war measure and commending the efforts to minimize moral dangers at the training camps; protesting against "any attempt to lower educational standards or to weaken the laws safeguarding the workers, especially women and children," because of the war emergency. The Twentieth Century Club rooms were crowded at the New England Conference and Festival. Miss Blackwell presided. A greeting from the National Association was brought by Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, its corresponding secretary, and speakers were present from all the New England States. Pledges and a collection were taken for the Maine campaign and it was voted to give \$2,000, a bequest from Miss Marian Shannon, to the National Association, to help it.

1918. At the winter business meeting held in Fitchburg February 26 Mrs. Pitman reported that more than \$30,000 had been raised by the association for war work. The State annual meeting in Boston on May 24, 25 was crowded and exciting. A resolution pledging the association's support to the country in the war was passed by acclamation, and it responded to the request of Mrs. Catt, president of the National American Suffrage Association, to follow its program of war work. The convention voted with enthusiasm to take up the circulation of the national petitions for the Federal Amendment and also to give \$600 to the National Association to finance an organizer in Oklahoma, where a suffrage campaign was in progress and the Massachusetts "antis" were financing the opposition. In the evening a magnificent meeting was held in the Opera House with Mrs. Grace A. Johnson presiding and addresses by Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw. The collection of \$1,124 was given to the Red Cross.

On August 13 the State and Boston associations celebrated the centenary of Lucy Stone's birth by a luncheon at the Hotel Somerset, Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird presiding, with addresses by ex-Governor Walsh, the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, D. D., 93 years of age; Mrs. Judith W. Smith, almost 97; Miss Blackwell and Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott. Letters and telegrams of appreciation were received from President Wilson's secretary in his behalf; from Theodore Roosevelt, ex-Governor McCall,

Mrs. Catt, Mayor Andrew James Peters of Boston and many others. The fall meeting was held in Boston November 30, when Miss Mary Garrett Hay, national vice-president, spoke on the national suffrage situation and there were addresses by heads of civic and philanthropic organizations.

1919. The mid-winter meeting was held in Worcester February 15 and eight young girls presented to Miss Blackwell the national petition bearing 16,434 names, many more than the quota for this city. The State meeting was held May 21, 22, in Boston. While it was in session the news came that the Federal Suffrage Amendment had passed the U. S. House of Representatives. This called out great enthusiasm and it was voted to telegraph Mrs. Maud Wood Park: "Three cheers for our Congressional Chairman! Very proud that Mrs. Park is a Massachusetts woman!" The following Sunday the Boston association held a meeting in Tremont Theater to rejoice, with Samuel L. Powers, a prominent Republican lawyer, presiding, and addresses by Mrs. Park, Joseph Conry, a prominent Democrat, and Secretary of State Langtry for Governor Coolidge.

1920. The annual meeting was again held in Boston, May 27, 28, Mrs. Bird presiding. She stated that it was the 100th anniversary of the birth of Julia Ward Howe, to whose work for suffrage and other good causes a heart-felt tribute was paid. Mrs. Bird presented Miss Blackwell with a laurel wreath as representing the pioneers and as having been at the head of the association when victory was won. As the complete ratification was almost at hand it was voted to take legal steps to dissolve the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. Later it was decided, in accordance with the policy of the National Association, to continue it as a skeleton organization with the same officers until all possible need for it should be over. The State League of Women Voters was organized, with Mrs. George R. Fearing, Jr., as chairman and Miss Blackwell as honorary president, the delegates and members of the association enrolling in the new society. The New England Woman Suffrage Association never formally disbanded but simply ceased to meet.

From 1910 onward what had tended most to increase membership was the formation of the Woman Suffrage Party to work



as the State association, with a non-dues-paying membership of men and women, similar to the political parties, having district leaders, precinct captains and ward chairmen, strictly non-partisan and solely to promote woman suffrage. The first chairman was Mrs. Gertrude Halladay Leonard. A convention was held in Faneuil Hall on March 5, 1912, at which time twenty-three of the twenty-six Boston wards had been organized, also Brookline, Cambridge, Somerville, Newton and many other cities and towns. The membership was 25,000 and by the referendum campaign in 1915 it had advanced to about 250,000.

This change in the type of organization was indicative of a change in the whole suffrage movement. It was recognized that more widely diffused education on the subject was needed and that suffrage must become a political issue. The suffrage leagues were changed into political district organizations; the parlor meeting gave place to the outdoor meeting; State headquarters were moved from No. 6 Marlboro Street, a residential section, to 585 Boylston Street in a business building, and local societies were kept in touch. Every effort was made to reach labor unions and other organizations of men with speakers and educational propoganda and to carry information to the man in the street, who often had never heard of the Woman Suffrage Association. The executive board met every two weeks and later every week or oftener. Mrs. Page, its chairman, was followed in 1911 by Mrs. Marion Booth Kelley; in 1912 by Mrs. Gertrude B. Newell, and in May, 1913, Mrs. Leonard was elected and served to October, 1917. Upon her resignation Mrs. Grace A. Johnson was chosen, who was succeeded by Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird.

In 1912 a new State organization, called the Political Equality Union, was formed, with Miss Mabel Gillespie as chairman, Mrs. FitzGerald as secretary and Dr. Lily Burbank as treasurer, which made a special effort to reach the labor men and women. As the vote on the constitutional amendment approached, in order that there might be no overlapping, ten per cent. of the State was assigned as a field for the work of the Union and the rest for that of the State association. The two cooperated in legislative work. The Union disbanded in November, 1916, advising its members to join the State association.

CAMPAIGN. Through the campaign year of 1914, preceding the vote on a constitutional amendment, which had been submitted by the Legislature, the association kept five salaried speakers continually in the field, besides numerous volunteers. On the list of the speakers' bureau there were 125 women and 76 men. The State and the Boston headquarters had a large office force, and in the field were nine organizers, giving full or half time. The State College Equal Suffrage League handled the retail literature for the association and took charge of the office hospitality. The Equal Franchise Committee, Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw, president, had an important part in the campaign. The Men's League for Woman Suffrage was reorganized with Oakes Ames as president and Joseph Kelley as secretary. The Harvard Men's League cooperated in many ways. The use of one of the University Halls for a speech by Mrs. Pankhurst was refused to it, much to the chagrin of liberal-minded graduates and undergraduates, but she held a very successful meeting in a nearby hall. The use of a hall was refused also for Mrs. Florence Kelley, although she had spoken at Harvard on other subjects. In order to avoid further trouble the Harvard Corporation voted that thereafter no woman should be allowed to lecture in the college halls except by its special invitation. This rule was abandoned later and Miss Helen Todd of California spoke on suffrage in Emerson Hall before a large audience.

Other suffrage organizations sprang up or were enlarged, the Writers' League, the Players' League, etc. Local branches were built up rapidly under the leadership of Mrs. Pinkham, State organization chairman, and by the spring of 1914 there were 138 leagues and committees. Just before the vote in November, 1915, these had grown to 200. Monthly conferences of the district leaders were held at State headquarters. A systematic effort was made to build up strong suffrage organizations in the cities outside of Boston. Workers and speakers were sent through the State to help the local workers. In 1914 a series of two-day conferences was held in eleven of the sixteen counties, the first day devoted to discussion of work with local leaders and the second to holding often as many as twenty meetings by a corps

of speakers, at factories, stores, men's clubs, labor unions, church organizations, on the street, etc.

To educate the men who were to vote upon the question, a State-wide canvass of voters was begun by Mrs. Crowley, which was carried on up to election day. A body of from five to seven intelligent women, informed on the question, re-enforced by local volunteers, called from house to house, talking to the voter or his wife, leaving suffrage literature and if possible getting the voter's signature to a card pledge to vote yes. These canvassers moved from city to city and from town to town, reaching from one-half to two-thirds of the registered voters, averaging about 1,500 calls per week and leaving the rest of the work to be carried on by local women. By election day over 250,000 voters had been interviewed, 100,000 had signed pledge cards and more than 50,000 others had expressed themselves as favorable.

Much of this work was made possible by the activities of the Ways and Means Committee of the State Association, under the chairmanship of Mrs. B. F. Pitman, who, during the many years that she served in that capacity, repeatedly rescued the association from the verge of debt and filled up its treasury. Her committee accomplished this by a Bay State Bazaar held every year at the Copley Plaza Hotel in Boston; by balls, theatrical performances, outdoor fêtes, pageants and other entertainments.

As an extra provision for the campaign of 1915, the Bay State Finance Committee was formed in 1914 by Mrs. Park, chairman, which with the State association raised and spent about \$54,000 in the campaign. This was exclusive of the money spent by the various leagues and branches throughout the State, including \$10,820 by the Boston Association for Good Government.

For two years educational work was pushed in every way. It was carried into the country districts by systematic trolley and automobile trips, parties of workers carrying out well planned itineraries in different parts of the State, involving usually from two to four open-air meetings per day. Audiences were secured in all the small and scattered places, even the most remote, by postal notices mailed from State headquarters several days in advance to every registered voter.

Among the means employed to draw attention were huge

"Votes for Women" kites, voiceless speeches (a series of placards held up to view in a store window or other public place), distribution of literature in the baseball parks; a suffrage automobile or a section in the parades on Labor Day, Columbus Day, etc.; a pilgrimage to Worcester on the anniversary of the First National Woman's Rights Convention, led by Miss Florence Luscomb in old-fashioned costume, in Lucy Stone's carriage; the running of propaganda films in the moving pictures and the placing of 100,000 brightly painted tin Blue Birds in conspicuous places throughout the State, each bird bearing the words "Votes for Women, Nov. 2, 1919." There were speakers and debates at men's clubs, church organizations, labor unions, in factories, granges, at cattle shows and at conventions of all sorts.

Large indoor meetings were held, addressed by distinguished visitors to the State, among them Philip Snowden and Mrs. Snowden, Senator Helen Ring Robinson of Colorado, U. S. Senators Clapp of Minnesota, Kenyon of Iowa and Thomas of Colorado. Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Sylvia spoke in Boston and Cambridge with great success. Louis D. Brandeis, afterwards Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, came out for woman suffrage. In Boston, under the direction of Miss Mabel Caldwell Willard, innumerable street meetings were held for a year before the vote, with mass meetings every Sunday in the Tremont Theater and on the historic Common.

Press material was supplied to city and country papers. The newspapers as a whole grew more favorable as time went by but their editorial pages were much more friendly than the news columns, which frequently carried stories that were unfair or wholly untrue. The Boston *Sunday Herald* printed regular suffrage notes for some months before the vote and once the daily edition gave the suffragists a full page. The Boston *American* let them issue a special supplement, in charge of Mrs. Jennette A. S. Jeffrey and Mrs. Leonard, and this example was followed by other papers in the State. As always, the *Woman's Journal* did much to hold together, encourage and stimulate the workers. A special committee distributed more than 100,000 copies of suffrage speeches made in Congress and more than 300,000 pieces of other literature within the last few months before the election.

The most impressive publicity put forth by the State association was the two parades in Boston; the first held May 2, 1914, and the second, Oct. 16, 1915, just before the election. The first one caused a sensation. It contained about 12,000 women, with a small section of men, and was conducted under the chairmanship of Mrs. Leonard, with Mrs. Page, Mrs. Johnson and nine sub-committee chairmen. It was extremely well organized and the large mass of totally untrained marchers was handled so efficiently as to surprise all who saw it. Delegations from all over New England took part and one from Australia; women in national costumes; nurses in uniform; delegations from all the women's colleges in the State and men and women from the universities; also a singing chorus trained by Dr. Archibald Davidson, Jr., of Appleton Chapel, Harvard. In the procession were a son, three grandsons, a granddaughter and two granddaughters-in-law of William Lloyd Garrison; the daughter of Abby Kelley Foster, the daughter-in-law of Angelina Grimké and Theodore Weld and the daughter of Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell. The Concord banner was carried by the grandniece of Louisa M. Alcott. Arrangements had been made for a delegation from the Boston Central Labor Union but when the time came the sole marcher to appear was the president, who courageously marched alone carrying the banner of the union.

The second, called the Victory Parade, was even more successful. It included about 15,000 marchers with a substantial men's section and was viewed by 500,000 people. It was reviewed by Governor David I. Walsh in front of the State House and Mayor James Michael Curley in front of the City Hall and was followed by a tremendous mass meeting in Mechanics' Building, addressed by the Mayor and others. Parades were held also in other large cities.

The State Federation of Women's Clubs at its annual meeting in 1915 endorsed woman suffrage, on motion of Mrs. Herbert J. Gurney, by a vote of 203 to 99. The extreme to which bitter feeling ran was shown by a widely advertised attempt to organize a Non-partisan League among the club women in consequence but only a few hundred joined out of a federation membership of 65,000. It had been endorsed by the General Federation and

by 28 State federations but in no other had the defeated minority undertaken to organize another society.

Thirty county fairs out of thirty-seven were covered systematically. Special help in the campaign work was given by Ohio, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut. The question of woman suffrage was presented before 621 organizations of men through the efforts of a committee formed for that purpose, under Mrs. Evelyn Peeverly Coe's chairmanship. Women attended nearly all the primaries and town meetings, distributing literature and urging the men to vote yes.

As the election approached the work along all lines grew more intensive. Well-organized victory automobile tours ran steadily throughout the summer and fall, in the eastern part of the State under the direction of Mrs. Walter G. Morey and in the western under Miss Luscomb. Meetings were held at the fashionable hotels on the north and south shores and outdoor meetings at the popular beach resorts. Comparatively few were held indoors but 1,675 were supplied with speakers. Big meetings were addressed in Boston and other large cities by U. S. Senator William E. Borah and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. An elaborate luncheon was given by the Men's League and the State association at the Hotel Bellevue to the Governors' conference held in Boston. Valuable help at this time was rendered by Governor Walsh and the favorable opinions of the Governors of equal suffrage States were published at length in the Boston papers by the Men's League. At the last moment mass meetings were held in Boston at Symphony Hall and in the largest halls of many other cities. A symbolical and picturesque flag-raising took place on Boston Common. A last-minute circular was sent to each of the State's 600,000 registered voters. The day before the vote the railroad stations in Boston were visited morning and evening and thousands of pieces of literature were given to the commuters.

On election day, Nov. 2, 1915, practically all the polling places in the State were covered by 8,000 women, who stood for hours holding aloft placards reading, "Show your Faith in the Women of Massachusetts; vote 'Yes' on Woman Suffrage." And yet after all this strenuous effort and self-sacrificing devotion the amendment was defeated by a vote of 295,489 to 163,406, a

majority of 132,000. The vote in Boston was: Noes, 53,654; ayes, 31,428; opposing majority, 22,226.

Louis D. Brandeis said in an address on Columbus Day: "I doubt if there has been carried on ever in Massachusetts—certainly not in my lifetime—a campaign which for intelligence, devotion and intensity surpassed the campaign of the women for suffrage. It should silence any doubt as to their fitness for enfranchisement." The suffragists, however, had to contend with serious and insuperable difficulties. The population of the State had changed radically since the early days when Massachusetts had been the starting point of liberal movements. For more than half a century its most progressive citizens had been going west and their places had been filled by wave after wave of immigration from Europe, largely ignorant and imbued with the Old World ideas as to the subjection of women. The religious question also entered in, and, while the Catholic Church took no stand as to woman suffrage, many Catholics believed that it would be a step toward Socialism, against which the church was making a vigorous contest. On the other hand, many Protestants believed that the Catholic women's votes would be unduly influenced by the priests.

Massachusetts was the home of the oldest and most influential anti-suffrage organization of women in the United States under the leadership of Mrs. Charles Eliot Guild, Miss Mary Ames, Mrs. James Codman, Mrs. Charles P. Strong and others. Few of its members did any active work but they were connected through the men of their families with the richest, most powerful and best organized groups of men in the State, who worked openly or behind the scenes against woman suffrage. They had an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Most of the literature, most of the money and a liberal supply of speakers for anti-suffrage campaigns all over the country had emanated from this association. While always posing as a woman's protest, the real strength of the movement was in the men.

In May, 1912, a Man's Anti-Suffrage Association had been organized, its Executive Committee consisting of ten lawyers, one cotton broker, one Technology Professor, the treasurer of Harvard College and the treasurer of the Copley Society. Other

societies were organized later. All through the summer and fall of 1915 the women's and the men's organizations and various groups and combinations of men, who for one reason or another did not want equal suffrage, worked publicly and privately in every conceivable way against the amendment. They held meetings, mostly indoor, sent out speakers, advertised in street cars, prepared and mailed to every voter at great expense an elaborate pamphlet, *The Case Against Woman Suffrage*, full of misrepresentations, and did all an active opposition could do, and they had an efficient and highly paid Publicity Committee. The liquor interests fought the amendment from start to finish. Pink slips were passed out in saloons on election day, saying, "Good for two drinks if woman suffrage is defeated."

The vote was curiously uniform. Every part of the State gave an adverse majority; so did every city and town except Tewksbury and Carver; and generally in about the same proportion—places with strong suffrage organizations and places with none; whether the work done in them had been much or little; even towns where a majority of the voters had signed pledge cards promising to vote for the amendment voted adversely and in about the same ratio. The vote was the largest ever cast on any amendment in the State. By appealing adroitly to all kinds of prejudices, as on the religious question, the opposition got out an enormous number of men who generally did not vote at all.

Both sides were required by law to file at the State House a record of their campaign expenses. An analysis of the lists showed that the bulk of the anti-suffrage campaign fund was made up of personal contributions, four-fifths of them from men, and more than three-fifths of the total from 135 men, whose average donation was \$235. The slogan of their campaign had been that women did not want to vote. The official figures showed that those who claimed to speak for "80 per cent. of the women" received 80 per cent. of their contributions from men, and not from the rank and file of men but chiefly from bankers, brokers and powerful directors of the monied section of Boston. The bulk of the suffrage campaign fund came from fairs, sales and entertainments and of the personal contributions more than four-fifths were from women, their average donation being \$17.



After the election in 1915 there was started a State branch of the Congressional Union, later called the National Woman's Party, formed some years before to push the Federal Amendment. It was under the leadership of Mrs. Morey, chairman, and other women most of whom had been active with the State association during the campaign. The defeat of the State amendment caused the work of all organizations to be directed toward the submission of the Federal Amendment.

At the annual meeting of the State association in May, 1916, a budget of \$30,000 was adopted and \$20,000 toward it was pledged on the spot. Through the preceding winter the association had five paid organizers, two of them working in Boston, and a large number of volunteer field workers, at least 230 in Boston alone. Besides the chairmen for the sixteen congressional districts, each of the forty senatorial districts had its chairman, all working under the State Chairman of Organization, Mrs. Sara S. Gilson. She was followed by Mrs. Mary P. Sleeper and by Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, who formed an Advisory Council of 100 influential men in preparation for the campaign to ratify the Federal Amendment.

After the United States entered the World War in 1917 the suffrage organizations, State and local, devoted their efforts largely to various forms of war work, called for by the Government. They served on all committees, took part in all "drives," sold Liberty Bonds and continued their service till the last demand had been met.

**LEGISLATIVE ACTION.** The Massachusetts Legislature began in 1869 to grant hearings to women asking for the franchise and it continued to do so every year thereafter. These hearings usually crowded the largest committee room at the State House, the throng often extending far out into the hall. Able arguments were presented by eminent men and women but it was impossible to obtain favorable action. There was at least one hearing every year and often several on different measures. In later years they were generally conducted by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Miss Amy F. Acton, a young woman lawyer, or Miss Alice Stone Blackwell for the petitioners; and by Thomas Russell, Aaron H. Latham, Charles R. Saunders or Robert Luce, as

attorney for the Anti-Suffrage Association. Miss Blackwell usually replied for the petitioners. In recent years the suffragists had influential politicians of both parties to speak at the hearings, thus making woman suffrage a political question.

1901. The State association asked for the Municipal and Presidential franchise and for the submission to the voters of a constitutional amendment giving full suffrage. At the hearing on the latter, held February 18, the crowd broke all records and members of the committee who came late had to reach their seats by walking on top of the long table. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was among the speakers.<sup>1</sup> The measure was defeated March 11 by a vote, including pairs, of 156 to 53. Individuals petitioned for Municipal suffrage for women taxpayers, which was referred to the next Legislature without a roll call.

1902. The association's petition for a constitutional amendment was debated in the House on March 5 and defeated by a vote (including pairs) of 153 to 61. Petitions from individuals for Municipal suffrage for taxpaying women and that women qualified to vote for school committee might vote in the primaries on the nominations for it and a petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union that women might vote on licenses, were all rejected, after lively hearings. The Anti-Suffrage Association opposed all of them.

The great legislative triumph of 1902 was the passage of the Equal Guardianship bill. Ever since Lucy Stone in 1847 began to urge the amendment of the old law, which gave the father

<sup>1</sup> Many of the same persons appeared at these hearings year after year. Among those not mentioned who spoke for suffrage between 1900 and 1910 were Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Henry B. Blackwell, the Rev. Charles G. Ames, Mrs. Fanny B. Ames, Miss Sarah Cone Bryant, the Rev. Charles F. Dole, Mrs. Anna Christy Fall, Mrs. Helen Campbell, Miss Mary Ware Allen, Miss Eva Channing, Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz, Miss Lillian Freeman Clarke, Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott, Frank B. Sanborn, Mrs. Eliza R. Whiting, Mrs. Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, Mrs. A. Watson Lister, of Australia; ex-Governor John D. Long. Letters in favor were read from Professor Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University; U. S. Senator George F. Hoar, ex-Governor George S. Boutwell, Dr. J. L. Withrow of Park Street Church, Congressman Samuel W. McCall, Professor W. O. Crosby of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. May Alden Ward, president of the State Federation, Mrs. F. N. Shiek, president of the Wyoming Federation, and Judge Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court.

Among those who spoke in opposition were Professor William T. Sedgwick of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Mrs. Sedgwick, Mrs. A. J. George, Mrs. Barrett Wendell, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Foxcroft and Dr. Lyman Abbott of New York. A number of women spoke every year who opposed the suffrage because it would take women into public life.

absolute control, the suffragists had endeavored to have it changed. Bill after bill, drawn by Samuel E. Sewall and others, had been introduced and rejected and it required a tragedy to obtain a new law. Mrs. Naramore of Coldbrook, Mass., went insane and killed her six young children when she learned that their father intended to give them away and could legally do so. This deeply stirred the Rev. Charles H. Talmage, who had conducted the funeral service, with the six little coffins ranged before the pulpit. He made a careful inquiry into all the circumstances and gave a full account of them in the *Boston Herald* of April 15, 1901 (republished in the *Woman's Journal* of April 27). He gave his time and the State Suffrage Association paid his expenses while he went through the State enlisting the support of different organizations of women to secure a change in the law. Mr. Blackwell also put in much time for this purpose.

When the Equal Guardianship bill was introduced by Representative George H. Fall of Malden it was backed not only by the suffrage association but by the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the State W. C. T. U., the Women's Relief Corps, the Boston Children's Friend Society and more than a hundred other organizations, aggregating 34,000 women. Among them the Anti-Suffrage Association was not included. For six years it had been circulating, under its official imprint, a leaflet against the proposal to give mothers equal custody and control of the children and in defense of the law as it stood.

The Committee on Probate and Chancery reported adversely by 8 to 3. The outlook for its passage seemed so dark that Mr. Fall came to the *Woman's Journal* office and asked if it might not be better to drop it and await a more propitious time. Miss Blackwell urged him to push it to a test. On May 27 it was debated in the House. Representative Marshall of Gloucester said that the Probate Judges were all opposed to it; that its advocates were "sentimentalists" and that "it would create strife, separation and divorce." He added: "Those who appeared for it before the committee were practically the same crowd that appeared for woman suffrage." Representative Sleeper exclaimed: "If you want to enact legislation which will disrupt the home and sunder the tenderest and most sacred relations,

pass this bill!" The House rejected the committee's adverse report by a viva voce vote and the next day passed the bill without further debate. It passed the Senate by a large majority. Thanks and praises were showered upon Representative Fall, who modestly said that two-thirds of the credit for working up the case belonged to his wife, Mrs. Anna Christy Fall.

1903. The bill for taxpayers' Municipal suffrage was defeated February 5 without a roll call; the association's petition for a constitutional amendment by 99 to 87.

1904. Governor John L. Bates recommended woman suffrage in his Message. The association asked for Municipal suffrage for women having the same qualifications required of men. The bill was debated in the House on February 16 and defeated without a roll call. The bill to let women vote on nominations for school trustees was defeated by 62 to 30.

1905. The association's petition for a constitutional amendment was rejected without a division and without even discussion. Petitions were rejected for License suffrage, for a vote on school nominations and to enable women to vote for the appointing officer if the Boston school board should be made appointive instead of elective. The association always joined with other societies in asking for measures for the public welfare.

1906. The association's petition for a constitutional amendment was debated March 23 and defeated without a roll call. One headed by John Golden, president of the Textile Workers, for Municipal suffrage for wage-earning women was also defeated without a division, as were the petitions for License suffrage and for a vote on school nominations.

1907. The constitutional amendment was debated February 20 and defeated by 125 to 14. The Good Templars asked for License suffrage for women. At the hearing the bill was supported by representatives of the Anti-Saloon League, the W. C. T. U., the Christian Endeavorers, etc., and opposed by the Anti-Suffrage Association and the attorney of the Wine and Spirits Wholesale Dealers' Association. A bill requiring that the same measures be taken to keep the names of women voters (school) on the register as the names of men failed to pass.

1908. Municipal suffrage for all women, asked for by the

association, was vigorously debated and voted down by 99 to 30. Municipal suffrage for women taxpayers, asked for by individuals, was defeated without a roll call.

1909. At the hearing on February 23 the *Boston Herald*, which was not in favor of equal suffrage, estimated that 2,000 women besieged the State House. They crowded the corridors and the large portico until two great overflow meetings were held in the open air at either end of the broad stairway leading up to the entrance. Later the overflow meeting moved on to the Common. The huge crowd of women made a deep impression and was largely featured in the press, which said that nothing like it had ever been seen in Boston.<sup>1</sup> The hearing was conducted for the petitioners by Mrs. Crowley and for the "antis" by Mr. Saunders. He was so impressed by the crowd that his usual sneering and jeering manner was wholly changed. The suffrage speakers were Dr. Shaw, John F. Tobin, president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; Rabbi Charles Fleischer, Miss Josephine Casey, secretary of the Women's Trade Union League; Henry Abrahams of the Central Labor Union; Miss Rose Brennan of Fall River, Miss Blackwell, Miss Eleanor Rendell of England, Winfield Tuck and Mrs. Belle Davis. Mrs. Gorham Dana, Professor Sedgwick and Mrs. George spoke for the "antis." Mrs. Julia Ward Howe and Ex-Governor Bates, who were to have spoken for suffrage, could not get into the room.<sup>2</sup> The constitutional amendment was debated March 23. The galleries were reserved for women, yet many were turned away. The vote stood 171 noes to 54 ayes, including 11 pairs.

1910. The hearing February 23 on a constitutional amendment was unusually impressive. It was held in the evening to enable women busy by day to attend. In the past two or three members of the Legislature not on the committee had sometimes

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion to get out a record-breaking crowd was made by Representative Norman H. White of Brookline, the first man for some years to lead a serious fight in the Legislature for woman suffrage. The work of getting it out was engineered by Mrs. Crowley, Mrs. Page and Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, who also arranged the great procession at the hearing of the following year.

<sup>2</sup> Among the speakers at the overflow meetings on the steps were the Misses Rendell and Costello, Miss Foley, Mrs. George F. Lowell, Mr. Blackwell, Mrs. Fitzgerald, John Golden and Franklin H. Wentworth. At the overflow meeting on the Common Mrs. Fitzgerald presided and Dr. Shaw was the chief speaker. A great meeting in Faneuil Hall had been addressed by Dr. Shaw and others the night before.

dropped in. This year about sixty were present. Mrs. Crowley and Mrs. Luce conducted the hearing for the two sides. The petitioners had arranged delegations representing different groups of women—mothers, home-makers, leisure women, lawyers, mission and church workers, artists, authors and journalists, doctors and nurses, Socialists, W. C. T. U., the “unrepresented” (widows and single women), business women, trade unions, teachers, social workers, taxpayers, saleswomen, clerks and stenographers and college women. These 1,500 or more marched to the State House from Ford Hall, each group under its own banner, and presented themselves before the committee in turn, the spokeswoman of each group telling briefly why she, and women like her, wanted the ballot. Then they went over to Ford Hall, where a big rally was held and the main address was made by Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard. An overflow meeting was held on the State House steps addressed by Edwin D. Mead and others. In order to line up the labor vote in the Legislature, resolutions by different labor unions, signed by their secretaries, were sent to each legislator, under the direction of Mrs. Page. The measure was defeated March 31 by 148 to 47.

1911. For the first time in many years, the Legislative Committee of the State association, Mrs. Crowley, chairman, appeared, before the Resolutions Committee of the political parties to urge the adoption of a suffrage plank. The Democratic party inserted one favoring the submission of the question to the voters; the Republican party ignored it. The legislators were interviewed both at the State House and by representative suffragists within their districts, and they received suffrage literature. The hearing on February 23 was unusually successful from a political and publicity standpoint. It was conducted by Mrs. Crowley and was addressed by Mrs. Park and Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick; John Sherman Weaver, representing the State branch of the American Federation of Labor, and Henry Abrahams for the Boston Central Labor Union. Sylvia Pankhurst addressed the committee in a simple and effective way. Two of the opposition speakers were Mrs. George and Professor Sedgwick. The debate was spirited and was conducted for the suffragists by prominent Senators and Representatives. Four members spoke in opposi-

tion. The vote in the House was ayes, 69, noes, 161; in the Senate, ayes, 6, noes, 31. During all these years a quiet but effective opposition had been working at the State House under the direction of Charles R. Saunders, legislative counsel for the Anti-Suffrage Association.

One of the most significant features in the fall of 1911 was the political work of Miss Margaret Foley, as it marked the beginning of a new type of effort. She had made a special trip to England the year before with Miss Florence Luscomb and Miss Alice Carpenter to observe the methods of the English suffragettes, who were then receiving great publicity. After her return she began by attending with other women the political rallies of the various candidates for the State Legislature and at the close of each rally asking the candidate how he stood on the question of Votes for Women. By her knowledge of crowd psychology and gift as a speaker, she was able not only to handle but to win the roughest crowd to the consternation of the candidates. When the candidates for Governor started on their campaign, Miss Foley, with a group of workers, followed the Republican candidate in a fast automobile, attended all his meetings, spoke to the crowd on suffrage after the Republican speeches were over and questioned the candidates for Governor and other State officers as to their stand on suffrage. This unique and somewhat sensational method was taken up with avidity by the newspapers, which gave it front-page articles with illustrations. Later she turned her attention to the Democratic candidates. This was kept up until election and suffrage facts and arguments were presented to thousands of voters who would never otherwise have heard them.

In 1912 the Legislative Committee, Miss Mary Gay, chairman, conducted the hearing on February 26. Afterwards a special letter of thanks was sent to Professor Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard and the Hon. Joseph Walker for their help at the hearing. The amendment had able support from members and the campaign work began to show results. The vote in the House was ayes, 96, noes, 116; in the Senate, ayes, 14, noes, 17.

In the autumn the method was introduced which many believed was ultimately responsible for putting the amendment through the Legislature. It was the defeating of individual

legislators who had been prominent opponents by making an active political campaign in their districts. The first was begun at the primaries against State Senator Roger Wolcott of Milton, chairman of the Constitutional Amendments Committee in the preceding Legislature. The women compiled a record of his negative votes on many liberal measures, including suffrage, and spread this record before his constituents. This work was done at the suggestion and under the direction of Mrs. Fitzgerald, who conducted open-air meetings in the district. The effort to defeat his renomination in the primary failed, however, largely through their inexperience. The Legislative Committee at the time consisted of Mrs. Crowley, chairman, Mrs. Leonard, Mrs. Park, Mrs. Page, Miss Foley and Mrs. Mary Agnes Mahan and remained substantially the same during the next two or three years, with the addition of Mrs. Marie Burress Currier, Miss Cora Start and Mrs. Evelyn Peverley Coe. Then they made a fight against Mr. Wolcott's election and by a most thorough campaign defeated him at the polls and a Democrat was returned from that district for the first time in many years.

This year marked the high tide of the Progressive party in Massachusetts. It had put a straight suffrage plank in its platform and its members in the Legislature were very helpful. The defeat of Wolcott, the publicity, the increasing vote in the Legislature and the general stirring of the suffrage question, had caused the opponents to fear that the constitutional amendment would be submitted. Consequently a bill was filed calling for another referendum like the one in 1895 which would have no effect after it was taken. The Executive Board of the State association protested against it but the situation looked extremely dark. Levi H. Greenwood, President of the Senate, and Grafton D. Cushing, Speaker of the House, were bitter opponents of woman suffrage and on the Committee on Constitutional Amendments there was only one avowed friend, Lewis H. Sullivan of Dorchester. The association's Legislative Committee worked strenuously to pledge votes against the bill. A visit to every editor in the city by Mrs. Page and Mrs. Crowley enlisted them against it and the numerous editorials that followed were sent day by day to the legislators: The bill's support dwindled, and on April 18



it was defeated in the House by 117 to 73, although the Speaker left the chair for the only time that session to argue in favor of it.

At the hearing on the submission of the constitutional amendment, Louis D. Brandeis, ex-Congressman Samuel L. Powers, Joseph Walker and Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard spoke in favor and letters were read from Samuel W. McCall, afterwards Republican Governor; Charles Sumner Bird, the Progressive leader, and Thomas W. Riley, an influential Democrat. For the first time since 1895 woman suffrage commanded a majority in the House, the vote standing ayes, 144, noes, 88, but this was not the necessary two-thirds and the Legislative Committee consented that it might be voted down in the Senate, provided the "straw" vote bill was defeated at the same time.

It now seemed practically certain that the amendment would pass the next Legislature. In the fall of 1913 the Boston Equal Suffrage Association defeated Walter R. Meins of the 21st Suffolk District; the Legislative Committee of the State Association defeated Representatives Butler of Lowell and Underhill of Somerville at the primaries, and Bliss of Malden and Greenwood, president of the Senate, at the election. This being the first time for many years that a Democrat had been returned from Greenwood's district, his defeat caused a sensation.

In 1914 the Progressive party, the State Federation of Labor, the Socialists and the State Suffrage Association all introduced suffrage measures. The Progressive and Democratic parties had planks in their platforms recommending the submission of the constitutional amendment to the voters and Governor Walsh was in favor of it. The suffragists were unable to get a plank in the Republican platform. For reasons of political expediency, Mrs. Crowley turned over the conduct of the hearing to John Weaver Sherman, representing the State Federation of Labor. There were speeches in favor by Guy A. Ham, chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the State Republican convention; Henry Sterling, representing the American Federation of Labor; Mrs. William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., Mrs. Pinkham and Mrs. Katherine Lent Stevenson, president of the W. C. T. U. Letters were read from ex-Governor Bates and Sherman K. Whipple, Republican and Democratic leaders. The Women's Political

Equality Union had speakers from the Textile Workers' Union of Boston and the unions of the telephone operators, candy-makers and street-car men. The debate in the House was successfully led by Sanford Bates, chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Amendments. The resolution to submit the amendment passed by 168 to 39 in the House and 34 to 2 in the Senate, commanding the required two-thirds for the first time, but it had to pass a succeeding Legislature.

In 1915 the legislative work was less onerous and the amendment passed the House by 193 to 33, the Senate by 33 to 3 and was signed by Governor Walsh, who presented the pen to Mrs. Crowley. His signature was not necessary but he wished to show his approval.

Under the Corrupt Practices Act a political committee, so-called, of at least five men, had to be formed to handle the funds of any group that spent more than \$20 to carry or defeat a constitutional amendment. A bill was passed which allowed women to form the committee in the case of the equal suffrage amendment and the following were named: Miss Blackwell, chairman; Mrs. Blanche Ames, treasurer; Mrs. Crowley, Mrs. Leonard and Miss Foley. The strenuous campaign and the defeat of the amendment after a struggle of more than half a century to have it submitted, have been described.

In 1916 no suffrage bill of any kind was presented to the Legislature by the State Association but it turned its attention to congressional work. This was skilfully conducted by Mrs. Grace A. Johnson, chairman; members of Congress were interviewed, letters and telegrams sent to the Congressional Judiciary Committee and delegates to the National party conventions were urged to support suffrage planks. When these planks were secured in the national platforms of all parties during the summer the victory was celebrated with a mass meeting in Faneuil Hall.

In 1917 Massachusetts held a Constitutional Convention. The Act calling it, in describing those to whom its recommendations should be submitted for ratification, used the word "people." A bill drawn by Mrs. Crowley was filed in the Legislature by the State Suffrage Association asking that women be considered people within the meaning of this Act. The Senate asked the

opinion of the State Supreme Court as to its constitutionality and she filed a brief. The Supreme Court decided adversely and in view of the rapid advance of the Federal Suffrage Amendment the association decided that no State amendment should be submitted by the convention.

The directions of the National Suffrage Association for congressional work were carried out. Federal Amendment meetings were held, thousands of letters sent to members of Congress from their districts and about 500 telegrams sent just before the vote was taken in 1918. The amendment lacked but one vote of passing the U. S. Senate and it became necessary to defeat at least one among the anti-suffrage Senators who were coming up for re-election, so it was decided to defeat Senator John W. Weeks in Massachusetts. His reactionary record was spread before the Republican voters by 370,000 circulars and advertisements in Republican papers. A special campaign among the working men was made by members of the Women's Trade Union League, under the leadership of Miss Mabel Gillespie, and among the Jewish voters, who were normally Republican, under the leadership of Mrs. Joseph Fels and Mrs. Lillian E. deHaas of New York. The great popularity of President Wilson at this time was of assistance and also that of the Democratic candidate for the Senate, ex-Governor Walsh. A special letter was sent to every listed member of the State association asking that at least one vote be secured against Mr. Weeks, with a spirited appeal by Mrs. Ames, who belonged to a prominent Republican family. Mr. Walsh was elected by about 20,000 majority, the first Democratic U. S. Senator from Massachusetts since the Civil War.

The Congressional Committee, Mrs. Ames, chairman, sent more than 5,000 letters and telegrams asking suffragists in the State to write and telegraph the Massachusetts Senators and members of Congress to vote for the Federal Amendment. Concentrated work was done upon three doubtful Representatives, one of whom was secured, Carter of Needham. This proved most fortunate as the House gave exactly the two-thirds vote.

The work done in 1918 on the great petition for the Federal Amendment was very successful despite the influenza epidemic. In Worcester, Springfield, Pittsfield and North Adams women

signed numbering more than 51 per cent. of the men's last vote for President and in Boston 62,000 names were secured or 60 per cent. of that vote. The anti-suffragists in twenty-four years had accumulated only a little over 40,000 signatures in the whole State, according to their own figures. In less than one year the suffragists obtained 70,792 in the above cities and over 100,000 in the State.

RATIFICATION. When the Federal Amendment was submitted by Congress on June 4, 1919, the Legislative Committee of the State Association, Mrs. Anna C. M. Tillinghast, chairman, was expanded into a Ratification Committee. It had already polled the Legislature, which was in session. A hearing was held before the Federal Relations Committee conducted by Mrs. Tillinghast for the suffragists and by Mrs. Henry Preston White for the "antis," who asked for a referendum to the voters in place of ratification. The suffrage speakers were Frank B. Hall, chairman of the Republican State Committee; Joseph Walker, Progressive Republican; Josiah Quincy, Democrat, Joseph Walsh, Democrat, of the Senate; Mrs. Bird, Mrs. FitzGerald, Mrs. Pinkham, who presented a petition of 135,000 names from representative sections of the Commonwealth; Mrs. Mary Thompson, representing the working women; Miss Margaret Foley, a prominent Catholic; a representative of the State W. C. T. U.; Charles J. Hodgson, legislative agent for the American Federation of Labor. The speakers for the Woman's Party were Mrs. Morey, Miss Betty Gram, Michael O'Leary, chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and Mrs. Louise Sykes. On the anti-suffrage side sixteen women representing the sixteen congressional districts told of their vote against suffrage in 1915. Miss Blackwell spoke in rebuttal for the suffragists, Miss Charlotte Rowe of Yonkers, N. Y., for the "antis." B. Loring Young, Republican floor leader in the House, acted as chairman of the suffrage Steering Committee in the House and Joseph Knox in the Senate. The committee reported in favor of ratification with two dissenting.

The debate in the House on June 25 was notable, about fifteen members speaking on each side. An amendment calling for a referendum was defeated by 166 to 67 and ratification carried by

185 ayes to 47 noes. The Senate ratified by 34 ayes, 5 noes. Massachusetts was the eighth State to ratify. Mrs. Tillinghast expressed especial gratitude for the assistance given by Governor Calvin Coolidge, Lieutenant Governor Channing M. Cox, Edwin T. McKnight, President of the Senate, Joseph E. Warner, Speaker of the House, B. Loring Young, Republican, and William H. McDonnell, Democratic floor leader, Leland Powers of the House, Joseph Knox of the Senate and the chairmen of the Republican and Democratic State committees.

After women had been enfranchised the State and the Boston suffrage associations conducted citizenship schools in every county to instruct them in their new duties.

LAWS. [The very complete digest of the legislation of the past twenty years in relation to women and children, especially to those in the industries, prepared by Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley, attorney at law, and filling nine typewritten pages, has to be omitted for lack of space.]

## CHAPTER XXI.

### MICHIGAN.<sup>1</sup>

The Michigan Equal Suffrage Association is almost as old as any in the United State, having been organized in January, 1870, eight months after the National Association was formed, and its work has been long and arduous. It has had triumphs and disappointments; gained partial suffrage at two periods and ended in a complete victory in 1918.

In 1900-1901 the principal efforts of the association, which consisted of 14 auxiliaries, were along educational lines. At the annual convention in 1902 a petition was sent to President Theodore Roosevelt to recommend a woman suffrage amendment to the National Constitution in his message to Congress, which was heartily endorsed by the National Grange then in session in Lansing. Little active work was being done with the Legislature but it is the pride of the suffragists that no Legislature ever convened which they did not memorialize and only two years passed without a State convention—1912, and two were held in 1913; and 1917, when a congressional conference was held instead.<sup>2</sup> The presidents during these years were Mrs. Emily Burton Ketcham, Grand Rapids, 1901 (at intervals from 1892); Mrs. Martha E. Snyder Root, Bay City, 1902-3; Mrs. Guilielma H. Barnum, Charlotte, 1904-6; Mrs. Clara B. Arthur, Detroit, 1906-1914; Mrs. Orton H. Clark, Kalamazoo, 1914-1918; Mrs. Belle Brotherton, Detroit, acting president, 1918; Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, Detroit, 1918-1919.

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Clara B. Arthur, vice-president of the State Equal Suffrage Association 1895-1906; president, 1906-1914, and Mrs. Belle Brotherton, acting president, 1918; chairman of the League of Women Voters, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> Following are the times and places of holding State conventions: Oct. 23-25, 1901, Saginaw; Oct. 29-31, 1902, Charlotte; Nov. 10-12, 1903, Paw Paw; Oct. 25-27, 1904, Jackson; Nov. 1-3, 1905, Port Huron; Oct. 9, 10, 1906, Kalamazoo; Sept. 18-20, 1907, Charlotte; Nov. 5, 6, 1908, Bay City; Dec. 7, 8, 1909, Grand Rapids; Nov. 6-8, 1910, Kalamazoo; Nov. 16, 17, 1911, Kalamazoo; no convention in 1912; Jan. 15, 16, 1913, Lansing; Nov. 5-7, 1913, Jackson; Nov. 4-6, 1914, Traverse City; Nov. 10, 11, 1915, Saginaw; Nov. 15-17, 1916, Grand Rapids; no convention in 1917; March 26, 27, 1918, Detroit; April 3, 4, 1919, Grand Rapids.

From 1902 to 1906 the work was largely confined to the preparing of public opinion for the probable revision of the State constitution. Legislatures refused to submit a woman suffrage amendment to the voters on the plea that a new constitution would soon be in force. It was decided to make an intensive educational campaign, especially among the club women. To this end suffragists served on club committees working for legislative or civic ends, and the rebuffs of the measures urged by them finally resulted in the endorsement of woman suffrage by the State Federation of Women's Clubs with 8,000 members, at Battle Creek in October, 1908.

In 1906 speakers were sent over the State for lectures and debates. Prizes for suffrage essays were offered in high schools with material supplied. At county and State fairs, church bazars, picnics and meetings of various societies, literature was freely distributed. The *Woman's Journal* was placed in all public libraries and small suffrage tracts kept in interurban waiting rooms and in rest rooms of churches, societies and dry-goods stores. Birthdays of pioneer suffragists were celebrated by special meetings, local clubs always responding to a call with so concrete an object. A committee of members in all parts of the State attended constantly to press work, sending in items of interest concerning the progress of women, educationally and politically, and answering attacks on woman suffrage.

This year the Supreme Court decided that Mrs. Merrie Hoover Abbott, who had been elected prosecuting attorney of Ogemaw county, could not serve because no woman was entitled to hold office. The association used this decision as a practical lesson on the position of women under the present constitution. Finally the Legislature of 1907 arranged for a constitutional convention. The annual convention of the association promptly met the situation by appointing a Constitutional Revision Committee headed by Mrs. May Stocking Knaggs of Bay City, a former president, and each auxiliary was invited to appoint one woman to serve on an advisory committee. The purpose of this committee was to urge upon the convention the omission of the word "male" from the suffrage clause as a qualification for voting.

The Committee on Elective Franchise of the constitutional

convention reported unanimously in favor and on Jan 8. 1908, granted the suffragists a hearing in Representatives Hall. Ten societies cooperating with the State suffrage association were represented—the Grange, two organizations of the Maccabees, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, State Federation of Labor, Detroit Garment Workers, State Woman's Press Association and several women's and farmers' clubs. A petition representing 225,000 names, 175,000 of individual women of voting age, was presented. The State president, Mrs. Clara B. Arthur, introduced the speakers, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, a lawyer of Chicago, who made earnest addresses. The Governor came in to hear them. The women "antis" circulated a leaflet opposing the change. On January 29 the debate took place in the convention on the proposed revision, and, although not a voice had been raised in protest, the vote stood 38 ayes, 57 noes. Some members who voted "no" did so because they believed that the whole constitution would be defeated at the polls if it proposed to enfranchise women. The hard work of the association was not, however, barren of results, for a clause was inserted in the new constitution giving taxpaying women the right to vote on any public question relating to the public expenditure of money or the issuing of bonds. [In 1915 the Legislature extended it to the granting of public franchises.]

In the spring Mrs. Arthur with Mrs. Maud Wood Park, organizer for the National College Suffrage League, formed branches in the colleges at Albion, Hillsdale, Olivet and Ann Arbor and among the collegiate alumnae in Detroit, of which Dr. Mary Thompson Stevens was made president. In June the fifty-six State delegates to the National Democratic convention were petitioned for a woman suffrage plank in the platform.

The next task was to try to comply with the request of the National Suffrage Association to secure 100,000 names to a nation-wide petition to be presented to Congress for a Federal Suffrage Amendment. Mrs. Fern Richardson Rowe, Grand Rapids, was chairman of the work, which took up the greater part of the year 1909 and went over into 1910. This last year



the State association obtained the consent of the Hon. Levi L. Barbour, former U. S. Senator Thomas W. Palmer and the Rev. Lee S. McCollester, pastor of the Church of Our Father (Universalist), all residents of Detroit, to act as an invitational committee in organizing a Men's State League for Woman Suffrage. The charter membership consisted of 100 influential men well known throughout the State. In March a committee of the association went to the Republican State convention to have a woman suffrage resolution adopted but were unsuccessful.

In March, 1912, the association was thrown unexpectedly into a turmoil when Governor Chase S. Osborn called a special session of the Legislature to consider, among other things, the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution to the voters at the general election on November 5, urged by the Detroit branch of the College Suffrage League. The time was not propitious but the Legislative Committee of the association, under the direction of Mrs. Jennie C. Law Hardy, went immediately to work, receiving able assistance from the Governor, the Rev. Eugene R. Shippen (Unitarian) of the Men's League and Dr. Mary Thompson Stevens of the College League. The State Grange immediately appropriated \$1,000 for their Woman's Committee, directed by Miss Ida L. Chittenden. These united efforts were vigorously opposed by representatives of the liquor dealers but the measure passed the Senate and House. This big contest Michigan entered almost single-handed. Campaigns in other States which had been months in progress and gave greater promise of success were engaging nearly all of the organizers and speakers from outside the State. There was less than \$250 in the treasury. This amount was augmented by \$1,340 from the National Association; \$211 from various States and the State Association raised \$6,322. It was not until early June that plans were completely under way. The five months remaining were devoted to an intensive educational campaign, made possible only by the organizing work since 1906.

State headquarters were opened in Detroit and subsidiary headquarters in Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo. County suffrage societies cooperated heartily and much help came from the press. The Men's League, the College League, the powerful State

Grange, the Farmers' Clubs and many labor organizations helped and all that was possible was done in this short and unexpected campaign. When the returns began to come in they were overwhelmingly in favor of the amendment. The newspapers fixed its majority at figures varying from 3,000 to 12,000. Immediately following these reports came rumors of large errors in the count. Ballot boxes were mysteriously lost and every artifice known to the politicians was employed to delay the official returns.

Governor Osborn was quoted in the press as follows: "If the liquor interests defeat the suffrage amendment by fraud, proved or suspected, the people of Michigan will retaliate, in my opinion, by adopting state wide prohibition. The question seems to be largely one as to whether these interests own, control and run Michigan. Those most feared are certain election 'crooks' in certain Detroit precincts, who would not hesitate to do anything they thought they could get away with." The Governor demanded that the returns be sent to Lansing at once. When at the end of three weeks the official count was published it showed that the amendment had been defeated by 762 votes, ayes, 247,373; noes, 248,135. Clear evidence of fraud was apparent in Wayne, Kent, Saginaw and Bay counties. The State association engaged the best legal talent and in Genesee county the courts threw out the vote on the amendment. It developed, however, that there was no law allowing a recount in a vote on a constitutional amendment and in the face of glaring fraud the defeat had to be accepted.

No State convention was held in November, 1912, because of the stress of campaign work but a postponed convention was held Jan. 15, 16, 1913. Indignation ran high over this defeat and an immediate resubmission of the amendment was decided upon as the result of favorable answers to questionnaires which had been sent to all county chairmen and the heads of all cooperating societies. During the campaign no open or organized opposition among women had been in evidence. A legislative hearing was arranged by the suffragists and the State and College League presidents on starting to Lansing found a special car attached to their train bearing about thirty prominent women members of a new Anti-Suffrage Association. Their

only speaker was Miss Minnie Bronson of New York, secretary of the National Anti-Suffrage Association. As Mrs. Arthur rose to answer her hour's speech she remarked that for the first time the voice of a woman was heard in this State in protest against her own enfranchisement and she rejoiced that it was not the voice of a Michigan woman.

Despite determined opposition the proposal passed both Houses to be voted on at the spring election just five weeks ahead. Owing to the social position of the "antis," the State press gave much prominence to their association, published pages of the members' pictures and quoted their reasons for organizing it. Branches were at once formed in ten adjoining towns; State offices were opened on Woodward Avenue, near the suffrage headquarters, books opened for registration and great quantities of literature sent over the State. Several debates were attempted but few materialized, as they had no home talent.<sup>1</sup>

A placard printed in English and German and posted in saloons in various parts of the city by the Michigan Staatterbund announced that if the amendment should be adopted in Michigan, foreign born women would have to take out naturalization papers at a large price. This and the Royal Ark, an association of 1,100 liquor dealers in Detroit, were the only organizations in the State to pass resolutions against the amendment. A Men's Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized on March 15 at a meeting in the University Club; President, Charles A. Kent; vice-president, William A. Livingston, Jr.; treasurer, Garvin Denby; secretary, Henry C. Bulkley. A well known lawyer, William E. Heinze, wrote very bitter articles for the press and undoubtedly influenced the German-American vote. The Rev. Wm. Byron Forbush, pastor of the North Woodward Congregational Church, spoke at anti-suffrage meetings.

On March 29, with the election less than a week away, John Dohrinan and Senator James R. Murtha, representing Mr. Livingston, and Carl Bauer of the Staatterbund appeared before the Circuit Court with a petition to have the suffrage amendment

<sup>1</sup> The officers of the Association Opposed to Equal Suffrage as published in the press were: President, Mrs. Henry F. Lyster; secretary, Miss Helen Keep; publicity committee, Miss Julia Russell, Mrs. A. A. Griffiths, Mrs. J. A. McMillan, Mrs. Fred Reynolds, Mrs. Edward H. Parker, Mrs. Richard Jackson and Miss Caroline Barnard.

printed on a separate ballot. The Court denied the petition. The case was immediately carried to the State Supreme Court which decided that all amendments must be on separate ballots.

Necessarily the campaign was short for the vote was to be taken April 7. Unlike the one preceding, three-fourths of the financial support came from without the State. Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer of Pennsylvania was engaged for press and executive work. The National Association furnished speakers, among them its president, Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Park, Mrs. Celia J. White, Mrs. Susan W. FitzGerald, Mrs. Glendower Evans, Mrs. Priscilla D. Hackstaff, Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, Miss Doris Stevens, Mrs. Clara Laddey, Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby and Mrs. Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale. Miss Laura Clay came from Kentucky at her own expense. The State was organized by counties and the speaking and circularizing were done under the immediate direction of the county chairmen. In the report of Mrs. Edna S. Blair, chairman of organization, she stated that there were but eight counties in the State which had no working committees and only three of these were in the Lower Peninsula, their total voting strength being less than 2,500. The amendment was defeated by 96,144, receiving 168,738 ayes, 264,882 noes. Her analysis of the vote, prepared from county returns, showed that there was a gain of a little more than 16,000 negative votes over those of 1912, and 13,000 of these were in counties having a "wet" and "dry" issue.

The preceding year the liquor forces had not realized the need of active work. Never in any other State campaign did these forces make so open a fight as in this one. They paid for columns of space in the newspapers and circulated vast quantities of the literature prepared by the women's Anti-Suffrage Association. This was in piles on the bars of the saloons and, according to reports, in even more questionable places. The defeat was not due so much to a change in public opinion as it was to an absence of the favorable vote which had been called out in the previous year by reason of the presidential election.

After the election county chairmen and all suffragists were asked to urge their representatives in Congress to support the Federal Amendment. This was followed by a trip through the

State by Mrs. Blair, who contributed her services, and at the convention in Jackson, in 1913, she reported that there were now only four counties, all in the Upper Peninsula, where there was no record of active workers. Mrs. Arthur was reelected.<sup>1</sup>

Although recovering from two successive defeats the association found itself in 1914 able to carry on more systematic work than had ever been attempted. In February a monthly magazine, the *Michigan Suffragist*, was established with Mrs. Blair editor. At the convention in Traverse City Nov. 4-6, 1914, Mrs. Orton H. Clark was elected president and the State board adopted her scheme for financing the association, which was successfully carried forward by the finance chairman, Mrs. J. G. Macpherson of Saginaw. It consisted in the apportionment of a fixed revenue on the basis of ten cents from each taxpaying woman, of whom there were 100,302 in the State. More than one-third of the counties met all or a part of their apportionment, which enabled the president to open headquarters in a business building in Kalamazoo, employ an executive secretary and an organizer and engage Mrs. Robertson Hale for a series of lectures.

Much of the effort during the early months of 1915 was directed toward securing Municipal suffrage, which necessitated active work by the Legislative Committee, Dr. Blanche M. Haines of Three Rivers, chairman. An attempt was made to organize according to congressional districts; chairmen were found for ten of the thirteen and a number of district conferences were held. All State and national candidates were interviewed on woman suffrage personally or by letter. Many meetings were addressed by national and international speakers.

This program was continued through 1915 and 1916. The State conventions were held in November in Saginaw and Grand Rapids and Mrs. Clark was re-elected president. Following the plan made by the National Association, suffrage schools were held in Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids and Detroit in March, 1917, with

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Brotherton writes: "Special tribute should be paid to the splendid administrative ability of Mrs. Arthur. Her conduct of the 1912 and 1913 campaigns and the years of effort that preceded them deserve the unending gratitude of Michigan women. Her greatest monument was the vote of taxpaying women on bond issues. Mrs. Orton H. Clark, who succeeded Mrs. Arthur in 1914, brought to the work the same patient and consecrated zeal and to her is largely due the gaining of Presidential suffrage.

Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam and Mrs. Nettie R. Shuler as instructors. Upon America's entry into the World War in April, communities, counties, the State and even the nation made demands on the association. Mrs. Clark called together the heads of nearly forty organizations to coordinate the war activities of Michigan women. The Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane was made chairman of the State committee, which afterwards became the State Division of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, Dr. Crane chairman.

Notwithstanding this situation, however, a bill to give a vote for Presidential electors to women was introduced in the Senate and almost simultaneously one in the House asking for another referendum on a constitutional amendment by Representative Flowers, who had fought the suffrage battle for nearly a quarter of a century. The association protested but the sponsors of both bills were adamant. As a result both bills were passed in March and April and it found itself in the midst of a campaign on the referendum at this most inopportune time. There was nothing to do but to plunge into it. Interest lagged, however, as the women were absorbed in war work and there was a wide belief that in recognition of this work the men would give the suffrage without a campaign for it. Mrs. Catt, now national president, did not share this view and she requested a conference with the State workers. They decided to hold a State convention in Detroit, March 25-27, 1918, and she and Mrs. Shuler, national chairman of organization, came to it. Mrs. Brotherton was serving as president and it was one of the largest ever held. The names of the honorary committee filled two pages of the program. It was welcomed by Mayor Marx and many organizations of women were represented. Mrs. Catt addressed the evening meetings and Mrs. Shuler spoke at the banquet in Hotel Statler, where the convention took place.

The State Board presented a full report and program for war activities but no plan for campaign. Most of the delegates believed the men would give them the vote without any activity on their part. Mrs. Catt made a stirring appeal in which she pointed out that war work would be expected as their duty and that the vote would not be given as a recognition.

Before the end of the convention she had thoroughly aroused the delegates and the force of her appeal was evident when the campaign plans providing for the budget, petition and political work, which had been prepared by the National Association as a basis of work for the three States then in campaign, was cheerfully adopted. The budget called for \$100,000 to be raised equally by Detroit and the congressional districts. At the dinner on the 26th \$50,000 were quickly subscribed, \$24,000 by the districts. Detroit women, who had already secured \$6,000, partly to pay back debts, pledged \$10,000 more. Mrs. Catt promised the equivalent of \$10,000 in help from the National Association if the full budget were raised. Mrs. Percy J. Farrell of Detroit was elected president of the association and chairman of the campaign committee and the following women were named chairmen of congressional districts; Mrs. Brotherton, Mrs. G. W. Patterson, Dr. Haines, Mrs. Huntley Russell, Mrs. Alice B. Locke, Mrs. Macpherson and Mrs. Alberta Droelle. The delegates went away from the convention filled with enthusiasm and ready for an active campaign.

Press work was again under the direction of Mrs. Boyer who was the adviser and right hand of Mrs. Farrell, giving unstintedly of her large experience. Mrs. Henry G. Sherrard was chairman of literature and Mrs. Myron B. Vorce of political work. Dr. Haines supervised eleven counties, which gave 15,000 majority. Mrs. Boyer said of Mrs. Brotherton: "Her faith, devotion and work extended through three campaigns and she was one of those who could remain steadfast through the sowing until the reaping time." Mrs. Russell, the State vice-president, was a recognized force. Mrs. E. L. Caulkins, president of the W. C. T. U., devoted its full organization to the amendment, especially to the petitions and at the polls on election day. The most telling feature of the campaign was the petition under the direction of Mrs. Emerson B. Davis of Detroit, signed by more than 202,000 women over twenty-one years old and addressed to voters, urging them to vote "yes" on the referendum. The work was finished in October and interesting uses were made of the names. Those in Grand Rapids were published in the daily papers of that city from day to day; in Saginaw they were hung as a frieze on the

walls' of the woman's section at the State Fair; in other places they were exhibited in store windows. Mrs. Catt had stipulated for this petition because of its educational value and its influence on the voters and the public. The work was done by volunteers.

Few campaigns ever had so much help from organizations outside of those for suffrage, among them were the W. C. T. U., Federation of Women's Clubs, State Grange, State Farmers' Clubs, Gleaners, American Federation of Labor, Anti-Saloon League, and Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. The Men's League was an important factor. The clergy almost as a unit gave generous endorsement and constant help. The support of the press was nearly unanimous, many papers refusing pay for space from the "antis."

Most valuable assistance came from the two great fraternal insurance organizations of women, Ladies of the Maccabees and the Women's Benefit Association of the Maccabees, Miss Bina M. West supreme commander, which had had the experience of having to defeat two referenda aimed at crippling their form of insurance. Partly for this reason they were especially interested in securing the franchise for women. The Ladies of the Maccabees confined their work mainly to the women in their own large organization. The Women's Benefit Association assumed the responsibility of organizing six congressional districts. They financed their own work entirely, using their own skilled organizers whenever it was necessary, especially in the Upper Peninsula, where no other workers were sent. The story of Mrs. Locke and Mrs. Droelle reads like that of the pioneers in the far western countries. This contribution, if measured in dollars, would have represented many thousands.

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford, Mr. and Mrs. Willard Pope, Mr. and Mrs. Gustavus Pope, Mrs. John B. Ford, Mrs. Delphine Dodge Ashbaugh and Mrs. Sherrard contributed nearly half of the amount required for the entire campaign. The teachers of Detroit financed a worker for several months, as did the Detroit business women. Many of the larger cities financed their own campaigns for the last six weeks. Among the individual men who gave great financial assistance at this time were James Couzens, Chas. B. Warren, member of the Republican National



Committee and William A. Comstock of Alpena, who as treasurer of the Men's Suffrage League, collected the major part of their donations, nearly \$9,000.

The National Suffrage Association gave in cash \$1,400, paid the bill for literature and posters, \$1,335, and made other contributions amounting to \$6,000. It paid salaries and part of the expenses from Jan. 1, 1918, of Mrs. Augusta Hughston and the organizers, Miss Lola Trax, Miss Edna Wright, Miss Marie Ames, Miss Alma Sasse and Miss Stella Crossley, until the State was able to assume them. Mrs. Hughston became the campaign manager of Detroit. Mrs. Shuler came three times and campaigned all over the State. Mrs. Mary E. Craigie of New York gave assistance. The magnitude of the detail work of the campaign may be understood from the report of Mrs. Hughston, who said: "In Detroit alone there were distributed 500,000 pieces of literature; 50,000 buttons, 13,000 posters put in windows, 1,000 street car advertisements, 174 large billboard posters and 1,766 inches of paid advertisements in newspapers."

The election took place on Nov. 5, 1918, when the suffrage amendment received 229,790 ayes and 195,284 noes—carried by a majority of 34,506. Four strong factors influenced the vote; first, prohibition, which had been adopted in 1916, was in effect and the forces that had led past opposition were badly disorganized; second, the astute politicians saw the trend of events, and few, if any, openly opposed it; third, the war work of women, which, although it lessened the number of workers for suffrage, yet made forceful appeal to the voters; fourth, the activity of all organizations of women.

This summary of the work of Michigan women for their political freedom is most incomplete without the names of hundreds of workers who toiled, suffered, sacrificed, gave of their time, their strength, their money, year after year, but the list is too long. Every city, every locality had its special difficulties, which had to be overcome and their women were equal to the task. All contributed to the great victory. The *Woman Citizen*, official organ of the National American Suffrage Association, in its edition of Nov. 30, 1918, gave a detailed summary of this campaign and the workers.

After a brief respite, the suffragists took up the work of a registration "drive" for the spring election in April, when an amendment to weaken the prohibition law was to be voted on. The registration by women in some places was larger than that of men. Prohibition had been carried in 1916 by a majority of 68,624. At this election in 1919, with women voting, the majority was over three times as large—207,520—and the amendment was defeated.

The convention of the State Equal Suffrage Association met in Grand Rapids, April 3, 4, 1919, Mrs. Farrell presiding. The name was changed to the State League of Women Voters and Mrs. Brotherton was elected chairman. Plans for the approaching ratification campaign were made and she was authorized to secure chairmen for the new departments of work. The willingness of women to accept the various chairmanships was in marked contrast to the difficulties encountered during suffrage campaigns.

**RATIFICATION.** The Federal Suffrage Amendment was submitted by Congress June 4, 1919, and fortunately Governor Albert E. Sleeper had called a special session of the Legislature to convene on June 3. He was at once requested to submit the amendment for ratification and soon announced his willingness to do so. A recess had been taken over Sunday but each member received a letter from the League of Women Voters asking for a favorable vote and many cordial answers were received. The Legislature assembled at 2 o'clock on Tuesday, June 10. The Senate and House at once voted unanimously in favor of ratification. The same day the Wisconsin and Illinois Legislatures also ratified. These three States were the first to take action.

**LEGISLATIVE ACTION.** 1903. A joint resolution to amend the State constitution by striking out the word "male" as a qualification for voters was introduced by Representative Nathan A. Lovell but was not reported out of the committees.

1905. A similar resolution was introduced by Representative George E. Dewey but failed to pass by seven votes.

1911. The same resolution received in the House 55 ayes, 44 noes, lacking the necessary two-thirds, and failed in the Senate by two votes.

1912. In the call for a special session Governor Osborn in-

cluded the consideration of a woman suffrage amendment. It was introduced in the Senate by Robert Y. Ogg and in the House by Representative Charles Flowers. The Senate opposition was led by James A. Murtha and Charles M. Culver, while William M. Martz sought to block it in the House. The vote in the Senate was 23 ayes, 5 noes; in the House 75 ayes, 19 noes. It was submitted to the voters and defeated.

1913. A hearing on the amendment resolution was arranged by the State board in February. Without the knowledge of the suffragists the "antis" secured one to precede theirs. The president, Mrs. Arthur, Dr. Mary Thompson Stevens, Dr. Caroline Bartlett Crane and Mrs. Jennie C. Law Hardy spoke for the amendment. The vote in the Senate was 24 ayes, 5 noes; in the House, 73 ayes, 19 noes. Submitted and defeated at the polls.

1915. The bill for Municipal suffrage was rejected as unconstitutional.

1917. Two measures were introduced, one for the amendment by Representative Flower and the other for Presidential suffrage by Senator John M. Damon of Mt. Pleasant. At last the officers of the State Association had to withdraw their opposition to the referendum in order to save the Presidential bill. The vote on the referendum March 28 was, House 71 ayes, 21 noes; April 19, Senate, 26 ayes, 4 noes; a two-thirds vote required. The Presidential suffrage vote on March 21 in the Senate was 22 ayes, 7 noes; on April 18 in the House, 64 ayes, 30 noes. There was no strong opposition. The amendment was carried by a large majority on Nov. 5, 1918.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### MINNESOTA.<sup>1</sup>

The great event for the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association in 1901 was the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association May 30-June 5 in Minneapolis. Large audiences night after night filled the First Baptist Church to listen to the eloquent addresses of Miss Susan B. Anthony, honorary president; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president of the association; Henry B. Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal*, Rachel Foster Avery and other speakers of national fame. The officers were entertained at West Hotel and the 200 delegates in the homes of suffragists. Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, who was the chairman of arrangements, was elected second auditor of the National Association.

The State convention of 1901 was held in Mankato in October, with Mrs. Catt as the principal speaker. Mrs. Maud C. Stockwell and Mrs. Jennie Knight Brown were re-elected president and vice-president and Mrs. A. H. Boostrom appointed chairman of press. Through the generosity of Mrs. E. A. Russell of Minneapolis Miss Anna Gjertsen was engaged to organize the Scandinavian women. Among the names enrolled in the suffrage booth at the State Fair were those of Theodore Roosevelt, Vice-President of the United States; Gen. Nelson Miles, Gov. Samuel R. Van Sant and Archbishop Ireland. The annual convention of 1902 was entertained in June by the St. Paul Club, which had been organized a few months before. Mrs. Hannah Egelston was elected vice-president. The press chairman stated that fifteen newspapers were using suffrage articles and the enrollment and the petition work for Presidential suffrage was being success-

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Maud C. (Mrs. S. A.) Stockwell, for ten years president of the State Suffrage Association and for over twenty years a member of its executive board. Mrs. Stockwell wishes to acknowledge assistance from Mrs. David F. Simpson and Mrs. John A. Guise.

fully carried on. The association was incorporated this year.

In September, 1903, the State convention was held in Austin with Dr. Shaw the chief speaker. The former officers were re-elected. Reports showed old clubs revived and new ones formed through the efforts of Miss Gail Laughlin, one of the national organizers. Mrs. Eugenia B. Farmer was this year appointed chairman of press and held the office till 1915 when she was made honorary chairman. She did not relinquish the work but continued to assist her successor, Mrs. W. H. Thorp. For eight years Mrs. Farmer kept press headquarters in the Old Capitol, St. Paul. She added new papers to the list which accepted suffrage matter till it had 500, about all of them, and much of the suffrage sentiment in the State can be traced to her years of work. The quarterly bulletin was edited by Mrs. Julia B. Nelson.

In October, 1904, the convention met in Anoka and Dr. Shaw addressed large audiences. Miss Marion Sloan of Rochester was made vice-president. During the year the association offered prizes for the best essay on woman suffrage to the students of the four Normal Schools, many competing. The annual meeting for 1905 was held in Minneapolis in November. In answer to the many calls a Lecture Bureau of twenty well-known speakers directed by Dr. Annah Hurd had been organized; a generous contribution was sent to Oregon for its campaign.

In March, 1906, an impressive memorial service was held in Minneapolis for the beloved leader, Susan B. Anthony. Another was held in Monticello in November during the State convention. It was reported that the Governor had appointed Dr. Margaret Koch, one of the active suffragists, to the State Medical Board; that many organizations had passed resolutions endorsing suffrage and that in June Mrs. Stockwell had presented the greetings of the National Association to the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention in St. Paul. In October, 1907, the convention met in Austin. During the year a Scandinavian association had been formed by Dr. Ethel E. Hurd, with Mrs. Jenova Martin president, and a College Equal Suffrage League at the State University by Professors Frances Squire Potter and Mary Gray Peck, with Miss Elsa Ueland president. Miss Laura Gregg, sent by the National Association, had organized suffrage

committees in twelve towns. It was decided to circularize the teachers of the State.

In November, 1908, the convention was held in Minneapolis with Dr. Shaw and Professor Potter as speakers. Mrs. Martin was elected vice-president. The energy of all suffrage workers had been turned toward the great petition to Congress for the Federal Amendment planned by the National Association and directed in the State by Mrs. F. G. Corser of Minneapolis. Mrs. Maud Wood Park made a tour of the State in March speaking in eight colleges in the interest of the National College Equal Suffrage League. In October, 1909, the State convention went to St. Paul. The *Bulletin*, official organ of the association and a valuable feature of its work, had had to be abandoned because of lack of funds. It had been edited for ten years by Dr. Ethel E. Hurd, recording secretary, who sometimes mimeographed it herself, sometimes had it typewritten and when possible printed, always herself addressing and mailing copies to the State members. An important event of the year was the unanimous endorsement of woman suffrage by the State Editorial Association, secured by Miss Mary McFadden, a journalist. For the first time a speaker was supplied to the State convention of the Federation of Women's Clubs.

In November, 1910, the State convention was entertained by the Minneapolis Political Equality Club, organized in 1868. Mrs. Stockwell, who had served as president for ten years, asked to be relieved from office and Miss Emily Dobbyn of St. Paul was elected president with Dr. Margaret Koch, who had been treasurer ten years, first vice-president. The petition was reported as finished with 20,300 names. It was sent to Washington and presented to Congress by Senator Moses E. Clapp with an earnest plea for its consideration. In October, 1911, the convention again went to St. Paul and Mrs. A. T. Hall of this city was elected president.

The convention of 1912 was held in Minneapolis in September. Under direction of Mrs. A. H. Bright of this city the first automobile suffrage parade took place, the route extending from the court house where the convention was held to the Fair grounds where addresses were made. Eleven new clubs were

reported. The Woman's Welfare League of St. Paul joined the State association and did excellent work for suffrage. Mrs. Hall was re-elected president and removing from the State later Mrs. P. L. De Voist of Duluth was selected to fill out her term.<sup>1</sup>

In October, 1913, at the annual convention in St. Paul, Mrs. Bright was elected president. The Minneapolis Equal Suffrage Club, which had been organized independently by Mrs. Andreas Ueland, joined the State association and later became the Hennepin County suffrage organization. A Women Workers' Suffrage Club was formed with Mrs. Gertrude Hunter, president.

In November, 1914, at the convention in Minneapolis, Mrs. Ueland was elected president and served for the next five years.<sup>2</sup> It was reported that the Everywoman Suffrage Club of colored women had been organized in St. Paul with Mrs. W. T. Francis president. The clubs of St. Paul and Minneapolis, at the request of the National Association, had joined in the nation-wide demonstration May 2 with mass meetings in each city, a street meeting and parade in St. Paul at noon and a joint parade in Minneapolis in the afternoon with 2,000 men and women in line.

In October, 1915, the convention took place in St. Paul. Up to this time headquarters had been maintained free of charge in Minneapolis, at first in the office of Drs. Cora Smith Eaton and Margaret Koch and for many years in the office of Drs. Ethel E. and Annah Hurd. This year they were opened in the Essex Building of that city and a paid secretary installed. Organization by districts was arranged for. In conformity with plans sent out from the National Association, quarterly conferences were held in different sections of the State. "Organization day" on February 15, Miss Anthony's birthday, was celebrated

<sup>1</sup> A State Anti-Suffrage Association was organized in Minneapolis in 1912 and later branches were formed in other cities. The president was Mrs. J. B. Gilfillan of Minneapolis and other active workers were Mrs. E. L. Carpenter, Mrs. Edmund Pennington and Mrs. Frank Reed of Minneapolis, Mrs. J. W. Straight of St. Paul and Mrs. J. L. Washburn of Duluth. Time was given to their speakers at the last three hearings granted the State Suffrage Association by the Legislature. Miss Minnie Bronson, secretary of the National Anti-Suffrage Association, came from New York for one.

<sup>2</sup> Too much credit for the final success of woman suffrage in Minnesota can not be given to Mrs. Ueland, president of the association for the last five years of its existence. She organized the entire State, raised large sums of money each year, induced many prominent women to join in the work, carried out the instructions of the National Association to the letter, secured legislation, and not only took advantage of every opportunity for propaganda but created opportunities.

in fifteen legislative districts with meetings and pageants. During the national convention in Washington this year deputations of suffragists from Minnesota called on the State's two Senators and ten Representatives asking them to promote the Federal Suffrage Amendment. To assist the campaign the services of the State organizer, Mrs. Maria McMahan, were given to New York for September and October; Mrs. David F. Simpson and Miss Florence Monahan contributed their services as speakers and \$400 were sent to the New Jersey campaign.<sup>1</sup>

In October, 1916, at the convention in Minneapolis, a delightful feature was a banquet of 500 covers at the Hotel Radisson, where President George E. Vincent of the State University made his maiden speech for woman suffrage. Mrs. Simpson presided. There were favorable reports from officers, committee chairmen and organizers. At the request of the National Association deputations had called upon the State delegates to the national Republican and Democratic conventions urging them to work for suffrage planks in their party platforms. Twenty-five Minnesota women marched in the parade in Chicago at the time of the Republican National Convention and many went to the National Democratic Convention in St. Louis on a "suffrage barge," holding meetings on the boat and at a number of stopping places. In May the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference was entertained in Minneapolis and a mass meeting of 2,000 was held. Automobile speaking trips were made. Money, organizers and speakers were contributed to the Iowa campaign.

In December, 1917, the convention again met in Minneapolis with Mrs. Nellie McClung of Edmonton, Alberta, as speaker. Pledges were made of \$8,000 for State work and \$3,000 to the National Association as the State's apportionment. In order to push Federal Amendment work chairmen were secured for the ten congressional districts. Resolutions for it were passed at many conventions. In May Dr. Effie McCollum Jones of Iowa had made a lecture tour of the State, contributed by the National Association, and addressed 10,000 people. An attractive

<sup>1</sup> In 1915 the Congressional Union, afterward the National Woman's Party, formed an organization in St. Paul with Mrs. Alexander Colvin chairman. The members were recruited from the State association and for a few years were active in both organizations.



concrete building had been erected on the State Fair grounds by the Scandinavian Association and presented to the State association.<sup>1</sup> This was known as the Woman Citizen Building and a tablet was placed in it in memory of Mrs. Julia B. Nelson, one of Minnesota's staunchest pioneer suffragists.

Owing to the influenza epidemic all meetings were forbidden in 1918. This year district organization was completed. With three organizers in the field, Mrs. Rene F. Stevens, Mrs. James Forrestal and Mrs. John A. Guise, ratification committees in 480 towns outside of the three large cities had been appointed and 90,000 signatures obtained for the national petition under the leadership of Miss Marguerite M. Wells. In March the following plank had appeared in the platform of the Democratic State-wide Conference held in St. Paul: "We believe in the principle of State woman suffrage as supported and commended by our leader, Woodrow Wilson." This was the only official Democratic endorsement ever received and there was none from the Republicans.<sup>2</sup>

A State conference was held at Minneapolis in May, 1919, with Mrs. McClung as the principal speaker. On June 9 in the rotunda of the Capitol at St. Paul an impressive program of addresses and ringing resolutions was given, 3,000 people taking part in this celebration of the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by Congress on the 4th. A. L. Searle marshalled the 250 gaily decorated automobiles carrying the Minneapolis delegates, accompanied by a band.

RATIFICATION. Monday, September 8, was a beautiful and spirited occasion. Automobile parades assembled in the two cities and started for the Capitol with cars gay with sunflowers, golden-

<sup>1</sup> During the twenty years covered by this chapter the Twin City suffragists never failed to keep open house during the State Fair, where speakers were heard and literature was distributed.

<sup>2</sup> Following are the names of State officers besides the presidents who served over three years: Vice-presidents, Mrs. Jenova Martin, four years; Mrs. David F. Simpson, three years; Mrs. H. G. Harrison, five years; Mrs. E. A. Brown, four years; Mrs. C. L. Atwood, six years; Dr. Margaret Koch, vice-president, three years and treasurer, ten years; Dr. Ethel E. Hurd of Minneapolis served on the board in different capacities for twenty-two years, as corresponding secretary for four years and recording secretary four; Mrs. Eva W. Morse, recording secretary five years; Mrs. Victor H. Troendle, treasurer five years. Those who served from four to ten years as directors on the State board were: Mesdames A. T. Anderson, Julia B. Nelson, Margaret K. Rogers, E. A. Russell, C. F. Lutz, Elizabeth McClary, A. H. Bright and A. B. Jackson.

rod, yellow bunting and the word "suffrage" on the windshields. By 10 o'clock the galleries and the corridors were filled to overflowing with enthusiastic suffragists. Out-of-town women flocked in to join the festivities. The Federal Amendment came up immediately after the organization of both Houses in special session but the lower House won the race for the honor of being first to ratify, for it took up the amendment without even waiting for Governor Burnquist's message, and when it was presented by Representative Theodore Christiansen it was ratified by a vote of 120 to 6. The Senate considered it immediately after hearing the Governor's message. It was presented by Senator Ole Sageng, called the "father of woman suffrage" in Minnesota, and with no debate went through by 60 to 5.

The moment the Senate vote was polled the corridors, floors and galleries of both Houses were in an uproar, hundreds of women cheered and laughed and waved the suffrage colors, while in the rotunda a band swung into the strains of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Then Representatives and Senators became the guests of the State Suffrage Association, whose members having leased the Capitol restaurant for the day cooked and served an appetizing chicken dinner. There was a banquet at the St. Paul Hotel in the evening with 400 guests.

On that memorable day the curtain was rung down on the last act of the many years' long drama participated in by a vast host of consecrated women with inspired faith in the ultimate attainment of justice.

A conference was called for Oct. 28, 29, 1919, in Minneapolis and a State League of Women Voters was formed with Mrs. Ueland as chairman. It was voted to delay the dissolution of the State association until the 36 States had ratified the Federal Amendment and the date was set at the first annual meeting of the League.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Ueland soon resigned to take the chair-

<sup>1</sup> Following are a few names not mentioned elsewhere in the chapter of the many devoted friends and workers during the score of years: Dr. Cyrus Northrup, Professor Maria Sanford, Judge A. C. Hickman, Professor A. W. Rankin, Dr. Elizabeth Woodworth, Mesdames Margaret K. Rogers, Martha A. Dorsett, May Dudley Greeley, M. A. Luley, Eva S. Jerome, Alice Taylor, Lilla P. Clark, Milton E. Purdy, C. P. Noyes, Adelaide Lawrence, O. J. Evans, George M. Partridge, J. W. Andrews, C. M. Stockton, Stiles Burr, J. M. Guise, J. W. Straight; Misses Ella Whitney, A. A. Connor, Nellie Merrill, Hope McDonald, Josephine Schain, Blanche Segar, Cornelia Lusk, Martha Anderson (Wyman); Messrs. C. W. Dorsett, S. R. Child, A. H. Bright.

manship of the Legislative Committee and was succeeded by Miss Wells, the vice-chairman.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. 1903. A Presidential suffrage bill was introduced in the House and energetically pushed but was not reported by the Judiciary Committee.

1905. A large delegation headed by Mrs. Stockwell, State president, called on Governor John A. Johnson and urged him to recommend woman suffrage in his message to the Legislature but he failed to do so. The resolution to submit a constitutional amendment was introduced in the House but not reported by the Judiciary Committee.

1907. After the resolution for a suffrage amendment was presented a hearing was granted by the Senate Elections Committee and the Senate Chamber secured for it through Senator Virgil B. Seward, who had charge of it. The college women were represented by Professor Frances Squire Potter of the University of Minnesota and the committee reported favorably. It was defeated in the Senate and not brought up in the House.

1909. At the hearing before the Joint Committee on Elections on the resolution for a State amendment, which was the largest ever held by the association, convincing addresses were made by eminent lawyers, educators and other public men. It was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 30 to 26; in the House by 50 to 46.

1911. The chairman of the Legislative Committee was Miss Mary McFadden, who carried out a demonstration on Susan B. Anthony's birthday—February 15—the presenting by large delegations from the Twin Cities of a Memorial to a joint gathering of the two Houses with pleas for a State amendment. The resolution for it, sponsored by Ole Sageng, passed the House a few days later by a majority of 81 but the liquor interests and public service corporations defeated it in the Senate by two votes.

1913. Senator Sageng again had charge of the suffrage resolution, which passed the House by a majority of 43 votes but failed in the Senate by three.

1915. Mrs. Andreas Ueland was chairman of the Legislative Committee from 1915 to 1919 inclusive. Senator Sageng presented the amendment resolution in the Senate and Representa-

tive Larson in the House. An impressive hearing was held in a crowded Senate chamber, with Senators J. W. Andrews, Richard Jones, Frank E. Putnam, F. H. Peterson and Ole Sageng making speeches in favor. Those who spoke against it were Senators George H. Sullivan, F. A. Duxbury and F. H. Pauly.<sup>1</sup> It failed by one vote and was not brought up in the House. A Presidential suffrage bill was also introduced but did not come to a vote.

1917. The suffrage work was confined to the Presidential suffrage bill which was defeated in the Senate by two votes.

1919. This Legislature adopted a resolution calling upon Congress to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment; House 100 to 28 in favor, Senate 49 to 7. It was decided not to introduce an amendment resolution but to work for Presidential suffrage. The resolution was introduced, however, by a small group of women outside the association. It passed the House by 96 ayes, 26 noes, but was indefinitely postponed in the Senate. The bill giving women the right to vote for Presidential electors passed the House March 5 by 103 ayes, 24 noes; and the Senate March 21 by 49 ayes, 11 noes. It was signed by Governor J. A. A. Burnquist two days later in the presence of a group of suffragists.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For ten years Senator Sullivan of Stillwater, and for twenty-two years Senator W. W. Dunn, attorney for the Hamm Brewing Company of St. Paul, worked actively against all suffrage legislation, in late years being able to defeat bills by only two or three votes.

<sup>2</sup> Among legislators not mentioned who were helpful during these years were Senator S. A. Stockwell and Representatives W. I. Norton, H. H. Harrison, W. I. Nolan, Sherman Child, John Sanborn and Claude Southwick.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### MISSISSIPPI.<sup>1</sup>

From 1899 to 1906 no State convention of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association was held. Mrs. Hala Hammond Butt, who was elected president at its second annual convention in Clarksdale in 1899, acted as president during this time but the editing of a weekly newspaper in addition to other duties left her little time for its trying demands at this early stage of its existence. Among the few other women consecrated in their hearts to woman suffrage some were barred from leadership by ill health, some by family cares, while others were absent from the State most of the time. No definite progress, therefore, was made during the early years of the century.

In 1901 Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, gave addresses in six cities in the State, arrangements for which were made by local suffragists, and a great deal of interest was aroused. In 1903 a business conference was held in Jackson, at which Mrs. Butt and three other women were present, to consider whether anything could be done for the cause of woman suffrage. In 1904 enrollment cards were distributed in a limited and unsystematic way, letters were sent to members of the Legislature, State officials and others and literature was distributed. An inspiring feature was the visit of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president at large of the National Association, who spoke in three cities.

Early in December, 1906, Miss Belle Kearney of Flora, formerly organizer for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, at this time a public lecturer, returned from an absence in Europe and on the 21st, in response to a call sent out by her, a meeting was held in the parlor of the Edwards House in Jackson. Those in attendance were Miss Kearney, Mrs. Butt, Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Lily Wilkinson Thompson, an officer in the State Suffrage Association from its organization until its work was finished.

Edward Sloan and Dr. Delia Randall. By invitation Dr. William La Prade of the First Methodist Church opened the meeting with prayer, after which he retired leaving these four women to reorganize the State Suffrage Association. Mrs. Nellie Nugent Somerville of Greenville was in touch with the conference by telegraph and Mrs. Lily Wilkinson Thompson of Jackson, physically unable to attend, received reports from the meeting at her telephone. In this historic hour the breath of a new life was blown into the expiring association and from that time it grew and thrived. The officers elected were Miss Kearney, president; Mrs. Somerville, vice-president; Mrs. Thompson, treasurer.

During the following spring Miss Kearney, lecturing in the State on sociological subjects, spoke unflinchingly for suffrage and wherever possible organized clubs. Press work was taken up earnestly by the newly elected superintendent of that department, Mrs. Thompson. All of the over two hundred editors in the State were interviewed by letter in regard to their attitude towards woman suffrage and space was requested for suffrage items. Twenty-one agreed to publish them, only two openly declining. Among the friendly editors were L. Pink Smith of the *Greenville Democrat*, J. R. Oliphant of the *Poplarville Free Press*, Frank R. Birdsall of the *Yazoo Sentinel*, C. E. Glassco of the *Cleveland Enterprise*, Joseph Norwood of the *Magnolia Gazette*, James Faulk of the *Greene County Herald*.

Adverse articles were carefully answered and private letters were sent, the enemy quietly reasoned with and in most cases converted. News bulletins furnished by the national press department were used but most of the matter sent out was prepared at home in the belief that an ounce of Mississippi was worth a pound of Massachusetts. Articles published in leaflet form and distributed broadcast were written by Mrs. Somerville, Miss Kearney, Mrs. Thompson, the Rev. Thomas K. Mellen and the Rev. H. Walter Featherstun, Methodist ministers. One of the most valuable contributions was *The Legal Status of Mississippi Women*, by Robert Campbell, an attorney of Greenville.

In November, 1907, a conference lasting five days was held at Jackson in the home of Charles H. Thompson, a devoted suffragist, and his wife, Lily Wilkinson Thompson. Among those

attending were Miss Kearney, Mrs. Somerville, Mrs. Harriet B. Kells, president of the State W. C. T. U. and a life-long suffragist; Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky and Miss Kate Gordon of Louisiana. The advisability of attempting to have a woman suffrage measure introduced in the next session of the Legislature was considered. Two men besides the host appeared at this conference, a reporter, who regarded the meeting as something of a joke, and the Hon. R. H. Thompson of Jackson, an eminent lawyer, who came to offer sympathetic advice. Visits were made to the Governor, James K. Vardaman, and other State officials; to the Hinds county legislators who had recently been elected and to others. Most of these gentlemen were polite but bored and it was decided to defer legislative action. When two months later Governor Vardaman sent his farewell message to the Legislature he mentioned woman suffrage as one of the questions "pressing for solution in a National Constitutional Convention."

In the spring of 1908 the State convention was held in the Governor's Mansion at Jackson, Governor and Mrs. Edmund Favor Noel giving the parlors for the meeting. Six clubs were reported and State members at twelve places. Three or four women from outside of Jackson were present, Mrs. Pauline Alston Clark of Clarksdale having come from the greatest distance, and about fourteen were in attendance. The officers elected were: President, Mrs. Somerville; vice-presidents, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Fannie Clark, Mrs. Kells; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Pauline Clark; recording secretary, Dr. Randall; treasurer, Mrs. Sarah Summers Wilkinson. Superintendents were appointed for Press, Legislative, Enrollment, Industrial, Educational and Bible Study departments.

In the spring of 1909, the convention was held in the ladies' parlor of the Capitol at Jackson. It lasted two days, a public evening session being held in the Senate Chamber, at which Miss Kate Gordon, corresponding secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, told of the work of the Era Club of New Orleans; Miss Jean Gordon, factory inspector for that city, spoke in behalf of child labor regulations and Mrs. Thompson gave a report of the press work, which had grown to such proportions that it was considered very significant of advance in

suffrage sentiment throughout the State. The Rev. George Whitfield, a venerable Baptist minister, came from the neighboring town of Clinton and conducted devotional exercises and gave a talk on woman's position from a Biblical standpoint. R. K. Jayne of Jackson, an early suffragist, also spoke. At this time dues-paying members were reported from seventeen towns. Mrs. Somerville was re-elected president.

The annual convention was held in Greenville in 1910. Dr. Shaw and Miss Ray Costello of England made addresses; Judge E. N. Thomas of Greenville presided at one of the evening meetings; John L. Hebron, a Delta planter and afterwards State Senator, made an earnest speech of endorsement. It was reported that hundreds of letters were written and the association had gained a hold in fifty places, ranging from rural neighborhoods and plantation settlements to the largest towns. Frederick Sullens, editor of the *Jackson Daily News*, had given space for a weekly suffrage column edited by Mrs. Thompson. Mrs. J. C. Greenley edited a similar column in the *Greenville Democrat*. Mrs. Madge Quin Fugler supplied five papers and Mrs. Montgomery two. Miss Ida Ward of Greenville wrote articles for the papers of that town and Mrs. Mohlenhoff edited a column in the *Cleveland Enterprise*. Among other papers publishing suffrage material were the *McComb City Journal* and the *Enterprise* and the *Magnolia Gazette*. From the press superintendent there had gone out 1,700 articles, ranging in length from a paragraph to a half page, many of them written by her, and they were given prominence in special editions. Ten copies of the *Woman's Journal* which came from the national press department for years were forwarded to college, town and State libraries and to editors. How far and deep the influence of those *Journals* reached is beyond computation.

In the fall of 1910 the State association joined the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association in a booth at the Tri-State Fair in Memphis. An interesting feature was the press exhibit, consisting of a width of canvass many yards long on which had been pasted clippings from Mississippi newspapers, suffrage argument and favorable comment. The annual convention was held in Cleveland in 1911. Miss Gordon and Judge Thomas spoke



at the evening session. Editor C. E. Glasco gave an earnest talk at a morning session. The department chairmen brought encouraging reports of their work. A letter was read from Colonel Clay Sharkey of Jackson, which later was published in leaflet form.

The State meeting was held at Flora in April, 1912. Mrs. Judith Hyams Douglas, president of the Era Club of New Orleans, and Omar Garwood of Colorado, secretary of the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage, were the principal speakers. The president, Mrs. Somerville, recommended that the various State organizations of women be invited to unite with the suffrage association in forming a central committee to secure such legislation as should be agreed upon by all. This was afterwards accepted by the Federation of Women's Clubs and the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Resolutions were passed, regretting the retirement from the presidency of Mrs. Somerville, to whose good generalship during the past four years the success of the association was in a large part due. Mrs. Lily Wilkinson Thompson was elected president.

In response to the call to take part in the parade in Washington March 3, 1913, Mrs. Avery Harrell Thompson, temporarily residing there, was put in charge and with her husband, Harmon L. Thompson, arranged for a handsome float, on which Miss Fannie May Witherspoon, daughter of the member of Congress, represented Mississippi. Mr. Gibbs, a Mississippian, carried the purple and gold silk banner of the State Suffrage Association and four other young Mississippians, Judge Allen Thompson and his brother, Harmon, Walter and Edward Dent, marched beside the float, performing valiant volunteer police duty when it became necessary. During this year the enrolled membership increased four-fold. Quarterly reports, nearly a thousand, were printed for the first time instead of written. A letter from the Irish Women's League of Dublin and one from the English Women's Equal Rights Union to the State president indicated the worldwide spirit of fraternalism which embraced even Mississippi's modest organization. Good work was done by the new superintendent of press work, Mrs. Dent. Not only did editors by this time willingly accept material but some of them wrote favorable editorials. The Yazoo City *Herald*, edited by N. A. Mott, was

a new recruit. The *Purple and White*, a Millsaps College paper, was supplied with suffrage material by a bright senior, Janie Linfield.

For the first time suffrage headquarters were maintained at the State Fair by the Equity League of Jackson. Furnishings were loaned by Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Warren from their beautiful home "Fairview." A rest room for mothers and babies was provided, other tired visitors were also welcomed and the suffrage booth was the most popular place on the grounds. For the first time the association was invited to take part on Woman's Day at the State Fair, when representatives from the women's State organizations held a joint meeting, and the president, Mrs. Thompson, spoke for the suffragists.

Letters were sent to the Mississippi members of Congress urging them to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment and to President Wilson, pleading for his favorable consideration. Motion pictures were utilized in three ways—suffrage plays were shown, local clubs selling tickets received a part of the proceeds and suffrage slogans were thrown on the slides between pictures.

The State convention was held in the Senate Chamber of the new Capitol at Jackson in April, 1913. At the evening sessions all seats on the floor were taken, the galleries filled and chairs brought from committee rooms to accommodate the audiences. Music was furnished by the Chaminade Club of Jackson. Mayor Swepson I. Taylor gave the address of welcome. Others who spoke were Mrs. Fannie S. Clark, Mrs. E. T. Edmonds, president of the Equity League, and Mrs. Royden-Douglas, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. In her president's address Mrs. Thompson recommended that the association ask the next Legislature to submit to the voters a State constitutional amendment giving women the ballot, and this was unanimously adopted. The Rev. E. T. Edmonds of the First Christian Church of Jackson spoke on Woman Suffrage in New Zealand, where he had been a resident.

Letters to the president and secretary from U. S. Senators John Sharp Williams and James K. Vardaman were read in reply to appeals that they vote for the Federal Amendment. Senator Vardaman said that when the amendment came up he

would "be glad to vote for it." Senator Williams said that he thought "the federal government ought not attempt to control a State in the exercise of this privilege," that he favored a "white woman's primary, in which the women of the State might say whether they wanted the ballot or not" and that he thought women just as competent to use it as men but did not approve of "forcing it upon them." He was "inclined to woman suffrage" and believed that "with safeguards it might be made a bulwark of white supremacy in the State." The large reception planned by Governor and Mrs. Earl Brewer had to be omitted because of the sudden illness of Mrs. Brewer. On account of home demands Mrs. Thompson declined re-election and Mrs. Dent was made president.

Under Mrs. Dent's administration the work prospered and advanced in popular favor. In the fall "woman suffrage day" was for the first time on the calendar of the State Fair. Headquarters were again maintained, for which space three times as large as that used the previous year was occupied. Mrs. Dent, a successful cotton planter, brought a bale of cotton from her plantation and presented it to the headquarters, where it afforded a unique platform for the speakers. Women from different parts of the State came to act as hostesses and take part in the speaking. This year a college contest was conducted by Mrs. Thompson, who offered a gold medal for the best argument for woman suffrage written by a college student of the State. Six of the largest colleges were represented and the medal was won by Mrs. Pearl Powell, of the Industrial Institute and College.

In April, 1914, the State convention was again held in Jackson. Among the speakers were Rabbi Brill of Meridian and Mrs. Alex Y. Scott of Memphis. Mrs. Dent was re-elected president. In the fall for the first time there was a suffrage section in the parade that marked the opening of the State Fair. Six women, gowned in white and wearing yellow silk Votes for Women badges marched—Mrs. Ella O. Biggs and Miss Sadie Goeber bearing a banner inscribed Women vote in twelve States, why not in Mississippi? followed by Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Avery Harrell Thompson, Mrs. Sarah C. Watts and Mrs. R. W. Durfey and they were generously cheered along the way.

In the spring of 1915 the State convention was held in Greenville. Dr. Shaw was a guest, stopping on her way to Jackson, where under the auspices of the Equity League she spoke in the House of Representatives to a large audience, many standing throughout her address, which made a profound impression. The convention was well attended. Some of the interesting features were "an hour for men" presided over by Congressman B. G. Humphries, with excellent speeches; a five o'clock tea, given by the Belvidere Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the presentation of the motion picture play, *Your Girl and Mine*. Miss Pauline V. Orr was elected president. Miss Orr served as president for two years, widely extending the influence of the association through the hundreds of young women who came under her instruction at the Industrial Institute and College, where for many years she held the chair of English.

The annual convention was held in 1916 in the city hall in Meridian, where nineteen years before the State Woman Suffrage Association was organized, and Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs of Alabama, auditor of the National Association, made an address on the opening evening. During the following year eight new leagues were formed. The convention met in Starkville in April, 1917, and addresses were made by Dr. Shaw, Miss Margaret Hamilton Erwin, president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, first vice-president of the National Association; Mrs. W. H. Price, president of the Mississippi Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and Mrs. Edward F. McGehee, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. Miss Orr, the president, declining re-election was succeeded by Mrs. McGehee. The United States had now entered the war and the suffragists began to concentrate on war work. As chairman of the Woman's Committee, Mississippi Division of the National Council of Defense, she was able to help popularize woman suffrage.<sup>1</sup>

In April, 1918, a one-day conference was held in the Capitol

<sup>1</sup> Besides those mentioned the following served on the official board: Mrs. Jimmie Andrews Lipscomb, Mrs. Nella Lawrence Lee, Miss Mattie Kirkpatrick, Mrs. Annie Kinkead Dent, Mrs. Ella O. Biggs, Mrs. Alma Dorsey Birdsall, Mrs. Durrant, Mrs. Edith Marshall Tucker, Mrs. Mary Powell Crane, Miss Ethel Claggett, Mrs. C. C. Miller, Mrs. T. F. Buntin, Miss Estelle Crane, Miss Nannie Herndon Rice.

at Jackson, when Mrs. Marion B. Trotter of Winona was elected president and brought a great deal of energy and enthusiasm into her office. No convention was held in 1919 but at the close of the meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs in Clarksdale in November a conference of the suffragists present was called. It was there decided to organize to support the ratification of the Federal Amendment, which had been submitted by Congress and was to come before the Legislature the following January. Mrs. B. F. Saunders of Swan Lake, retiring president of the federation, was made chairman of the Ratification Committee; Mrs. Trotter, treasurer; Mrs. Somerville chairman of Petition and Press Work; Mrs. McClurg chairman of Finance. By request the National Association sent into the State its organizers, Miss Watkins of Arkansas and Miss Peshakova of New York. Mrs. Cunningham, president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association and a national worker, also came to assist. Petitions were circulated, leaflets published and distributed, newspapers enlisted and legislators systematically interviewed. The organization thus speedily effected worked during the session of 1920. In April of this year the convention of the State Federation, held in Gulfport, closed with a "suffrage luncheon," a brilliant affair attended by 125 prominent men and women. Speeches were made by the Hon. Barney Eaton, a lawyer of Gulfport; Mrs. S. P. Covington, its president, and others. The State League of Women Voters was organized at this time with Miss Blanche Rogers chairman.

It had been the hope for years to have an endorsement of woman suffrage from the Federation of Women's Clubs, a strong and popular organization numbering over 3,000 of the State's leading women. During its annual meeting in 1916 Miss Orr, president of the State Suffrage Association, had introduced a favorable resolution and with Mrs. Somerville, Mrs. J. W. McGrath of Canton, Mrs. William Baldwin of Columbus and Mrs. W. S. Lott of Meridian led the fight for suffrage. Mrs. William R. Wright of Jackson headed the opposition, which asked for the postponement of the question until the next year and won. At the next convention, held in Meridian in 1917, the resolution was introduced by Miss Ann Rothenberg (now Mrs. Rosen-

baum) of Meridian and passed almost unanimously. In 1919 at the annual meeting held in Clarksdale, during the presidency of Mrs. Saunders, a resolution endorsing the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment was carried with but one dissenting vote, that of Mrs. Lizzie George Henderson of Greenwood, daughter of the late U. S. Senator J. Z. George. When the League of Women Voters was formed the next year Mrs. Henderson was among the first to join it.

In 1919, the State Teachers' Association passed unanimously a resolution endorsing woman suffrage introduced by Professor Frederick Davis Mellen of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College, the son of the late Reverend Thomas L. Mellen, one of Mississippi's earliest suffragists. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union here as elsewhere was a great school for women, teaching them the need of the ballot, and the majority of its members were suffragists but all through the years the minority, who did not want the question brought into the Union, overruled their wishes. Mrs. Harriet B. Kells, the president for many years and a lifelong suffragist, was not able to overcome this situation and it never endorsed woman suffrage.

There never has been any organized opposition among Mississippi women. During the session of the Legislature in 1920 there was an open attempt to organize opposition to ratification of the Federal Amendment but it failed.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. After the suffrage association in 1913 decided to ask for the submission of an amendment to the State constitution to enfranchise women the preliminary work of interviewing legislators and distributing appropriate literature was conducted by the chairman of the Legislative Committee, Mrs. Nellie Nugent Somerville, the president, Mrs. Annie Kinkead Dent, and other members. The president at her own expense sent the *Woman's Journal* and other literature to all legislators for three months. The concurrent resolution asking for the submission was introduced in the House Jan. 9, 1914, by N. A. Mott of Yazoo county. Senator Hall Sanders of Tallahatchie county offered it in the Senate three days later. The House Committee on Constitution, to which the bill was referred, granted a hearing, at which speeches were made by Mrs. Monroe

McClurg, Miss Belle Kearney, Mrs. Somerville, Miss Kate Gordon (La.), Judge Allen Thompson and Colonel Clay Sharkey. The committee reported unfavorably by a majority of one. A minority report was made by the chairman, Henry A. Minor of Noxubee county, and others. Representative Mott offered a resolution inviting the women to present their case in the House the next day, which was carried by a close vote about one o'clock in the afternoon and the hearing was set for ten the next morning. The *Daily News* had gone to press and the *Clarion Ledger*, a morning paper, had some time before forbidden its columns to any news or notices in any way favoring woman suffrage or advertising it.

The president of the Equity League of Jackson, Mrs. J. W. Tucker, with her assistants, announced the hearing over the telephone, the legislators spread the story and when the women who were to speak filed into the House on that memorable morning of January 21 they found all available space occupied and the galleries overflowing. An invitation was sent to the Senators to come over but so many had already deserted their posts for the House that there was not a quorum to vote on the invitation. Hilary Quin of Hinds county, Speaker of the House, presided, introducing the speakers and extending every possible courtesy. They were Mrs. McClurg, Miss Kearney, Miss Orr, Miss Gordon, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Dent and Mrs. Somerville. The speeches made so profound an impression that hardly had the last word been spoken when there came a loud and insistent call from the enemies for adjournment. The bill was presented next day. Emmett Cavette of Noxubee county strongly championed it and Speaker Quin left the chair to make a speech in its favor. Representative S. Joe Owen of Union county vigorously led the fight against it and it was lost by 80 noes, 42 ayes.

In 1916 the women's organizations united in a bill making women eligible to serve as county school superintendents and on the boards of educational and benevolent institutions. During the session of 1918 the suffrage association being in the midst of war work took no initiative in behalf of legislation but Senator Earl Richardson of Neshoba county on his own account introduced in the Senate a concurrent resolution to amend the State

constitution. The members of the Equity League gave assistance; Mrs. Isaac Reese of Memphis was invited to come to the Capitol and on the day the vote was taken she and Miss Kearney made brief speeches before the Senate. On motion of Senator P. E. Carothers the question was submitted without debate, which was a disappointment to its friends, H. H. Casteel of Holmes county declaring that he had remained up nearly all of the night before preparing his speech. The vote was a tie, 21 to 21. The House took no action.

Through the years the officers and members of the State and local suffrage associations united with those of other women's organizations to obtain laws. The age of consent was raised first to 12, then to 16 and in 1914 to 18; better child labor laws were secured; the law permitting a father to dispose of the children by will at his death was repealed. It is a fact not generally known that Mississippi was the pioneer State in securing to married women the right to own and dispose of property. This was done by an Act of the Legislature on Feb. 15, 1839.

**RATIFICATION.** Congress submitted the Federal Amendment in June, and the Ratification Committee was organized in November. It opened its headquarters in Jackson at the beginning of the legislative session in January, 1920, after having made a whirlwind campaign. At the initial meeting of the committee in Clarksburg there had been great enthusiasm and women gave money as they never had done before. Mrs. B. F. Saunders was made chairman and among those who worked with her in Jackson were Mrs. Somerville, Mrs. Trotter, Mrs. Sam Covington, Miss Blanche Rogers, Mrs. Thompson, Miss Kearney, Mrs. Annie Neely and Mrs. Cunningham of Texas. The legislators were systematically interviewed, literature distributed, petitions circulated and the press kept supplied with arguments and news.

Mrs. Thompson, in charge of the Jackson press, wrote innumerable articles, and Mrs. Somerville and others contributed to the press work. Letters, telegrams and petitions from all over the State urging ratification poured in daily upon both Houses. Delegations of women came to urge their representatives to vote for ratification. Nine influential women came from Lauderdale county bringing a petition of 2,100 names of prominent people



obtained in a day and a half and begged their representatives to vote for the amendment but not one of them did so.

Many of the State's leading newspapers were in favor of ratification. The *Daily News* of Jackson, in keeping with its policy for years, gave editorial support and generously of its space. The *Clarion Ledger*, also a Jackson daily, boasted of being the only paper in the State which openly fought ratification. The editor, Colonel Hiram Henry, a veteran journalist of the State, always bitterly opposed to any form of woman suffrage, began his attack weeks before the Legislature met and daily during the session the pages of his paper reeked with hatred for the cause. The literature of the "antis" was largely copied and extracts from negro journals published in the North were reproduced in glaring headlines, extracts so offensive that had they been used against any cause save that of disfranchised women would have been suppressed. It was through his influence that Mrs. Cola Barr Craig, once a resident of Jackson, and Mrs. James S. Pinckard of Alabama came early in January to organize a branch of what they called the Southern Women's Rejection League. They held a public meeting in the Carnegie library, at which besides the two speakers, there were nineteen women present, many of them the old friends of Mrs. Craig. No one would take even the temporary chairmanship and the attempt to organize failed ignominiously. Not daunted Mr. Henry sent for Miss Kate Gordon of New Orleans, a veteran suffragist who had joined hands with the "antis" in fighting ratification. She was advertised for a speech at the Carnegie library and all legislators were urged to attend. Two legislators and fifteen women were present, six of the latter State workers for ratification.

The retiring and incoming State officials were almost to a man outspoken in their advocacy of ratification. Governor Theodore G. Bilbo, the retiring Governor, instead of having the clerk of the House read his farewell message, according to time honored custom, delivered it in person. Woman suffrage was its conspicuous feature and after a profound argument for ratification of the Federal Amendment, he closed his remarks with the solemn statement: "Woe to that man who raises his

hand against the onward march of this progressive movement!" The newly elected Governor, Lee M. Russell, in his inaugural address, delivered in front of the Capitol to an audience of thousands, devoted more time to woman suffrage than to any other topic, making a clear cut, logical argument for ratification and a powerful plea for the enfranchisement of women.

On January 21, W. A. Winter, Representative from Grenada county, offered the following resolution: "Resolved that the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States be and hereby is rejected as an unwarranted, unnecessary and dangerous interference with the rights reserved to the States, or to the people, in both State and Federal Constitutions. . . ." This came without warning to the friends of ratification and was not referred to a committee but rushed to a vote after Representative Guy W. Mitchell of Lee county had spoken strongly against it. It was carried by a vote of 94 ayes to 25 noes and the announcement received with cheers and laughter. Sennett Conner of Covington county was the Speaker of the House whose ruling permitted this unparliamentary action.

Sent to the Senate the Winter Resolution of Rejection was referred to the Committee on Constitution, of which Senator Minor was chairman. At the meeting of the committee W. B. Mixon of Pike county was authorized to draft a resolution ratifying the amendment, to be offered in the Senate as a substitute. This was done and Senators Minor, Mixon and Fred B. Smith made a majority report. This resolution was earnestly advocated by Senators Percy Bell and Walton Shields of Washington county, W. B. Roberts of Bolivar, Fred B. Smith of Union, A. A. Cohn of Lincoln and E. F. Noel of Holmes. It failed of adoption and the Winter resolution was recommitted to the Committee on Constitution, where it remained.

In the meantime Senator Mixon had introduced a bill in the Senate giving the right to women to vote in Primary elections and Representative A. J. Whitworth of Pike county a similar one in the House. In Mississippi a nomination is equivalent to an election. Both bills were defeated. A resolution for a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution to be submitted to the voters at the election of November, 1920, passed both

Houses with very little opposition. During the last three weeks of the session Senator Mixon introduced a bill giving the right of suffrage to women in the event of the ratification of the Federal Amendment by thirty-six Legislatures, thus enabling them to vote in the August primaries, and Representative Whitworth introduced two bills, one giving suffrage to women in primary elections and the other in general elections, both contingent upon ratification. These bills passed without opposition.

During the last week of the Legislature Senator Roberts called out of the committee the original Winter Resolution of Rejection and in Committee of the Whole it was amended by striking out the word "reject" and substituting the word "ratify." Thus amended the vote in the Senate stood 21 ayes, 21 noes and Lieutenant Governor H. H. Casteel broke the tie in favor of its adoption. News of the Senate's favorable action spread all over the country in a few hours. Telegrams came pouring in to the Governor and Legislature offering congratulations and appealing to the House to make Mississippi the 36th State to ratify.

The Senate substitute was presented to the House the next afternoon, March 31. Representative Winter moved that the House "do not concur with the Senate Resolution of Ratification." Immediately there came calls for the vote. Telegrams were on the Speaker's stand from William Jennings Bryan, Homer Cummings, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer and many other prominent Democrats. A vote was taken as to whether these should be read to the House. Representative E. M. Lane of Smith county, although an opponent of ratification, made an earnest appeal that the courtesy of a hearing should be accorded these national party leaders. A vote of 65 to 32 decided that the telegrams should not be read. Governor Russell had stated that he desired the privilege of the floor to make an appeal in behalf of ratification but this courtesy was denied him. Representatives T. D. Rees of Prentiss county and Walter Sillers of Bolivar spoke in favor of ratification but were poorly heard so great was the confusion and so loud and insistent the calls for the vote. Representative Mitchell was absent. Dr. Whitworth (author of three suffrage bills at

this session) spoke against ratification and while he was speaking Representative R. H. Watts of Rankin county interpolated, "I would die and go to hell before I would vote for it." The substitute was defeated by 94 noes, 23 ayes.

Thus was banished forever the dream of Mississippi suffragists that the women would receive the ballot from the men of this great State. Speaker Sennett Conner was responsible above every one else for the defeat of ratification. Its chance was weakened by the fact that Mississippi's entire delegation in Congress, including Senators John Sharp Williams and "Pat" Harrison had voted against submitting the Federal Amendment.

Did space permit there would be added to the names mentioned in this chapter many others who gave "aid and comfort" to the cause. Among those who never failed when asked to help with financial burdens was the late Major R. W. Millsaps, founder of Millsaps College for men and women. The army of active suffragists was never large. Many women wanted the ballot but comparatively few were under conviction to work for it. To those who did, especially in early, trying days, belongs that indescribable exultation which is the portion of those who help onward a great revolutionary movement for the uplift of the race.

The amendment to the State constitution was voted on at the general election in November, 1920, and received 39,186 ayes, 24,296 noes but it was not carried, as the law requires a majority of all the votes cast at the election. As the women were already enfranchised by the Federal Amendment they did not make a campaign for it but as registration is necessary four months before election and the ratification did not take place until two months before this one, they were not able to vote, Mississippi and Georgia being the only two States that denied this privilege.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### MISSOURI.<sup>1</sup>

When the last volume of the history of woman suffrage was written in 1900 Missouri was one of the blackest spots on the suffrage map and there was little to indicate that it would ever be lighter. The able and courageous women who inaugurated the movement in 1867, Mrs. Virginia L. Minor, Mrs. Beverly Allen, Mrs. Rebecca Hazzard, Miss Phoebe Couzins and Mrs. Sarah Chandler Coates, were no longer living or past the age for strenuous work. A few women kept up a semblance of a State organization, met annually and in 1901 Mrs. Addie Johnson was elected president; in 1902 Mrs. Louis Werth and in 1903 Mrs. Alice Mulkey, but there was great apathy among women in general. From 1903 to 1910 no State convention was held. In St. Louis, which comprised one-fourth of the inhabitants of the State, there was no visible organization working for woman suffrage. The largest and most influential woman's club refused to allow the subject on its programs. During the decade to 1910 only one speaker of national prominence came into the State—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association—and evidently at the national headquarters Missouri was considered too hopeless to consider.

The movement was only smoldering, however, and needed but a spark to burst into flame and that spark came from afar—from the torch held high by the "militant" suffragists of England. In no State perhaps was there more bitter invective hurled at them than by the press and people of Missouri but the conscience of the convinced suffragists was aroused. Stirring addresses in St. Louis by Stanton Coit of London and John Lovejoy Elliott of New York in defense of the English "militants"

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Marie R. Garesche, a founder and first vice-president of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League.

brought matters to a crisis and a few bold spirits decided to reorganize the scattered suffrage forces.

In March, 1910, Mrs. Florence Wyman Richardson, Miss Marie R. Garesche and Miss Florence Richardson (later Mrs. Roland R. Usher) barely out of her teens, renounced society and invited twenty or twenty-five women, whom they thought might be interested, to meet in Miss Garesche's home. Only five responded, Miss Bertha Rombauer, Miss Jennie M. A. Jones, Mrs. Robert Atkinson, Miss Lillian Heltzell and Mrs. Dan Knefler. Not at all daunted it was decided as a first step to engage a prominent lecturer. Miss Ethel Arnold, the well-known Englishwoman, a suffragist but not a "militant," was then touring this country and before the meeting adjourned a telegram was sent to her and the eight women present guaranteed the sum to cover her charge and the rent of a hall. As her itinerary would bring her to St. Louis about the middle of April it was thought best to organize immediately, so that the publicity which would undoubtedly be given to Miss Arnold would be shared by the infant society. A circular letter outlining the project was sent broadcast and April 8 about fifty women gathered at the residence of Mrs. Richardson and effected an organization. Thus came into being the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League, which was destined to play the principal part in winning the vote for the women of the State. The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. Richardson; first vice-president, Miss Garesche; second, Mrs. Atkinson; corresponding secretary, Miss Rombauer; recording secretary, Miss Heltzell; treasurer, Mrs. Knefler; auditor, Mrs. Leslie Thompson.

Miss Arnold's lecture took place April 11 and her charm, culture and cogent reasoning won many friends to the cause and disarmed many of its opponents. Branch organizations were soon formed in the northern and southern parts of the city with Mrs. Atlanta Hecker and Miss Cecilia Razovsky as presidents. Meetings were held in the Cabanne Branch Library and before the end of the year the members had increased to 275.<sup>1</sup> During

<sup>1</sup> Thirteen men were enrolled this year, Eugene Angert, George Blackman, R. W. Boysselier, Dr. W. W. Boyd, Mr. Chauvenet, E. M. Grossman, Charles Haanel, Stephen Hart, Charles Van Dyke Hill, Dr. John C. Morfit, H. J. Peifer, Judge R. E. Rombauer and Percy Werner.

the first year the league brought a number of lecturers to the city, realizing that this was the most valuable form of propaganda in a community so entrenched in conservatism. Among them were Mr. and Mrs. Philip Snowden of England; Professor Frances Squire Potter of the University of Minnesota; Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead of Boston; Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell and Professor Earl Barnes of Philadelphia.

On Nov. 3, 1911, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst of England, at the invitation of the league, lectured in the Odeon, the largest hall in the city, to an audience that taxed its capacity. Her charming personality set at rest all fears as to the ill effect of suffrage, even of the "militant" variety, on feminine grace and refinement. Soon afterwards the Mary Institute Alumnae Association invited Miss Sylvia Pankhurst to lecture and the result was most gratifying to the friends of suffrage.

The old State organization having ceased to exist the St. Louis league with its branches and the recently formed Webster Groves Suffrage League, Mrs. Lee Roseborough, president, met in St. Louis Feb. 14, 1911, and organized a State Woman Suffrage Association, which affiliated with the National American Association. The officers were: President, Mrs. Atkinson; vice-president, Mrs. Morrison-Fuller; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Boyd; recording secretary, Miss Rombauer; treasurer, Miss Jane Thompson; auditor, Mrs. R. D. McArthur. Owing to various causes this board was in a few months reduced to three working members, Mrs. Atkinson, Mrs. Boyd and Miss Rombauer. Realizing that it must enlist the support of the press they sent out letters to a long list of the State editors and favorable replies were received from twenty-six, who promised to give a weekly column in their papers for suffrage news and propaganda. All the libraries were written to and a number of them induced to procure the four large volumes of the History of Woman Suffrage, generously offered by the National Association. The librarians, who were often women, were asked to keep on hand a supply of suffrage literature. The St. Louis public library, at the suggestion of the board, made a special exhibit of this literature, much of which was new. In the center of the exhibit was a large picture of William T. Harris, former superintendent

of schools in St. Louis and later U. S. Commissioner of Education, with his strong testimony in favor of woman suffrage.

Mrs. Atkinson was permitted to make an address on suffrage before the State Federation of Women's Clubs at Sedalia but no action was taken. She also addressed a large audience at the dedication of the Woman's Building which had been erected by the Legislature on the State Fair grounds near that city and Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Columbia also made an address. The board paid a lawyer to compile the State laws for women under the direction of E. M. Grossman. Mrs. Atkinson, Mrs. Boyd and Mrs. John L. Lowes of St. Louis and Mrs. Virginia Hedges of Warrensburg went as delegates to the convention of the National Association in 1911 at Louisville, where much satisfaction was expressed that Missouri had at last come into the fold. The Kansas City League was organized this year with Mrs. Henry N. Ess, president; Miss Helen Osborn, secretary; and Mrs. Helena Cramer Leavens, treasurer. The women of Warrensburg, under the leadership of Miss Laura Runyon, organized a club of fifty members. There was the State Normal School, to whose faculty Miss Runyon belonged, and through her the support of the students was obtained and suffrage propaganda extended gradually to every section of the State. Mrs. Knefler, president of the St. Louis Women's Trades Union, organized a league among its members, which, under the leadership of Mrs. Sarah Spraggon and Miss Sallie Quick, did excellent work in the campaigns that followed.

In 1912 a Business Woman's Suffrage League was formed in St. Louis under the leadership of Miss Mary McGuire, a graduate of the St. Louis University Law School, and Miss Jessie Lansing Moller, which starting with 50 members, eventually numbered 250. The same year the Junior Branch of the St. Louis League was organized, which included many of the younger society girls and matrons. Miss Ann Drew (later Mrs. James Platt) was president. In Kansas City in the autumn the Southside Equal Suffrage League was formed with Mrs. Cora Kramer Leavens, president, and Miss Cora Best Jewell, secretary. A Men's Equal Suffrage League was also organized with D. H. Hoff president; J. H. Austin, vice-president; David Proctor, secretary, which



did a large work in securing the big vote given to the suffrage amendment in Kansas City and Jackson county in 1914.

In 1912 the first State convention was held in September at Sedalia, where Mrs. George Gellhorn was elected president and Mrs. John W. Barringer vice-president, both of St. Louis. They went to Jefferson City in September and tried to get a suffrage plank into the platform of the Democratic State convention. Though unsuccessful it was the initial step in bringing the subject out of the parlor and lecture-room into the sphere of politics, the arena where the battle ultimately had to be fought. Twenty-eight leagues were formed this year. Miss Amelia C. Fruchte, member of the St. Louis Central High School faculty, went before the State Teachers' Association and secured its endorsement of woman suffrage.

In 1913 at the State convention held at St. Louis in September, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, formerly of Ohio, was elected State president. She had been the leading spirit in work for suffrage in Columbia, the seat of the State University, where her husband was a professor, and in November, 1912, an organization was formed with Dr. R. H. Jesse, former president of the university, at its head. Though the State in general was still apathetic the women in the large places, especially in St. Louis and Kansas City, were alert and active. Mrs. Richardson, after two strenuous years, had been succeeded by Mrs. David O'Neil as president of the St. Louis League. She was followed in October by Mrs. John L. Lowes, who had to resign from exhaustion and Mrs. O'Neil was again elected.

The hard work that had been done was beginning to bear fruit and the Farmers' Alliance, the Prohibitionists, the Single Taxers and other organizations were seeking the cooperation of the suffrage societies. The press was giving more and more space to suffrage news. Mrs. Emily Newell Blair of Carthage was a powerful influence with country editors. The St. Louis *Post Dispatch* offered prizes amounting to \$100 for the best arguments in favor and often contained strong editorials. Thanks largely to Miss Jane Winn, on the editorial staff of the *Globe Democrat*, suffrage news was seldom refused by that paper. The Kansas City *Star* and the *Post* gave strong support. Best

of all, the women were gaining in courage and confidence. In September the managers of a Merchants' and Manufacturers' Street Exposition in St. Louis invited the suffragists to conduct a parade under their auspices and a large number of automobiles and auto-trucks gaily decorated with white and yellow bunting and accompanied by several bands of music went through the principal downtown streets. The crowds were respectful and occasionally enthusiastic. The enthusiasm of the paraders reached such a pitch that they left their protecting cars and marched boldly down the middle of the street, preceded by a band playing "Everybody's doing it." The details were arranged by Mrs. W. W. Boyd, Jr.

The time was judged to be ripe for an organized effort to secure action at the general election of 1914 and two plans presented themselves: First, to ask the Legislature to submit to the voters an amendment to the State constitution giving full suffrage to women; second, to secure the necessary number of signatures under the newly enacted initiative petition law to place the amendment on the ballot regardless of action by the Legislature. The former method was tried first but the latter was found to be necessary. A finance committee was appointed by the league to raise funds for the campaign and at a luncheon in St. Louis amid great enthusiasm \$11,000 were pledged, which were turned over to Mrs. B. B. Graham, campaign treasurer. Headquarters were opened down town with Mrs. Knefler, campaign manager, in charge. The interest aroused throughout the State by the circulating of the petition was manifested at the State convention in Columbia, in May, 1914, which was attended by a number of delegates from the country districts. Mrs. Miller was re-elected president. On "suffrage day," May 1, men and women addressed crowds between acts at different theaters and on the steps of public buildings. Miss Fola LaFollette was the speaker at a large evening meeting and addressed the Men's City Club at luncheon the next day. The slogan was sent out far and wide, "Suffrage for Missouri in 1914." After the heavy task of obtaining 14,000 names to the petition and a strenuous campaign the amendment was defeated at the polls.

In 1915 an offer was made by a newspaper man in Monet to

publish a suffrage magazine and eagerly accepted, the suffragists agreeing to furnish the material and to work up the subscriptions. Mrs. Blair was the first editor of the *Missouri Woman* and all went well for a few months, then the publisher failed. This was a keen disappointment but through the efforts of Miss Mary Bulkley and Percy Werner of St. Louis, Flint Garrison, president of the Garrison-Wagner Printing Company, a prominent Democrat and an ardent suffragist, became interested and agreed to publish the magazine. It was adopted as the organ of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and was endorsed by the State branch of the National Congress of Mothers and the State Parent Teachers' Association. In March, 1916, Mrs. Blair, owing to the difficulty of editing the magazine from her home in Carthage while it was published in St. Louis, resigned as editor and was succeeded by Miss Mary Semple Scott of St. Louis, who continued in that office during the remaining three years of its useful existence, until the women of the State had been partially enfranchised and the Federal Suffrage Amendment had been ratified by the Legislature.

During 1916 the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League reorganized on political lines with a Central Committee composed of a member from each of the twenty-five wards. Mrs. William C. Fordyce, who for a long time had urged this action, was unanimously elected chairman. At the convention held in Springfield in May Mrs. John R. Leighty of Kansas City succeeded Mrs. Miller, who had been elected first vice-president of the National Association and would reside in Washington. At the meeting of the board held in St. Louis in June the State association also was reorganized on political lines and a Congressional Committee of sixteen members representing the sixteen congressional districts was appointed. The St. Louis League subscribed \$500 to carry on the work and Mrs. Charles Passmore was made chairman. The committees appealed to the Republican State convention to put a plank for woman suffrage in its platform but with no success. Later, after the two national parties had adopted suffrage planks, an effort was made to have the State committees adopt the same plank but they refused.

The National Democratic Convention held in St. Louis in

June, 1916, offered a splendid opportunity which both State and city suffragists eagerly seized. Some unique schemes were evolved, among them the "golden lane," the idea of Mrs. Blair. It has been described as "a walkless, talkless parade" and consisted of about 7,000 women arranged in a double line on both sides of the street, the front row sitting, the back row standing, all dressed in white with yellow sashes and each one carrying a yellow parasol. They held their places on the opening day of the convention, June 14, from 10 a. m. till noon, on both sides of Locust Street for a distance of ten blocks, the route the delegates had to take in going from their headquarters in the Jefferson Hotel to the Coliseum, where the convention was held.

Another striking appeal was in the form of a beautiful and imposing tableau staged on the steps of the old Art Museum, also on the route of the delegates, which was given with an occasional interval of rest for two long hours. The details were managed by Miss Virginia Stevenson. Under a canopy of gold cloth, which cast a glow over the group below, there stood at the top of the steps "Liberty," posed by handsome Mrs. O'Neil. Grouped about her were thirteen women dressed in white representing the twelve equal suffrage States and Alaska. Farther down on the steps were the States in which only partial suffrage had been granted, impersonated by women dressed in gray. At the bottom were figures in black, representing the States where women were wholly disfranchised, extending their manacled arms to Liberty. A mass meeting was held later in the day in the auditorium of the Museum, when Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, William Jennings Bryan, U. S. Senator John F. Shafrroth and Mrs. Miller addressed large and enthusiastic audiences. The Town Club, an organization of women, gave a dinner with covers laid for 300, which was followed by music and speaking in front of the Jefferson Hotel. On the same night there was street speaking on the principal down town corners for two hours, one speaker relieving another as the crowds called for more. Miss Scott brought out an impressive number of the *Missouri Woman* during the convention. William Burns, a well-known artist on the *Post Dispatch*, designed an attractive and significant cover and Miss Marguerite Martin illustrated a story by Mrs. Blair; editors of

the St. Louis dailies, Louis Ely, Casper Yost and Paul W. Brown, contributed editorials and William Marion Reedy, editor of the St. Louis *Mirror*, wrote a charming article. The edition of 10,000 was sold at the bookstands and by volunteers who acted as "newsies." The business men advertised generously.

The result partially of all the hard work and enthusiasm was a woman suffrage plank in the platform according to the Democratic principle of State's rights, which, though not entirely satisfactory to the suffragists, was regarded as a decided victory.

The entrance of the United States in the World War in 1917 acted as a deterrent of suffrage activities, as the various organizations threw themselves whole-heartedly into war work. Mrs. Leighty, State chairman, Mrs. Stix, chairman of the St. Louis League, and other heads of suffrage societies throughout the State, had the difficult task of directing their activities in war work and at the same time keeping at the front the idea that, while working to make the world safe for democracy abroad, the cause of democracy at home demanded the speedy enfranchisement of the women of America. Missouri's quota for the Oversea Hospitals organized by the National Suffrage Association was \$1,000. At a luncheon given by the St. Louis League May 8, where Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany of New York was the speaker, \$4,331 were subscribed in fifteen minutes. Mrs. Miller was chairman of the Food Conservation Committee of the National Association and Mrs. George Gellhorn organized its work for Missouri. All demands of the Government were fully met.

In May, 1917, the State convention was held at Kansas City and Mrs. Miller having returned from Washington was again elected president. This year a Men's Advisory Committee in St. Louis was formed composed of 147 well-known residents organized under the following leaders: Jackson Johnson, N. A. McMillan, Ernest W. Stix, Joseph Woracek, Edward F. Goltra, E. N. Grossman, Benjamin Gratz, J. L. Babler. A teachers' division including many thousand was formed, with Miss Tillie Gecks as president. Largely through the efforts of the executive secretary of the St. Louis league, Mrs. Lucille B. Lowenstein, its membership in 1918 was increased to 8,000. Mrs. Stix, resigning because of illness, Mrs. Gellhorn was elected.

At the State convention held at Macon in May, 1918, Mrs. Miller was re-elected. Owing to the splendid organization of the St. Louis League it was able to invite the National Suffrage Association to hold its Golden Jubilee in this city in 1919. It was held March 23-29 inclusive at the Statler Hotel with two evening mass meetings at the Odeon, and was declared by Mrs. Catt to have been "the best convention ever held anywhere." A large group of women worked indefatigably for weeks in advance to make it a success but to Mrs. Gellhorn, chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, must go the chief honor. Second must be placed the name of Mrs. Stix, who had raised the funds to defray the local expenses.

On the evening of March 28 was held one of the mass meetings. The large auditorium of the Odeon, beautifully decorated for the occasion under the supervision of Mrs. Fred Taussig and Mrs. Everett W. Pattison, was filled to overflowing. On the stage were Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw and the other national officers, also the speakers of the evening, among whom were Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas and Miss Helen Frazier of England. Suddenly music was heard from the back. It heralded the Missouri delegation, composed of Mrs. Miller, Mrs. David O'Neil, Mrs. W. R. Haight and Miss Marie B. Ames, who had been in Jefferson City for ninety-six days working in the interest of the Presidential suffrage bill and had just returned with the joyful tidings that it had passed both Houses! The delegation was met at the door and escorted down the center aisle by Mrs. Gellhorn, holding aloft a banner bearing the words, "Now we are voters." The large audience rose spontaneously and amidst deafening cheers and wild waving of handkerchiefs and hats the women ascended to the stage, where they were individually presented to the audience by the presiding officer, Dr. Shaw, who congratulated them and the rest of the women of Missouri on the great victory. [Full account of convention in Chapter XVIII, Volume V.]

To celebrate the success of this great convention and especially the winning of Presidential suffrage, the St. Louis League at its annual meeting in April gave a "victory tea" in the Statler Hotel. The guests of honor were Senator James W. McKnight and

Representative Walter E. Bailey, who had so successfully led the suffrage forces in the Senate and House. With music and the presentation to Mrs. O'Neil, in acknowledgment of her long and faithful services, of an illuminated testimonial, it was a delightful afternoon. Mrs. Fred English was elected president of the league. At the State convention held at St. Louis Mrs. Gellhorn was elected president, Mrs. Miller honorary president, Mrs. David O'Neil honorary vice-president of the association.

With Presidential suffrage won, the work before both State and city association was obviously the organization and education of the new voters. At a State meeting held in Kansas City May 3, a "budget" system was adopted and a definite quota assigned to each county. Kansas City raised \$3,000 at a banquet in the Muehlbach Hotel, Mrs. J. B. White presiding. St. Louis then raised its quota of \$6,000 and another \$6,000 was pro-rated throughout the remainder of the State, giving \$15,000.

The next step in order was the establishment of Citizenship Schools and the slogan "Every Missouri Woman an Intelligent Voter in 1920" was adopted. Under the direction of Mrs. Olive B. Swan, executive secretary of the State association, citizenship schools were arranged for in every one of the sixteen congressional districts. Miss Ames and Miss Lutie Stearns, two expert organizers, traveled through the State holding meetings and conducting schools. Mrs. Leighty and Mrs. Alfred Buschman assisted in this work. Mrs. English and Mrs. Clarke conducted all those in St. Louis. The Young Women's Christian Association allowed them the use of its auditorium for the first suffrage normal school. Some mothers of families got up at five o'clock and did part of their day's work in order to be able to attend; some women traveled miles in order to do so; others came to night classes after a hard day's work in office or school room. The St. Louis Board of Education recognized the importance of this work and offered to incorporate the citizenship schools in the night school system. It furnished the building and paid the instructors, the St. Louis League managed the schools. The response of the colored women to these opportunities was especially noteworthy; in one school over 300 were in constant attendance. Mrs. McBride, secretary of the Jackson county

suffrage league, conducted classes throughout the county. Kansas City secured Professor Isador Loeb of the University of Missouri for a course of lectures on government. All the women's clubs united into one school. The course included principles of government, organization, publicity, public speaking, suffrage history and argument, parliamentary law and use of literature.

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The submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by Congress in June, 1919, was celebrated with the greatest joy throughout the State. Prominent suffragists in St. Louis waited upon Mayor Keil, the board of aldermen and other city officials and escorted them in gaily decorated automobiles to the steps of the Post Office, where the Mayor, an old friend of woman suffrage, made a rousing speech. Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Gellhorn also spoke and Charles M. Hay closed the meeting with an eloquent address. In Kansas City a similar meeting was held in one of the large theaters.

**RATIFICATION.** Steps were at once taken to secure the ratification of the amendment by the Legislature. Edward F. Goltra, National Democratic Committeeman, a proved friend, and Ben Neals, State Democratic chairman, were often asked for advice and other help. Jacob Babler, Republican National Committeeman, and W. L. Cole, Republican State chairman, Mayor Keil and many others of both political parties assisted the suffrage associations in placing before Governor Gardner the urgency of calling a special session. He was not slow in responding and one was called for July 2, 1919. All the suffrage organizations in the State, with the Federated Clubs and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, started to work immediately to make sure of a large majority. Legislators were visited by their constituents and letters and telegrams were showered on them by prominent men and women from other sections of the State.

On July 1 the suffragists gathered in Jefferson City and opened a State board meeting with a luncheon and speeches at the New Central Hotel to which every one was welcome. At 7 o'clock the ratification dinner took place, with members of the Legislature as the invited guests of the State association. Every foot of space in the dining-room, ante-room and lobby of the hotel was



filled with tables. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor were escorted to the hall by prominent suffragists and both made stirring appeals.

At 10 o'clock the morning of July 3, a procession of women wended its way from the hotel to the beautiful new Capitol. The yellow parasols, which had figured in every suffrage celebration since the time of the historic Golden Lane in 1916, were everywhere in evidence and yellow banners, ribbons and flowers gave the dominant note of color to the scene. The galleries in both Senate and House were filled. The resolution passed the House by a vote of 125 to 4; the Senate by a vote of 29 to 3.

A great sorrow came in the midst of the rejoicing, as the news was received that Dr. Anna Howard Shaw died the evening before the ratification. She had addressed the Legislature in other years and both Houses passed resolutions of regret.

Missouri women will forever remember gratefully the 50th General Assembly, as it did all possible for it to do toward their enfranchisement. It memorialized Congress urging the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment; it passed the Presidential suffrage bill and it promptly ratified the Amendment.

A called convention of the State association was held October 16-18, at the Hotel Statler in St. Louis and the name was changed to the Missouri League of Women Voters. Mrs. Gellhorn was elected chairman. Every district was represented by the 122 delegates present.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. 1913. A petition signed by 14,000 voters of the State, of whom 8,000 were from St. Louis, was presented to the Legislature asking it to submit an amendment for woman suffrage at the election of 1914. The women who had had charge of the petition were Mrs. David O'Neil, president, Miss Mary Bulkley, Miss Charlotte Rumbold and Mrs. William C. Fordyce of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League and Mrs. St. Clair Moss and Mrs. Rose Ingels of Columbia. A letter had been sent to every legislator saying that all he was asked to do was to help get the amendment before the voters. The resolution was introduced by Representative Thomas J. Roney and Senator Anderson Craig. It was referred to the House and Senate Committees on Constitutional Amendment

and a joint hearing was set for February 6. A number of women from different parts of the State appeared before these committees and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association, disarmed all prejudice. There was a unanimous favorable report from the Senate Committee and only one adverse vote in the House Committee. A week later the resolution was sent to engrossment by both Houses with but five dissenting votes in the Senate while in the House the "ayes" were so overwhelming that the "noes" were not counted. The women went home feeling that the fight was won but the last week of the session the resolution was taken off the calendar, referred back to the committees and pigeon-holed.

The women then decided to resort to the newly created device of the "initiative petition," by which the amendment could be submitted without legislative action. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller was urged to take charge of the work, the St. Louis Suffrage League agreeing to look after the three most difficult congressional districts. She began the latter part of August to canvass a State that has 114 counties, in many of which there are no railroads and the other roads are almost impassable. After six weeks of constant travel and hard work she obtained only 1,000 names. The cooperation of Mrs. Nellie Burger, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the only woman's organization in the State outside of the regular suffrage societies which had endorsed suffrage, was then secured. The St. Louis and Kansas City leagues took the most thickly populated districts and the others were apportioned among little bands of suffragists, who, under the leadership of Mrs. Miller, worked steadily for the next six months. At last the required 14,000 signatures were obtained and representatives from each district went to Jefferson City to present the petitions to Secretary of State Cornelius Roach. He received them in a most friendly manner, saying that he hoped this work, which had been done at such great cost, would bring the desired reward.

It had only begun and the task during the next six months was to induce the men to vote for the amendment, which now had an assured place on the ballot. Help came from the outside, as well as within the State. Ruth Hanna (Mrs. Medill) Mc-

Cormick of Chicago, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National Association, sent an organizer and paid her expenses for four months. From friends outside \$3,264 were sent and about \$1,800 were raised in various ways in the State. Dr. Shaw and Miss Jane Addams spoke in several cities and other prominent speakers were Mrs. Desha Breckinridge of Kentucky, Miss Helen Todd of California, Mrs. McCormick and "General" Rosalie Jones of New York. The State and county fairs were utilized. Headquarters were rented in a big downtown building in St. Louis with Miss Rumbold as director of publicity, Miss Genevieve Tierney and Mrs. R. L. Sanford in charge of the business part, Mrs. Alice Curtis Moyer-Wing head of the speakers' bureau and Miss Bulkley treasurer. Mrs. Blair had charge of the press work for the State, Miss Clara Somerville for St. Louis.<sup>1</sup> The *St. Louis Times*, the *Kansas City Post* and the *Warrensburg Daily Star* allowed the women to get out a special suffrage edition.

All the hard work of a year and a half was in vain. On Nov. 3, 1914, the woman suffrage amendment went down to defeat with fourteen other amendments on the ballot. More votes were cast on this one than on any other—182,257 ayes; 322,463 noes; lost by 140,206. In Kansas City the adverse majority was only 1,000. Thirteen counties were carried.

1915. It had been decided at the first State board meeting after the defeat to attempt again to have an amendment submitted by the Legislature. Mrs. Miller took charge of the work and remained six weeks in Jefferson City. The resolution was written by Judge Robert Franklin Walker, now Chief Justice of Missouri, and was introduced by Senator Craig and Representative Roney, as before. A joint hearing was arranged at which twelve Missouri women, representing various professions and occupations, spoke five minutes each. It passed the House by 88 ayes to 42 noes. Through the efforts of Senator William Phelps, who was showered with letters and telegrams from his constituents, the committee, a majority of whom were violently

<sup>1</sup> Because of lack of space it has been impossible to include the long lists of names prepared of women who worked all over the State.

opposed to woman suffrage, was persuaded to report it favorably but it did not come to a vote in the Senate.

1916. As the Federal Amendment was now well advanced and the bad effect on it of the loss of a State campaign was clearly recognized, the National Board asked the officers of each State association to refrain from entering into one. Therefore it was agreed at the State convention in May, 1916, to give up the projected campaign.

1917. A bill for Presidential suffrage, which was approved by the national officers, was introduced. Headquarters were opened in the Capitol with Miss Geraldine Buchanan of California, Mo., in charge and a strong lobby of State women remained there during the session—Mrs. Leighty, Mrs. Fordyce, Mrs. O'Neil, Mrs. Passmore and Mrs. Grossman of St. Louis. Mrs. Katherine Smith, daughter of Judge Walker, and Miss Matilda Dahlmeyer of Jefferson City gave effective aid. Percy Werner, a lawyer of St. Louis, agreed to defend its legal status before the Legislature if necessary and in January it was introduced by Senator Robert J. Mitchell of Aurora and Representative Nick Cave of Fulton. It was reported favorably by the House Committee but when it came to a hearing before the Senate committee there appeared Miss Minnie Bronson from New York, secretary of the National Anti-Suffrage Association. The speaker in favor was Mrs. Fordyce, a granddaughter of the pioneer suffragist, Mrs. Beverly Allen. The House passed it by 87 to 37 but the Senate defeated it.

Missouri women now turned their attention to furthering the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Congressional Committee appointed for this purpose worked indefatigably and early in January, armed with two large bundles of petitions for it, one from the State and one from St. Louis, aggregating 75,000 names, a delegation went to Washington. Mrs. Miller, vice-president of the National Association, arranged, with the assistance of Miss Mabel Stone, daughter of the Missouri Senator, William R. Stone, for a meeting in his office between them and the State's members of Congress. They presented their petitions and made earnest appeals for the amendment.

Suffragists throughout the State kept up a constant stream of

telegrams and letters to the Missouri members and Governor Gardner used his influence. Senator Stone, and after his death Senator Xenophon P. Wilfley, were pledged to the amendment, and Senator Selden P. Spencer, who later was elected, could positively be depended upon. All possible efforts were concentrated upon Senator James A. Reed but to no avail. To disprove his statements that his constituents were not in favor of woman suffrage, the Jackson county campaign committee, with Mrs. J. B. White of Kansas City chairman, sent him the signatures of 47,382 women and 12,583 men from his district, asking for it. When the amendment came to a vote in 1918, Senator Wilfley and all the Representatives voted in the affirmative except Meeker of St. Louis, who died soon afterwards. In 1919 Senator Spencer and the entire delegation in the House voted in favor. Senator Reed fought it every time it came before the Senate.

Delegations of women appeared before the State conventions of both parties on the same day in August, 1918, and asked for a suffrage plank. Mrs. Miller, Mrs. O'Neil and Mrs. Stix attended the Democratic convention in Jefferson City; Mrs. Gellhorn and Mrs. Grossman, assisted by others, looked after the Republican convention in St. Louis. They were invited to speak and each party put a very good suffrage plank in its platform.

1919. Work for Presidential suffrage was continued. Extra pressure was brought to bear on the Senate. Two national organizers, Miss Ames and Miss Alma Sasse, were sent into various senatorial districts to enlist the help of influential people and when the time came for a vote it undoubtedly was favorable pressure from home that kept some of the Senators in line. When the General Assembly convened Jan. 8, 1919, Governor Gardner recommended such suffrage legislation as the women might desire. Through the courtesy of Lieutenant Governor Crossley, President of the Senate, and S. F. O'Fallon, Speaker of the House, it was the first bill introduced.

On February 6 the Presidential bill was put on the calendar over the adverse report of the Election Committee, an action almost without precedent. On the 11th the Speaker left the chair and delivered a powerful address urging its passage. Representative Frank Farris also made a strong speech in its

favor and the final vote was 122 ayes, 8 noes. The opposition used every device to prevent it from being brought up for the final reading in the Senate but finally the time was set for March 28. On that date two of the Senators favoring it were absent and their votes were absolutely necessary. Senator David W. Stark was at his home in Westline and Senator Howard Gray had been called on important business to Caruthersville. On the 27th Mrs. Miller, Mrs. O'Neil, Mrs. Haight and Miss Ames, who had been in Jefferson City for over three months, met for final consultation. Senator Stark responded to a telephone call and promised to be in his seat the next morning. It was found it would be impossible for Senator Gray to arrive on time. They were in despair but a savior was at hand. Democratic National Committeeman Edward F. Goltra offered to charter a special train to bring Senator Gray, a Republican, to Jefferson City in time to cast his vote. This offer was gladly and gratefully accepted and the Senator left Caruthersville that night. The next morning all the other Senators were in their seats, the opposition complacent and confident that the bill could not pass. While Senator McKnight was reading a telegram from the National Suffrage Convention in session at St. Louis urging the immediate passage of the Presidential suffrage bill Senator Gray quietly walked in and took his seat! The opposition, out-witted and out-generated, threw up their hands and the bill was passed by a vote of 21 to 12, some of its former opponents voting for it. On April 5 in the presence of the board of the State association it was signed by Governor Gardner.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### MONTANA.<sup>1</sup>

Before 1900 the National American Woman Suffrage Association, under the presidency of Miss Susan B. Anthony, helped to organize suffrage societies in Montana and several conventions were held. In 1899 Dr. Maria M. Dean was elected president. She was succeeded by Mrs. Clara B. Tower, whose report to the national suffrage convention of 1903 said:

On May 1, 1902, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, National president, Miss Gail Laughlin and Miss Laura A. Gregg, organizers, arrived in Helena and in conjunction with the State officers planned a campaign to include a meeting in every town of any importance. Mrs. Catt re-organized the Helena Suffrage Club and remained two weeks, conducting a large correspondence, addressing all the women's organizations in the city and a mass meeting. Miss Laughlin spent these two weeks in Butte, where she spoke to a number of labor unions and obtained resolutions strongly endorsing woman suffrage from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, a delegate body representing 10,000 men. Mrs. Catt then went to Butte and for ten days she and Miss Laughlin delivered addresses before the principal organizations of the city, among which were the Woman's Club and the Trades Council. Their visit closed with a mass meeting at which a large number of names were secured for membership in the Equal Suffrage Club, which was organized immediately afterward. The campaign was then placed in charge of Miss Laughlin, who did the field work, and Miss Gregg, who arranged the dates from the headquarters in Helena. The speaking before labor unions was continued through the State and not a union or delegate body of laboring men failed to endorse woman suffrage. Miss Laughlin, by invitation, addressed the State labor convention, representing all the labor unions, and resolutions strongly endorsing woman suffrage and the submission of an amendment were passed with only one dissenting voice on a roll-call vote.

Miss Laughlin spent the summer and fall visiting every town of importance, organizing more than thirty clubs, and securing committees to circulate petitions where organization was impracticable.

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Lucile Dyas Topping, formerly Lewis and Clark county superintendent of schools and prominent in the work of the campaign of 1914, when Montana women obtained the suffrage.

The State convention was held in Butte in September in preparation for work in the Legislature during January and February, 1903, for submission to the voters of a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution, which had been strongly recommended by Governor Toole in his Message. A considerable sum was raised for press work and Miss Mary E. O'Neill was appointed superintendent. A resolution asking the National Association for the services of Miss Laughlin for legislative work was adopted and she remained.<sup>1</sup>

The bill for full suffrage was introduced in both Houses; public hearings were granted by the Judiciary Committee of each and the House took a recess that its members might attend in a body. Miss Laughlin and others spoke and the measure had strong advocates in Dr. O. M. Lanstrum, J. M. Kennedy, John Maginness, Colonel James U. Sanders, F. Augustus Heinze (the copper magnate), Colonel C. B. Nolan, State Senators Whipple, Myers and Johnson. State officers and members of the Helena Club assisted in the legislative work, which continued two months. The vote in the House was 41 ayes, 23 noes, but two-thirds were necessary. The resolution introduced in the Senate by H. L. Sherlock was also defeated.

At the session of 1905 the amendment resolution was again introduced and Mrs. Tower travelled from Boston to be present at the hearing. Mrs. J. M. Lewis, Mrs. Walter Matheson and Miss O'Neill addressed the committees but the vote was adverse.

For a number of years little was done except in a desultory way. The suffrage resolution was presented at almost every session of the Legislature but there was no intensive work for it. Some of the political equality clubs lived on, the strongest one in Missoula with J. Washington McCormick president and Miss Jeannette Rankin vice-president. In 1911 Dr. J. M. Donahue had introduced the suffrage resolution in the Legislature but no work had been done for it and this club sent Miss Rankin to Helena to press for its passage. It found champions in Colonel J. B. Nolan, W. W. Berry and D. G. O'Shea and opponents in James E. McNally and Joseph Binnard. Miss Rankin obtained permission to address the House. The Senate refused to attend

<sup>1</sup> In the intensive work that followed, Mrs. Tower was assisted by Dr. Dean, Mrs. Ellen Maria Dean, Mrs. James U. Sanders, Mrs. T. J. Walsh, Mrs. Bessie Hughes Smith, Mrs. Martha Dunkel, Mrs. Ella Knowles Haskell, Mrs. Adelaide Staves Reeder, Dr. Bertha Mackal McCleman, Mrs. C. B. Nolan, Mrs. Donald Bradford, Madame F. Rowena Medini, Miss Sarepta Sanders, Dr. Mary B. Atwater, Mrs. H. L. Sherlock, Mrs. Hughes and Miss Mary C. Wheeler.



officially but adjourned and was present almost in a body. House members brought flowers and the room resembled anything but a legislative hall, as masses of hats hid the legislators and people were banked in the doorways. Miss Rankin was escorted to the reading desk by a number of old-time suffragists, Dr. Dean, Dr. Atwater, Mrs. Sanders, Mrs. Mary Long Alderson and Miss May Murphy. As Representative Binnard was the strongest opponent he was delegated by the members to present Miss Rankin with a corsage bouquet of violets. He made a flowery speech and attempted to turn the meeting into a facetious affair but when Miss Rankin spoke his purpose was defeated and she received much applause. The bill was, however, reported out of the committee without recommendation and neither House took any action.

At the State Fairs of 1911 and 1912 the suffragists erected attractive booths, giving out suffrage literature and buttons to all passers-by. They were in charge of Ida Auerbach, Frieda Fligelman and Grace Rankin Kinney. In 1912 a State Central Committee was formed with Miss Rankin as temporary chairman and Miss Auerbach as temporary secretary. Later Mrs. Grace Smith was made treasurer. The first meeting was called in the studio of Miss Mary C. Wheeler of Helena. These women attended the State conventions of the Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties and succeeded in getting planks in their platforms for a suffrage amendment to the State constitution. Then all nominees were circularized and asked to stand by their party platforms. Miss Rankin went over the State quietly, stopping in every county seat and searching out women willing to work. She secured the consent of Thomas Stout to introduce the bill at the next session.

In January, 1913, the women met in Helena and formed a permanent State organization, electing the following officers: Chairman, Miss Rankin, Missoula; assistant chairmen, Mrs. Louis P. Sanders, Butte; Mrs. G. M. Gillmore, Glendive; secretary, Mrs. Harvey Coit, Big Timber; treasurer, Mrs. Wilbur L. Smith, Helena; finance chairman, Mrs. Wallace Perham, Glendive; press chairman, Miss Auerbach. The organization never had any constitution or by-laws. Letters from all over the State

were written to Governor S. V. Stewart and on January 7 the women went in a body to hear his Message, in which he recommended that Montana women should be enfranchised. With no discussion the resolution to submit an amendment to the voters passed the Senate by 26 ayes, two noes—J. E. Edwards and I. A. Leighton—and was signed by the president, Lieutenant Governor W. W. McDowell, in open session. In the House the vote was 74 ayes, two noes—Ronald Higgins and John W. Blair. On January 25 it was signed by the Governor.

On June 27 the second meeting of the State Central Committee was held in Livingston, immediately following that of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. Great progress in interest and organization was reported from all parts of the State. The only new officers elected were: Recording secretary, Mrs. John Willis of Glasgow; chairman of literature, Miss Mary Agnes Cantwell of Hunters' Hot Springs. Chairmen were appointed in each county and workers were sent into every precinct. The third meeting of the Central Committee was held in Butte September 22, 23, just before the State Fair, where it had a booth. It was decided to open headquarters in Butte Feb. 1, 1914.

The fourth meeting was held in Big Timber February 14 and the fifth in Lewiston June 6. Miss O'Neill was made assistant chairman and press chairman; Mrs. Edith Clinch, treasurer; Miss Eloise Knowles chairman of literature.

Headquarters were opened in Butte in January, 1914. Letters were sent to granges, labor unions, women's clubs and other organizations asking them to pass resolutions in favor of the amendment and aid the campaign as far as they could. Every newspaper in the State received each week a letter of suffrage news and items from Miss O'Neill and occasionally some propaganda material. Letters were sent regularly to the county chairmen and other workers giving instructions and keeping them in touch with the campaign. Large quantities of literature were distributed with many leaflets for special occasions. A short time before election personal letters and a leaflet especially for farmers were sent to 20,000 voters in the country districts. The house-to-house canvass of the women in the towns and cities was the most effective work done. Montana women spoke in every

county and women from outside the State in all but a few of the smaller ones.

In the spring Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw of New York City stopped off en route to California and spoke in a number of places. The women were charmed with her beauty and style and some men who had considered the movement as only carried on by women were surprised that a man of Mr. Laidlaw's standing should be at the head of a National Men's Suffrage League. He organized a Montana branch of it with Wellington D. Rankin (now Attorney General) as president.

Miss Rankin in her report to the national suffrage convention of November 12-17, expressed the highest appreciation of the women who came into Montana, either sent by the National Association or at their own expense, and campaigned for weeks under the instructions of the State board. They were headed by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, the national president, and included Miss Katharine Devereux Blake, Miss Ida Craft and Miss Rosalie Jones of New York; Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Miss Jane Thompson, Miss Gratia Erickson and Miss Florence Lord of Chicago; Mrs. Root of Los Angeles. During May and June Mrs. Cotterill of Seattle, and during July and August Miss Margaret Hinchey of Boston, gave their time to labor unions. A number of large demonstrations were held in various cities. Campaigning in a State of such distances and geographical formation presented great difficulties.

A precinct organization was perfected wherever possible but to the far-off places word was simply sent to the women to work to get votes for the amendment and they did so with splendid results. The usual program of party campaigning in rural districts was adopted of holding a rally followed by a dance. Miss Rankin, Miss Fligelman, Miss Grace Hellmick, Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway, Miss O'Neill, Dr. Dean, Mrs. Topping and many other volunteer speakers went into every little mining camp and settlement that could be reached. They spoke from the steps of the store and the audience, composed entirely of men, would listen in respectful silence, applaud a little at the close, too shy to ask questions, but on election day every vote was for suffrage. Old prospectors back in the mountains when approached and

asked for their votes would say: "Do you ladies really want to vote? Well, if you do, we'll sure help all we can." Many old-timers said: "What would our State have been without the women? You bet you can count on us." The campaigners spoke in moving picture theaters, from wagons and automobiles and wherever they could obtain an audience however small. There were no rebuffs but some of the Southerners would say that it would be a bad thing for the South. All these outlying districts that could be reached gave a favorable majority. The money for the campaign was raised in many ways, by donations, food sales, dances, collections, the sale of suffrage papers on the street, etc. The loss of the funds collected for the campaign through the closing of the State bank was a heavy blow and it could not have succeeded without the help of the National Association and friends in outside States. The campaign cost about \$9,000, of which over half was contributed by the association and other States.

To the women specifically mentioned the names of the following especially active in the campaign should be added: Miss Mary Stewart, Mrs. W. I. Higgins, Mrs. J. F. Kilduff, Mrs. Tyler Thompson, Jean Bishop, Mrs. Wm. Roza, Mrs. J. W. Scott, Mrs. John Duff, Mrs. Bertha Rosenberg, Mrs. Mary Tocher, Mrs. J. M. Darroch, Mrs. W. E. Cummings, Mrs. Stevens, Mrs. A. E. Richardson, Mrs. Frank D. O'Neill, Mrs. J. B. Ellis, Mrs. M. E. Hughes, Mrs. Delia Peets, Mrs. C. P. Irish, Mrs. J. R. E. Sievers, Mrs. A. P. Rooney, Mrs. Sarah M. Souders, Mrs. Sherrill, Mrs. Nathan Lloyd, Mrs. Burt Addams Tower, Mrs. Mary Meigs Atwater, Mrs. Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, Mrs. Charles N. Skillman, Mrs. Charles S. Haire, Mrs. J. M. Lewis, Mrs. H. W. Child, Miss Susan Higgins. Among the men the best friends besides those already mentioned were Miles Romney, Joseph H. Griffin, Lewis J. Duncan, W. W. McDowell, Lieutenant Governor, and the two U. S. Senators, Thomas J. Walsh and Henry L. Myers.

At the beginning of the campaign a travelling organizer of the National Anti-Suffrage Association came to Butte, and, saying that she acted officially, had an interview with the editors of the *National Forum*, the organ of the liquor interests. She told

them their open opposition was helping the amendment, urged them to carry it on in secret and said she would return later and lay before them a plan of campaign. Afterwards when the Butte papers exposed this scheme the *National Forum* described the interview. Before the election the National Anti-Suffrage Association sent its executive secretary, Miss Minnie Bronson, and Mrs. J. D. Oliphant of New Jersey to campaign against the amendment. They succeeded in forming only one society in the State and that was at Butte, with a branch in the little town of Chinook. The officers were Mrs. John Noyes, president; Mrs. Theodore Symons, secretary; Mrs. W. J. Chrystie, press chairman; Mrs. David Nixon, active worker; Mrs. Oliphant challenged Miss Rankin to a debate, which was held in the old auditorium in Helena. At the meeting, which had been packed by the liquor interests, Mrs. Oliphant was noisily applauded and the confusion was appalling.

Although the speakers travelled to remote districts up to the night before election in November, the instructions from headquarters were to have loose ends gathered up by the opening of the State Fair September 25, at Helena. Headquarters were maintained a week at the fair and in the city and each day *The Suffrage Daily* was issued. The editors were Mrs. L. O. Edmunds, Miss O'Neill, Mrs. M. E. McKay and Miss Belle Fligelman, all newspaper women. The most picturesque and educative feature of the whole campaign and the greatest awakener was the enormous suffrage parade which took place one evening during the week. Thousands of men and women from all parts of the State marched, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was at the head, and next, carrying banners, came Dr. Dean, the past president, and Miss Rankin, the present State chairman. A huge American flag was carried by women representing States having full suffrage; a yellow one for the States now having campaigns; a large gray banner for the partial suffrage States and a black banner for the non-suffrage States. Each county and city in the State had its banner. The Men's League marched and there were as many men as women in the parade.

During the entire campaign the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, one of the strongest organizations in the State, con-

ducted a vigorous fight for the amendment, sending its speakers to every locality. For many years it had worked for woman suffrage.

At the election Nov. 3, 1914, the amendment received 41,302 ayes; 37,588 noes, a majority of 3,714, and women were enfranchised on equal terms with men.

The various suffrage societies merged into Good Government Clubs with the avowed purpose of obtaining political action on many needed measures. The next year they secured mother's pension and equal guardianship laws, and others equally important in following years. The Executive Committee continued in existence and directed the work. At its meeting in 1916 it was decided to conduct an intensive campaign for prohibition in 1917; to elect a woman to Congress and a woman State Superintendent of Schools. Prohibition was carried; Miss Jeannette Rankin was elected the first Congresswoman in the United States and Miss May Trumper was elected Superintendent of Schools. That year an eight-hour-day for women was secured. This record was continued. Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway and Mrs. Emma A. Ingalls have served two terms each as State Representatives. All the county superintendents of schools are women.

After the Federal Amendment was submitted by Congress the societies met on June 22, 1919, and formed a State branch of the National League of Women Voters with Mrs. Edwin L. Norris chairman.

**RATIFICATION.** Governor Samuel V. Stewart called a special session of the Legislature to meet in August, 1920, and the Federal Suffrage Amendment was ratified on the 2nd by unanimous vote in the House and by 38 to one in the Senate—Claude F. Morris of Havre, Hill county. The resolution was introduced in the House by Mrs. Ingalls.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### NEBRASKA.<sup>1</sup>

The History of the movement for woman suffrage in Nebraska from 1900 to 1920 naturally divides itself into three periods. The first period extends from 1900 to 1912. During those years the organization was supported by a small but faithful group whose continuous effort at educating public sentiment prepared the way for the work that followed. The second period included the years from 1912 to 1915, during which time a campaign for full suffrage by an amendment to the State constitution was carried on. The third period from 1915 to 1920 was marked by the passage of a partial suffrage law in 1917, which was an issue during the preceding two years; an attack on that law through the initiative and referendum; the successful defense of it by the State Suffrage Association and the ratification of the Federal Amendment at a special session in 1919, which marked the end of a long contest.

Miss Laura Gregg, a Nebraska woman, was put in charge of the State suffrage headquarters at Omaha in October, 1899, by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman of the Organization Committee of the National American Suffrage Association, and remained four years. During that time conventions and conferences were held, much field work was done and the membership was increased to nearly 1,200. At the annual convention at Blair in October, 1900, Mrs. Catt, now national president, was present. Mrs. Clara A. Young of Broken Bow was elected State president, relieving Mrs. Mary Smith Hayward of Chadron, who had pressing business obligations. Her section of the State, however, remained one of the suffrage strongholds and she was always one of the largest contributors. Other officers elected

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Grace M. Wheeler, historian of the State Woman Suffrage Association, and Miss Mary H. Williams, member of the State Board from 1905.

were, vice-president, Mrs. Amanda J. Marble of Broken Bow; corresponding secretary, Miss Nelly Taylor of Merna; recording secretary, Mrs. Ida L. Denny of Lincoln.

In 1901 the State convention was held in Lincoln November 12-14, welcomed by Mayor T. C. Winnett. A reception was given at the Lindell Hotel to the fifty-six delegates and Mrs. Catt, who had spent sixteen days in the State, attending conferences in Omaha and eleven other places. An address by Governor E. P. Savage, one by Mrs. Catt, and a debate between Miss Gregg and A. L. Bixby, editor of the *State Journal*, who took the negative, were the evening attractions. There was a work conference led by Mrs. Catt and reports were given by the officers and by State workers, including Mrs. Maria C. Arter of Lincoln; Mrs. K. W. Sutherland of Blair, Miss Taylor, Mrs. Mary G. Ward of Tecumseh, Mrs. Jennie Ross of Dakota City, Mrs. Hetty W. Drury of Pender, with a "question box" conducted by Mrs. Catt. The next afternoon the speakers in a symposium were Mrs. Anna A. Wells of Schuyler, J. H. Dundas of the *Auburn Granger*, Mrs. Emma Shuman of Nebraska City, Mrs. Rosa Modlin of Beaver City, Mrs. C. W. Damon of Omaha, Mrs. Mary E. Jeffords of Broken Bow, Mrs. Alice Isabel Brayton of Geneva and Mrs. Belle Sears of Tekamah.

The sum of \$1,312 had been expended during the year, including the cost of headquarters and field work. Pledges to the amount of \$1,000 were made for the next year. The large dailies of Omaha and Lincoln had given much attention to the subject of woman suffrage and over 150 weeklies had published matter furnished by the press departments. Mrs. Young, Mrs. Marble, Miss Taylor and Mrs. Denny were re-elected; other officers were: Treasurer, Mrs. Mary E. Dempster, Omaha; first auditor, Mrs. Hayward, second, Mrs. Sears; press chairman, Mrs. Lucie B. Meriom of Beaver City.

This convention was a type of those held during the next three or four years. County conventions were frequent and local clubs were active. A small printed sheet called the *Headquarters Message*, edited by Miss Gregg, filled with State suffrage news, club reports, National recommendations, etc., was sent monthly to the workers. During the spring of 1902 Miss Gail Laughlin,



a national organizer, spent two weeks organizing new clubs and arousing old ones and Miss Gregg and Mr. Bixby debated in towns in eastern Nebraska. A series of parlor meetings in Omaha increased the interest there. Mrs. Marble was chairman of the Committee on Assemblies and during the summer the suffrage question was presented at the State Fair, the Epworth Assembly, Chautauquas, pioneer picnics and other gatherings. The committee included later Mrs. O. B. Bowers, Tekamah; Mrs. Ellen A. Miller, Beatrice; Mrs. Ollie King Carriker, Nebraska City; Mrs. Anna Pickett, Broken Bow. Miss Gregg spent the autumn in field work throughout the State. The annual convention was held at Tecumseh December 1-3, with a large attendance. The program included the Mayor, Governor-elect J. H. Mickey, the Hon. C. W. Beal, Senator O'Neill, and other prominent citizens. A memorial hour was given to Elizabeth Cady Stanton and to Nebraska suffragists who had died during the year. It was resolved to push press work, county organization, new memberships and work before assemblies.

In 1903 branch headquarters were established at the Lindell Hotel, Lincoln, for work with the Legislature. The delegates to the national convention in New Orleans in March were accompanied home by Miss Laughlin for organizing work. Assisted most of the time by Miss Gregg she visited thirty-five cities and towns, speaking from one to three times in each place, gained 403 new members and collected about \$200. She spoke at five Normal Schools during the summer and had headquarters at the Northwest G. A. R. encampment and several Chautauquas. The State convention was held at Nebraska City, October 6-8. The program was enriched by the address of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, national vice-president, on The Fate of Republics. Miss Laughlin made a strong speech and there were many new names on the program. To the previous plan of work had been added suffrage contests, literature in libraries and church work; the peace and industrial work of the National Association had been endorsed and committees formed.

In January, 1904, Miss Gregg was sent by Mrs. Catt to Oklahoma, where her services as organizer were very much needed. The State headquarters were transferred to Tecumseh with the

secretary, Mrs. Mary G. Ward, in charge. Mrs. Young edited the *Headquarters Message* and Mrs. Myrtle W. Marble of Humboldt attended to the publishing and mailing. A Suffrage Cook Book was prepared and published and became a source of considerable revenue. Mrs. Lulu S. Halvorsen of Nebraska City was press chairman. Miss Laughlin spent a month speaking and organizing. The State convention was held at Geneva November 21-December 1, Mrs. Ellis Meredith of Denver a principal evening speaker. With the withdrawal of Miss Gregg and the conviction that no amendment of any kind could be carried under the existing law, the interest of the local organizations began to decline and the two brave and faithful women who had carried the heaviest part of the burden were now finding it too heavy for their strength. Mrs. Young took the headquarters to her own home in Broken Bow and Mrs. Marble did all kinds of work at all times if it helped the cause.

Mrs. Young kept the clubs at work during 1905 and a full delegation of fourteen was sent to the national convention at Portland, Oregon, but her health began to fail and at the State convention held at Broken Bow October 10-12 she was compelled to give up the presidency. The executive board needed her counsel and experience and she accepted the position of honorary president. Mrs. Marble was made president and the other officers were re-elected with Miss Mary H. Williams as historian. Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Colorado was the principal speaker. There were seventeen addresses of welcome from representative citizens.

Mrs. Marble kept up the work in 1906 as far as it was possible. She began publishing an annual report of the year's work, a pamphlet of about 70 pages, containing a roster of the clubs and much useful information, and continued it during the four years of her presidency. With Miss Williams she attended the national convention at Baltimore. The State convention met at Lincoln, October 2, 3, in All Souls' Church with Dr. Shaw as evening speaker. A memorial meeting was held for Susan B. Anthony, with the Rev. Newton Mann of Omaha, her former pastor in Rochester, N. Y., as speaker.

The State convention of 1907 met in Kenesaw October 1, 2.

The legislative work had been to obtain a memorial to Congress asking for a Federal Suffrage Amendment. More conventions passed woman suffrage resolutions during the summer than ever before. On October 7 the beloved leader, Mrs. Young, passed away. In November Miss Gregg was sent by the National Association to assist Mrs. Marble and remained until the middle of January, doing office and field work.

In February, 1908, Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston made a visit to the State and formed College Woman Suffrage Leagues in the State and Wesleyan Universities and among graduates in Lincoln. Miss Williams was made chairman of a committee to raise Nebraska's pledge of \$300 to the Anthony Memorial Fund. At the State convention in Lincoln Nov. 5, 6, Mrs. Marble was obliged to decline the presidency and was made vice-president. The Rev. Mary G. Andrews of Omaha was elected in her place; but from this time until her death, April 6, 1910, Mrs. Marble never ceased to do everything in her power to forward the success of the suffrage movement.

Early in 1909 the petition of the National Association to Congress for an amendment of the Federal Constitution was begun with Miss Williams chairman of the committee and 10,386 signatures were secured. Mrs. Philip Snowden of England lectured in Lincoln during the session of the Legislature and many of the members heard her. The annual convention was held in Lincoln November 18, 19. Mrs. Andrews had gone to Minneapolis and Dr. Inez Philbrick of Lincoln was elected president. A lecture tour was arranged for Dr. B. O. Aylesworth of Denver for the autumn of 1909 and again in 1910; Men's Suffrage Leagues were organized in Omaha and Lincoln and many new clubs formed of people of influence. The convention was postponed to March, 1911. The regular convention of 1911 was held in Lincoln November 20-22. Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst was the speaker and the audience filled the largest assembly room.

The convention of 1912 met in Omaha December 4-6, and it was decided to go into an active campaign to secure the submission of a constitutional amendment by petition in 1914. The Initiative and Referendum Law had been adopted the preceding month, which required the signature of 15 per cent. of the total

vote cast at the last election, the signers coming from two-fifths of the counties. This meant 37,752 names from thirty-eight counties. Nebraska has ninety-three counties and an area of 77,520 square miles. Officers elected to serve throughout the campaign were: Henrietta I. (Mrs. Draper) Smith, president; Mrs. Kovanda, vice-president; Miss Williams, corresponding secretary; Miss Daisy Doane, recording secretary; Gertrude Law (Mrs. W. E.) Hardy, treasurer; Mrs. Grace M. Wheeler, first and Elizabeth J. (Mrs. Z. T.) Lindsey, second auditor; committee chairmen; Mrs. Wheeler, Education; Mrs. A. E. Sheldon, Finance; Mrs. Hardy, Publicity; Mrs. Edna M. Barkley, Speakers; Mrs. A. H. Dorris, Press.

Headquarters were opened Jan. 3, 1913, in the Brandeis Theater Building, Omaha, and maintained through the winter of 1912-13. Mrs. Draper Smith had at once assumed her duties as president and appointed Mrs. W. C. Sunderland chairman for the second congressional district, including Douglas, Sarpy and Washington counties. She had asked Mrs. Lindsey to be chairman of Douglas county in which Omaha is situated, who soon had ten precincts organized under capable chairmen, and a little later every ward in Omaha and South Omaha. On February 8 Dr. Shaw, the national president, arrived in Omaha for a conference with the workers. On Sunday afternoon she addressed a mass meeting in the Brandeis Theater at which there was not even standing room. John L. Kennedy presided. The committee of arrangements included the Rev. Frederick T. Rouse of the First Congregational Church; Judge Howard Kennedy, Superintendent of City Schools; E. U. Graff, City Attorney; John E. Rine, C. C. Belden and the officers of the suffrage association. A resolution was before the Legislature to submit an amendment to the voters but it was so evident that it would not be passed that the work for the initiative petition went on rapidly. The last of February thirty-six Omaha women and others from over the State went to Lincoln to see the vote taken in the House. The proposal was defeated, only one man from Douglas county voting for it.

In the early spring the headquarters were moved to Lincoln and the petition work for the State was managed from there,

with the exception of that of Omaha. Throughout the year the task was continued of obtaining the signatures in the various counties, all done by volunteers. It was necessary at the same time to create public sentiment and organize clubs in preparation for the campaign for the submission of the amendment which would follow. In Omaha Mrs. Sunderland soon turned the district organization over to Mrs. James Richardson and took the position of city chairman. Meetings were held with prominent local speakers. On November 5 Chancellor Avery of the State University spoke for woman suffrage before the State Teachers' Association in the First Methodist Church. Two days later Dr. Shaw addressed it in the auditorium. She spoke at noon before the Commercial Club, a distinction given by it to a woman for the first time. On Nov. 6, 7, the State convention was held in Lincoln and Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, formerly of Beatrice, was made honorary president.

In January, 1914, a Men's Suffrage League was formed in Omaha with E. H. Geneau, T. E. Brady, Henry Olerichs and James Richardson promoting it. On February 2 a thorough canvass of the business part of the city was begun by the women. Mrs. Lindsey thus described it:

With a blizzard raging and the thermometer at 5 degrees below zero women stood in drug stores and groceries, and visited office buildings, factories and shops, wherever permission could be obtained, soliciting signatures for six consecutive days. Mrs. C. S. Stebbins, nearly seventy years of age, stood at the street car barns and filled several petitions and Mrs. Isaac Conner, a suffrage worker since 1868, made a similar record. Mrs. W. P. Harford and Mrs. George Tilden arranged to have people standing at the church doors for names at the close of service on Sunday. Many ministers offered their churches to the committee and spoke of the matter from their pulpits. Of all the Protestant churches, only the Episcopal refused the committee's request, Dean James A. Tancock of Trinity Cathedral and the Rev. T. J. Mackay of All Saints declining. Petitions were kept open at the *Daily News* office and other offices and places of business. Fifteen of the leading drug stores offered space to the women under the direction of Mrs. E. S. Rood, and it was decided to continue the intensive campaign until the 12th, when the county chairman had called a meeting at the city hall to celebrate Lincoln's birthday, to hear Medill McCormick of Chicago and to announce results. A large crowd of petition workers, sympathizers and members of the Men's League was present. While the goal for Douglas

county was 5,000 signatures over 9,000 had passed through the hands of the county chairmen on their way to the Secretary of State.

Three days later Mrs. J. W. Crumpacker of Kansas appeared in Omaha to organize the opposition forces. The anti-suffragists, led by Mrs. Arthur Crittenden Smith, announced a meeting at Turpin's Hall on the afternoon of February 23. Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and Miss Minnie Bronson, secretary, both of New York, addressed the meeting. Forty people were present, including five reporters and a number of suffragists. Those who joined at that meeting were Mesdames Edward P. Peck, William Archibald Smith, T. J. Mackay, E. A. Benson and Misses Ada Alexander, Genevra March and Minnie Martison. A temporary committee on organization was appointed consisting of Mesdames Arthur C. Smith, J. C. Cowin, Herman Kountze, J. W. Crumpacker, E. A. Benson; Misses Wallace, Riley, Alexander and McGaffney. . . . The next evening a public meeting was held at the American Theater, addressed by Mrs. Dodge and Miss Bronson, who were introduced by John L. Webster.<sup>1</sup>

On March 11 the district chairman, Mrs. Richardson, and county chairman, Mrs. Lindsey, with a group of workers, sorted, checked and made into neat parcels the precious sheets of paper, which Mrs. Draper Smith carried to Lincoln that afternoon. Possibly half a dozen men had circulated petitions but the bulk of the 11,507 names were obtained in Omaha by women. On March 14 the completed petition for submitting the amendment was filed with the Secretary of State in the presence of the Governor. Although only 37,752 signatures were required it had 50,705 and these represented sixty-three counties instead of the required thirty-eight. They were accepted without question and the amendment was submitted to the voters at the general election, Nov. 4, 1914.

From that time until the election strenuous and unceasing efforts were made to secure votes for the amendment. Many prominent Nebraska men and women spoke and worked for it and a number were brought into the State. On July 6 was issued

<sup>1</sup> A State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was formed, whose Executive Committee consisted of Mesdames Edward Porter Peck, chairman; Henry W. Yates, John C. Cowin, J. W. Griffith, W. H. Koenig, L. F. Crofoot, Gerrit Fort, John L. Webster, Helen Arion Lewis, Arthur Crittenden Smith, T. J. Mackay, F. N. Conner; Miss Janet M. Wallace, with Mrs. William Archibald Smith, secretary, and Mrs. Frank J. Noel treasurer; Mrs. S. H. Burnham of Lincoln, Mrs. J. D. Whitmore and Mrs. Fred W. Ashton of Grand Island, Mrs. A. D. Sears, Mrs. Charles Dodge and Miss Maud May of Fremont, with Mrs. Crumpacker as special representative of the National Association in the headquarters at 536 Bee Building.

in Omaha the famous Manifesto by the Nebraska Men's Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, a pamphlet of nine pages, signed by thirty prominent men, all of Omaha.<sup>1</sup> Early in July Park Commissioner J. B. Hummel of Omaha refused to grant any more permits for meetings in the parks and the suffragists arranged a voiceless automobile parade through all of them when they were filled with people, the cars decorated with banners and pennants carrying suffrage sentiments. Later the commissioner spoke for the amendment. On August 4 the first street meeting was held by "General" Rosalie Jones of New York, who spoke from the steps of the county court house at noon and on a corner in the evening. This was followed by street meetings in an endless number of towns. County fairs and all possible forms of publicity were utilized. An outstanding feature of the campaign was the automobile tours, the plan of Mrs. F. M. Hall, chairman of Lancaster county. They covered 20,000 miles and included 500 places containing one-half of the population. Several of the longest were made and financed by J. L. Kennedy and James Richardson of Omaha and W. E. Hardy of Lincoln.

Miss Jane Addams came from Chicago and spoke several times in October. William Jennings Bryan, who was making a political canvass of the State, never failed to make an appeal for the amendment and on October 31 gave a rousing suffrage speech in Brandeis Theater, Omaha. Dr. Shaw ended her tour of the State on the 30th, with an address in the auditorium.

The anti-suffragists were well financed and active. Their National Association sent Miss Marjorie Dorman to Omaha the last of September, who opened headquarters on the first floor of the City National Bank. Mrs. A. J. George was sent in October. On November 2 there appeared in the morning papers a double-column appeal to the Catholics to vote against the amendment because back of it were the Socialists, feminists, etc. It was signed by Mrs. L. F. Crofoot, wife of the Omaha attorney for the Northern Pacific R. R.

During the campaign a committee of business men was formed by the brewing interests, which visited the husbands of various women engaged in the effort for the amendment. They said

<sup>1</sup> This Manifesto will be found in the Appendix.

“suffrage means prohibition” and threatened the husbands in a business way unless their wives retired from the work. This committee watched the papers and when names of women were given as interested in suffrage, even to the extent of attending a luncheon for some celebrity, the husbands promptly were visited. Through this intimidation many women were forced to withdraw and many men who would have subscribed generously did not dare give more than \$25, as the State law required the publication of names of all contributing over this sum.

Three days before election an “appeal” to its members was sent by the German-American Alliance, a large and powerful organization. It was written in German and began as follows:

We consider the proposed amendment to the constitution granting the right of suffrage to women as the most important question which will be decided at the coming election. Our State Alliance took a most decided stand against woman suffrage at its annual convention held in Columbus August 25. Our German women do not want the right to vote, and since our opponents desire the right of suffrage mainly for the purpose of saddling the yoke of prohibition on our necks, we should oppose it with all our might. . . . We most earnestly urge our friends of German speech and German descent not to permit business or other considerations to prevent them from going to the polls and casting their ballots as above directed.

On November 4 the Omaha suffragists stood all day at the polls handing slips to the voters calling attention to the amendment on the ballot. The total State vote on it was 100,842 noes, 90,738 ayes; adverse majority of 10,104. The result of the splendid campaign in Douglas county, the stronghold of the opponents of all kinds, was seen in the small adverse majority of 1,188. Throughout the campaign the *Omaha Daily News* valiantly championed the amendment and the *Bee* and the *World Herald* as strongly opposed it. The National American Suffrage Association contributed \$4,000 in cash, the services of two organizers—Miss Jane Thompson and Miss Elsie Benedict—and paid the travelling expenses of a number of national speakers.

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The State convention of 1914 was held in Omaha in December and it was decided to organize more thoroughly and to seek the advice of the National Association as to how and when to



try again. The board which had served throughout the campaign was re-elected. When it had begun there were not fifty clubs in the State; when it ended there were nearly 500 and it was desired to hold them together as far as possible. The opponents had insisted that women did not want the ballot and it was arranged to have an enrollment under the direction of Mrs. Wheeler. This was continued until the names of 30,000 women had been enrolled as desiring the suffrage. The press work was continued and the never-ending effort to educate the people.

The convention of 1915 was held at Columbus in October, was well attended, with a good program. Mrs. Edna M. Barkley was elected president. In October, 1916, the convention was held at Hastings. Mrs. William Jennings Bryan was guest of honor and gave the opening address on Sunday evening in the Congregational church. Mrs. Catt, now national president, was present and remained two days. The association expected to appeal to the voters again in 1918 for full suffrage and she thought it was in good condition to do so. Her inspiring presence and her very able address given to a large evening audience made this one of most notable conventions. Mrs. Barkley was re-elected president.<sup>1</sup>

In January, 1917, the National Association was beginning the "drive" to obtain partial suffrage from the Legislatures and Nebraska was urged to undertake it. The board agreed to concentrate on a bill which would be constitutional and would permit women to vote for all officers not specified in the State constitution and upon all questions not referred to in it.

The bill was introduced by Senator C. E. Sandell of York county and Representative J. N. Norton of Polk county. Mrs. Barkley was chairman of the Legislative Committee and no measure ever had more careful and persistent "mothering" than she gave this one, watching over it for months. The bill passed the

<sup>1</sup> Besides those mentioned the following served on the official board: Miss Lincola S. Groat, Mrs. Alice I. Brayton, Mrs. Stearns, Mrs. Myrtle W. Marble, Dr. Emma Warner Demaree, Mrs. Ida Ensign, Mrs. Rosa Modlin, Mrs. F. B. Donisthorpe, Mrs. Mary P. Jay, Mrs. Theresa J. Dunn, Mrs. Margaret J. Carns, Mrs. Julia N. Cox, Mrs. Ada Shafer, Mrs. Frank Harrison, Mrs. E. L. Burke, Miss Ida Robbins, Mrs. M. Bruegger, Mrs. E. S. Rood, Mrs. Lydia Pope, Mrs. Jessie Dietz, Mrs. J. H. Corrick, Mrs. Halleck F. Rose, Mrs. H. C. Sumney, Mrs. Dietrich, Mrs. Ellen Ackerman, Mrs. Ella I. Brower, Miss May Gund, Mrs. E. F. Bell, Miss Edith Tobitt, Mrs. Kate Chapin House.

House the middle of February by the magnificent vote of 73 to 24 in the presence of an audience of applauding women that filled the galleries. In the Senate the bill went to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which granted a hearing on February 15. After a luncheon with enthusiastic speeches the entire body of 250 women, including 65 from Omaha, marched to the State House, where even the aisles were already crowded with women. Among the speakers were George W. Howard, the eminent professor of history in the State University, and a number of prominent Nebraska men and women. Six "antis" were present and their spokesman was Miss Bronson of New York. The hearing lasted three hours. The bill was held two months in the committee and finally was reported out and passed by a vote of 20 to 13 on April 19. It was signed by Governor Keith Neville on the 21st and gave women the suffrage for presidential electors, all municipal and most county officers.<sup>1</sup>

The opponents immediately started an initiative petition to have the law submitted to the voters and on July 22 it was suspended in operation by the filing of a petition for a referendum on it by the Anti-Suffrage Association. Mrs. Barkley with others after inspection concluded it was not a bona fide petition. Accordingly she summoned her board to discuss taking the proper legal steps to prove that it was fraudulent and invalid. There was no money in the treasury with which to undertake expensive litigation and there were those who thought it wiser not to attempt it. The courage and determination of Mrs. Barkley were the deciding factor and it was the same brave and persistent effort that finally won the long-drawn-out legal battle. A full account was given by Mrs. Draper Smith in the *Woman Citizen* of which the following is a part:

For the larger part of the session in 1917 the Senate had been under great pressure from the public and the press to pass the bone dry law that the House had almost unanimously adopted. Nineteen members of the Senate belonged to the clique led by representatives

<sup>1</sup>In March under the auspices of the National Association suffrage schools were held in Omaha and Lincoln. The instructors were Mrs. Nettie R. Shuler, chairman of organization, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, its recording secretary, and Mrs. T. T. Cotnam and the subjects taught were Suffrage History and Argument, Organization, Publicity and Press, Money Raising and Parliamentary Law. Of the nineteen schools held by the National Association in various States none was larger. By request night schools were opened with a crowded attendance at all sessions.

of the brewing interests. They fought for weeks to secure the consent of the House to a bill that would have made prohibition impossible of enforcement. Into this maelstrom the limited suffrage law was plunged. Only the most careful leadership secured its final passage. . . .

On the 21st of July the opponents caused to be filed with the Secretary of State a petition asking that the law be referred to the voters at the general election in 1918 for approval or rejection. This petition contained the signatures of 32,896 persons who claimed to be legal voters of the State and to live at the places designated as their legal residence. . . . Tact and patience were employed to get Secretary of State Pool to the point where he permitted the suffragists to make a copy. Eighteen thousand names bore the marks of an Omaha residence. The others were apparently gathered from two-fifths of the counties and presumptively represented 5 per cent. of the legal voters, as required by law. Suspicion that fraud and deception had been used, both in getting genuine signatures and in padding the lists, early gave way to positive conviction. When the investigation was complete it was found that 16,460 of the 32,896 signatures were subject to court challenge and that at least 10,000 of them were the product of fraud, forgery and misrepresentation. Prominent members of the bar volunteered their services—T. J. Doyle, C. A. Sorenson, John M. Stewart and H. H. Wilson of Lincoln, and Elmer E. Thomas and Francis A. Brogan of Omaha. A petition to enjoin the Secretary of State from placing the referendum on the election ballot was filed in February, 1918.

The Omaha workers were under the leadership of Mrs. H. C. Sumney, vice-president of the State association, and Mrs. James Richardson. They discovered that many of the residence addresses given were in railroad yards, cornfields or vacant lots. Many others were of men who had never lived at the addresses given; many affirmed that they had never signed any such petition; others that they had been induced to sign by the representation of the solicitor that it was to submit the question of full suffrage. The work of running down each of the 18,000 names consumed days of arduous labor. It was also found that page after page of the names were written by the same hand. Experts in handwriting from the various banks in Lincoln spent night after night poring over the original petitions in the office of the Secretary of State, picking out and listing the forgeries, which were found to have been scattered all over the State.

The request of the suffragists to the Secretary of State said that the circulators had committed perjury in certifying that these fictitious persons had affixed their names in their presence; that many of the names written thereon were not placed there, as the law required, in the presence of the circulator, but that the petitions had been left in pool halls, soft drink parlors, cigar stores and barber shops where everybody, including minors, was invited to sign, the circulator later coming around and gathering them up. It also said

that many of the signatures were obtained by infants incapable at law of properly circulating or certifying to the petition sheets and that a number of circulators named had engaged in a systematic course of fraud and forgery, thereby making invalid all of the names. Attached were twenty pages of exhibits in proof of these charges.

The evidence in Omaha was matched by that in fifty-nine other counties taken by the referee and attorney.

The attorneys enjoined the Secretary of State from putting the referendum on the ballot. Nineteen suffragists appeared as plaintiffs in the case as follows: Edna M. Barkley, Gertrude L. Hardy, Katharine Sumney, Ida Robbins, Grace Richardson, Margaretta Dietrich, Grace M. Wheeler, Ella Brower, Ellen Ackerman, Henrietta Smith, Inez Philbrick, Harriet M. Stewart, Mary Smith Hayward, Mamie Claffin, Margaret T. Sheldon, Alice Howell, Ellen Gere, Eliza Ann Doyle, Katharine McGerr. As the suit had been brought against the Secretary of State the Attorney General appeared for him and was joined by the attorneys of the women's Anti-Suffrage Association. They argued that the plaintiffs were not legally entitled to sue because they were not electors. The court upheld their right. The Secretary of State became convinced that the petition was fraudulent and did not appear in the further litigation. The suffrage forces were prepared with their evidence and wished to proceed at once with the case but all the dilatory tactics possible were used and it was not until the full legal time was about to expire that the opponents were brought to the point on May 17, 1918. Mrs. Draper Smith's account continued:

Inspection of the original petition showed that of 116 petitions secured by A. O. Barclay 68 were in the same handwriting. . . . The name of one Omaha business man who had died three months previous to the circulation of the petition was found; another who was killed two months before, and another who had been dead for three years. Witness after witness testified that his name on it was forged.

Several other circulators forged so many names we asked that all their work be thrown out. The hearing developed that forty ex-saloon keepers and bartenders had these petitions on the bars in their soft drink places; 831 names were secured by Dick Kennedy, a negro who could neither read nor write. He appeared in court in jail clothes, being under indictment for peddling "dope," and was unable to identify the petitions certified by him. Ten boys, ranging in age from 8 to 15, were circulators. Several men who could not read or

write testified that they supposed their names were being taken for a census. Many thought the petition was to "bring back beer." One man was told it was to pave an alley. At one hearing interpreters had to be used for all but two men. The treasurer of the Anti-Suffrage Association, Mrs. C. C. George, whose name appears as witness to the signatures of 81 certificates on the back of Barclay's petitions, testified that she did not remember him. On the back of each petition is a certificate in which the circulator certifies that each man signed in his presence and the signature must have two witnesses. The soft drink men and others testified that although the name of Mrs. George appeared as witness to their signatures they had never seen her. She testified that the petitions went through the hands of her association.

The following question was asked of another "anti," wife of a rector: "Had you known that co-workers with you were Dick Kennedy, an illiterate negro; Abie Sirian; Gus Tylee, employee of Tom Dennison and a detective of doubtful reputation; 40 soft drink men; Jess Ross, colored porter for Dennison; Jack Broomfield, a colored sporting man and for twenty years keeper of the most notorious dive in Omaha, and many others of this character, would you have worked with them and accepted the kind of petition they would secure?" She replied: "It would have made no difference to me. I was working for a cause and would not have cared who else was working for the same."

The testimony showed that the anti-suffrage association of Omaha, under the leadership of Mrs. Crofoot, president, had at first endeavored to employ to take charge of the work of circulating the petitions the man who had conducted the publicity department for the brewers in 1916.

The allegations of fraud were proved to the satisfaction of the District Court. The opponents appealed from its decision, which was confirmed by the Supreme Court in June, and the women entered into possession of this large amount of suffrage. By order of the court the anti-suffragists, together with the State, had to pay the costs of the long legal battle which ended on January 25, 1919, in a glorious victory for the suffragists. The costs were approximately \$5,000.

**RATIFICATION.** The State convention of 1917 was held in Omaha in December and it was omitted in the fall of 1918 on account of the influenza, and none was held until 1919. The Federal Amendment had been submitted by Congress on June 4 and a Ratification Committee had been appointed consisting of Mrs. Barkley, Mrs. Hardy and Mrs. Wheeler to secure an early calling of a special session of the Legislature. It

was arranged for the State convention to meet in Lincoln at the time Governor Samuel R. McKelvie had called this special session to ratify the amendment. The convention *en masse* saw the ratification of both Houses on August 2 by unanimous vote and had the joy of being present when it was signed by the Governor, who had been a consistent friend of the cause. The regular session had memorialized Congress by joint resolution to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment and requested Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska to vote for it. He voted against it every time it became before the Senate. The other Senator, George W. Norris, voted in favor each time and was always a helpful friend of woman suffrage.

The last State convention met in Omaha June 13-15, 1920, with 104 delegates in attendance. With Mrs. Charles H. Dietrich, who had been elected president the preceding year, in the chair, the association was merged into the Nebraska League of Women Voters and Mrs. Dietrich was made chairman.

On Saturday, Aug. 28, 1920, at noon, whistles were sounded and bells were rung for five minutes in Omaha and South Omaha to celebrate the proclamation by the Secretary of State at Washington that the woman suffrage amendment was now a part of the constitution of the United States and the struggle was over.

In December, 1919, there assembled in Lincoln a convention to rewrite Nebraska's constitution, to be submitted to the electors Sept. 21, 1920. This convention put a clause in the new constitution giving full suffrage to women. Using the power delegated to it by the Legislature it provided that women should vote on the constitution and that the suffrage amendment should go into effect as soon as the adoption of the constitution was announced by the Governor. The rest of it was to wait until Jan. 1, 1921. This was done in order that women might vote at the general election in November, 1920. Before the constitution went to the voters the Federal Amendment was proclaimed and women were fully enfranchised. With women voting the constitution received 65,483 ayes, 15,416 noes.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### NEVADA.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the close of the last century, through the efforts of Miss Susan B. Anthony and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president and vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, a Nevada association had been formed with Mrs. Frances A. Williamson president and later Mrs. Elda A. Orr was elected. Mrs. Mary A. Boyd was an officer. It held three or four successful conventions and had bills before the Legislature but no record exists of any activities after 1899.

In November, 1909, Mrs. Clarence Mackay, who had organized an Equal Franchise Society in New York City, of which she was president, wrote to Miss Jeanne Elizabeth Wier, professor of history in the University of Nevada, asking if a branch society could not be organized in that State. Later Professor Wier conferred with Mrs. Mackay in New York. In the autumn of 1910 an agreement to assist in such an organization was signed by a large number of prominent men and women in Reno and finally in January, 1911, Professor Wier issued a call for a meeting to be held in her home to form a society. Mrs. O. H. Mack, president of the Federation of Women's Clubs, sent an invitation to each club to be represented at this meeting. It was soon evident that it would be too large for a private house and on January 24 a conference was held in the law office of Counsellor C. R. Reeves to arrange for a Saturday evening mass meeting. There were present Mr. Reeves, who was made temporary chairman; Professor Wier, Mrs. Mack, Mrs. Henry Stanislawsky, Professor Romanzo Adams, Judge William P. Seeds, Assemblyman Alceus F. Price, J. A. Buchanan, Mrs. Frank Page, Mrs. Frank R. Nicholas, who was made secretary, and J. Holman Buck, who was elected permanent chairman. A telegram of greeting was read from Mrs. Mackay.

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. O. H. Mack, vice-president of the State Equal Franchise Society.

A general meeting for organization was held the evening of February 4 in Odd Fellows' Hall, which was far too small for the audience. The name State Equal Franchise Society was adopted. Mrs. Stanislawsky was elected president; Colonel Reeves, Mr. Price, Mrs. Mack and Miss Felice Cohn, vice-presidents; Mrs. Nicholas, Mrs. Grace E. Bridges and Mrs. Alice Chism, recording and corresponding secretary and treasurer. A membership of 177 was reported. The board of twenty-one directors included most of those who have been named and in addition Dr. J. E. Stubbs, president of the university; Mrs. A. B. McKinley, Dr. Morris Pritchard, W. D. Trout, Mrs. Nettie P. Hershiser, Mrs. George Armstrong, Mrs. Florence H. Church, Mrs. G. Taylor, Mrs. Frank Stickney.<sup>1</sup> Plans were made for a legislative lobby. A report of the organization was sent to Mrs. Mackay, who consented that her name should be used as honorary president but took no further interest in it or in the amendment campaign which soon followed and made no contribution.

Between the above meetings Assemblymen Arnold and Byrne of Esmeralda county had introduced a joint resolution on January 30 to submit to the voters an amendment to the State constitution to give full suffrage to women. It was referred to the Committee on Elections, which on February 7 reported it unfavorably. Assemblyman J. A. Denton of Lincoln county secured a hearing before the Committee of the Whole on February 20 and a large lobby from the society was present. Mrs. Stanislawsky and Miss Cohn addressed the committee, emphasizing the fact that each of the political parties had declared in its State platform for this referendum and all the women asked was to have the question sent to the voters. The resolution was put on file but at the bottom and every attempt to advance it failed but on March 6 it appeared in regular order. Speaker pro tem. Booth wanted it indefinitely postponed but was overruled. After numerous parliamentary tactics it was at length passed by 31 ayes, 13 noes, four absent and the Speaker not voting. The resolution was first read in the Senate on March 7

<sup>1</sup> Charter members besides those already mentioned were Mrs. J. E. Stubbs, J. D. Layman, C. A. Jacobson, Mrs. Jennie Blanche Taylor, Mrs. Julia F. Bender, J. E. Church, Miss Laura de Laguna, Grant Miller, Miss Kate Bardenwerper, Mrs. W. H. Hood, Mrs. Orr, Mrs. Boyd, Mrs. George McKenzie, Mrs. May Gill.



and referred to the Committee on Education. Three days later it was reported without recommendation. It came before the Senate March 13 and after considerable "fencing" it passed by 16 ayes, 2 noes, one absent. Mrs. Stanislawsky, Mrs. Mack, Professor Wier, Mrs. Chism, Miss Cohn and Mrs. Nicholas had worked strenuously in the two Houses.

The constitution requires that a resolution for an amendment must pass two successive Legislatures and the new association saw the task before it of getting the approval of another session in 1913. It received national and international attention about this time through a banner six feet high and four wide, presented by Mrs. Arthur Hodges of New York, with the words, Nevada, Votes for Women, brought out in sage brush green letters on a field of vivid orange. This was shipped to New York and carried by Miss Anne Martin of Reno in a big parade in that city and then taken to London and carried by her and Miss Vida Milholland of New York at the head of the American group in the great procession of the Social and Political Union.

Headquarters were opened in the Cheney Building in Reno, Mrs. Hodges assuming the rent, where visitors were made welcome and literature given out. A series of lectures until November were arranged, the first one in the Congregational church, where Mrs. Stanislawsky gave an address to a crowded meeting. Later she moved to California and in February, 1912, Mrs. Mack called a meeting and Miss Anne Martin was unanimously elected president. Mrs. Bridges, Mrs. Chism and Mrs. Mack were re-elected. The other members of the board chosen were: Vice-presidents, Mrs. F. O. Norton, Mrs. J. E. Church, Mrs. Jennie Logan, Mrs. Charles Gulling, Mrs. J. E. Bray, Miss B. M. Wilson; recording secretary, Mrs. Burroughs Edsall. An active executive committee was appointed and plans were made for a vigorous campaign. Mrs. Hodges continued to pay the rent of headquarters and a substantial bank account was built up by dues, subscriptions and collections at meetings.

Miss Martin attended the national suffrage convention at Philadelphia in November, where she told of the need of funds to further the campaign and secured many pledges and donations. Dr. Shaw, the president, promised \$1,000 from the association after

the amendment was submitted. Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont and Mrs. Joseph Fels had become honorary presidents and the former gave \$100; the latter made her contribution of \$500 later. The Massachusetts association, through Mrs. Maud Wood Park, \$100; the National Association, \$100 in cash and \$100 in literature; the *Woman's Journal* \$45. California and Arizona gave funds and literature. A pamphlet entitled *Woman Under Nevada Laws*, by Miss B. M. Wilson, an attorney, had been published in a special edition of 20,000 and proved effective in rousing the women to a sense of their rights and wrongs.

The rapid organization had its effect on legislators and politicians. The resolution for submitting an amendment was presented in both Houses in 1913 and reported favorably by the Judiciary Committees. It passed in the House on January 24 by 49 ayes, 3 noes, one absent; in the Senate on January 30 by 19 ayes, 3 noes. On March 3 it was signed by the Governor.

The educational work was done through the press, the platform and entertainments. Speakers of national note were secured, among them Dr. Shaw, Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, and Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, of New York; Dr. Charles F. Aked, of San Francisco; Miss Jane Addams of Chicago, and Miss Mabel Vernon of Washington. The meetings were attended by about three men to one woman. Mr. Laidlaw assisted in organizing a Men's Suffrage League, among whose members were Supreme Court Justice Frank Norcross, Dr. Stubbs, Superintendent of Public Instruction John Edwards Bray, S. W. Belford, Charles Gulling, A. A. Hibbard, Professor J. E. Church, Captain Applewhite, the Rev. Mr. Adams, the Rev. Mr. Sheldon, George Taylor and John Wright.

At the annual meeting Feb. 25, 1913, it was announced that there were nearly 1,000 paid up members, with most of the counties organized and many town societies. "Nevada, the black spot on the map! To make it white, give women the suffrage," was the constant slogan. Miss Martin, Mrs. Church, Mrs. Bray, Miss Wilson and Mrs. Bridges were re-elected. Other members chosen were: Vice-presidents, Mrs. Hugh Brown, Mrs. Alexander Orr, Mrs. George West, Mrs. Lyman D. Clark, Jr., Mrs. E. E. Caine, Mrs. Harry Warren; recording

secretary, Mrs. J. B. Menardi; treasurer, Mrs. Mabel Redman; auditors, Mrs. P. B. Kennedy, Mrs. W. T. Jenkins.

In the little span of days that lay between the election of the State Executive Committee in 1912 and the legislative session of 1913 the sixteen counties were organized, each under a chairman. Mrs. M. S. Bonnifield as chairman of Humboldt county, with her helpers, Mrs. A. W. Card, Mrs. Mark Walsler of Lovelock and Dr. Nellie Hascall of Fallon, led their branches into the mining fields. It is not easy to realize the difficulties under which these women labored. Mrs. H. C. Taylor, chairman of Churchill county, had to drive many miles from her ranch to attend every meeting. Some of the chairmen were Mrs. A. J. McCarty, Mineral county; Mrs. Rudolph Zadow, Eureka; Mrs. Sadie D. Hurst, Washoe; Mrs. Bray, Ormsby; Mrs. F. P. Langdon, Storey; Mrs. Caine, Elko; Mrs. Minnie Comins MacDonald, White Pine.

Mrs. Church, Miss Mary Henry, Mrs. Hurst, Mrs. Belford, and Mrs. Maud Gassoway were an active force in organizing societies at Sparks, Verdi and Wadsworth in Washoe county, the largest in the State. Mrs. W. H. Bray organized study classes in Sparks and gave prizes for the best suffrage essays. Mrs. Hurst addressed large street crowds in Reno every Saturday night. An important feature of the campaign was the complete circularization of the voters with suffrage literature by the county organizations and from State headquarters by Mrs. Bessie Eichelberger, State treasurer for two years, assisted by Miss Alexandrine La Tourette of the State University; Mrs. Belford, Mrs. P. L. Flannigan, Mrs. Alf. Doten, Miss Minnie Flannigan, Mrs. Charles E. Bosnell and Mrs. John Franzman. Mrs. Hood, the second vice-president, and chairman of civics in the State Federation of Women's Clubs, was the leading factor in getting its endorsement at its meeting in Reno, Oct. 30, 1913.

Nevada's population of only 80,000 is scattered over an area of 110,000 square miles, a territory larger than the whole of New England. Of these, 40,000 are men over twenty-one years of age, of whom only 20,000 remained in the State long enough to vote at the last general election—an average of one voter to every five square miles. Nevada has the smallest urban and

the most scattered rural population in the United States. Reaching and winning this vote was done mostly by press work and literature. The new voters on the registration lists were circularized. The personal contact with the voter was accomplished by street meetings in the cities and towns; in the rural communities by train, automobile, stage and even on horseback.

All the political parties but the Republican endorsed the amendment in their platforms and it was supported by labor unions representing 6,000 members. Prestige and assistance were given by an Advisory Board consisting of U. S. Senators Francis G. Newlands and Key Pittman, Congressman E. E. Roberts, Governor Tasker H. Oddie, Lieutenant Governor Gilbert C. Ross, President Stubbs, Bishop Robinson and many professional and business men. There was fierce opposition from some newspapers, including the Reno *Evening Gazette*, the leading Republican paper of the State, but active support from the *State Journal*, owned and edited by George Darius Kilborn, formerly of New York, who was always in favor of woman suffrage. The *Western Nevada Miner*, owned and edited by J. Holman Buck, gave much assistance in that part of the State.

In canvassing and speaking tours over the State Miss Martin travelled over 3,000 miles and talked personally to nearly every one of the 20,000 voters. There are 240 election precincts and over 180 were organized with a woman leader. On Nov. 3, 1914, every county was carried for the amendment but four, each of these a county with one of the largest and oldest towns in the State. The vote in Washoe county was 1,449 for, 2,047 against; in Reno, the county seat, 938 for, 1,587 against. Ormsby county with Carson City gave an adverse majority of only 141; Storey county with Virginia City of only 31. The total vote was 10,936 ayes, 7,257 noes—the amendment carried by 3,679. The cost of the whole three years' campaign was only a little more than \$7,000.

At the annual meeting of the Washoe county Equal Franchise Society after the election it was evident that, having won suffrage, women recognized their new and enlarged responsibilities and were anxious to do something for the public welfare and their own development. A mass meeting was held in the

Y. W. C. A. building and the Woman Citizens' Club was organized with a charter membership of 80. Mrs. Hurst was elected president. Other officers were: Vice-presidents, Mrs. Belford, Mrs. C. H. Burke, Mrs. Hood; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mack; recording secretary, Mrs. Bessie Mouffe; financial secretary, Mrs. Harold Duncan; treasurer, Mrs. Eichelberger; auditor, Mrs. Katherine Flett; librarian, Mrs. F. C. MacDiarmid. This club succeeded in getting a year as a required residence for those from other States seeking divorce and later another Legislature proposed to repeal it and restore the six months. Mrs. George F. Nixon, wife of the former U. S. Senator, was made legislative chairman and headed the women of Reno who went almost *en masse* to Carson City to protest but the pressure on the other side was too strong and the old law was restored.

In August, 1918, The Woman Citizens' Club endorsed Mrs. Sadie D. Hurst of Reno for the Assembly, in recognition of what she had done for suffrage and for the club. She won at the primaries and also at the polls in November and was the first woman member. The submission of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Legislatures by Congress seemed near and at the request of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the national president, a Ratification Committee was formed in December. Helen T. (Mrs. S. W.) Belford was acting chairman with Mesdames Walser, Hood, McKenzie, Mack, Church, Boyd, Bray, Franzman, Fannie B. Patrick and Emma Vanderlith members. At the request of this committee a resolution was presented to the Legislature by Mrs. Hurst on Jan. 22, 1919, asking this body to memorialize Congress in favor of the amendment. It passed the Assembly January 23 with but one dissenting vote; the Senate January 29 unanimously and the Nevada U. S. Senators were requested to present and actively support it.

In March the committee elected Mrs. Patrick delegate to the national suffrage convention in St. Louis and in April it met to hear her report and details of the proposed League of Women Voters. The following July a meeting was held to listen to Mrs. Minnie S. Cunningham of Texas and Mrs. Ben Hooper of Wisconsin, who were touring certain States under the aus-

pices of the National Association, to consult the Governors on the question of special sessions for the ratification of the Federal Amendment, which had been submitted in June. Mrs. Patrick and Mrs. Belford accompanied them to Carson City and had an interview with Governor Emmet D. Boyle. In September the committee considered the offer of a conference of officers and chairmen of the National League of Women Voters to be held in Reno. It was arranged for November 20-21, with Mrs. McKenzie chairman of program, Mrs. Walser of finance, Mrs. Hurst of halls and Mrs. Belford of publicity.

The conference met in the Century Club House. Mrs. Catt, Miss Jessie R. Haver, Dr. Valeria H. Parker, Mrs. Jean Nelson Penfield and Miss Marjorie Shuler, national chairman of publicity, were the guests of honor. A luncheon at the Riverside Hotel was attended by about 70 men and women. An evening meeting was held in the Rialto Theater with Mrs. Patrick presiding. Governor Boyle introduced Mrs. Catt, who gave a rousing speech, Wake up America, and the others were heard at this and other times on the various departments of the league's work. At the last session a State League of Women Voters was organized and later Mrs. Belford was elected chairman.

**RATIFICATION.** Governor Boyle issued a call for the Legislature to meet in special session Feb. 7, 1920, for the express purpose of acting on the Federal Amendment, and in his Message when it convened he said: "While no certainty exists that the favorable action of Nevada will in 1920 assure to the women of the United States the same voting privileges which our own women enjoy by virtue of our State law, it does appear certain that without our favorable action national suffrage may be delayed for such a time as to withhold the right to vote in a presidential election from millions of the women of America."

To Mrs. Hurst, the one woman member, was given the honor of introducing the resolution to ratify in the House. On her motion the rules were suspended, the resolution was read the second time by title and referred to the Committee on Federal Relations. A recess of ten minutes was taken and when the Assembly reconvened a message from the Senate was received stating that the resolution had passed unanimously. The House

committee recommended it and Mrs. Hurst moved that it be placed on third reading and final passage. After this had been done she thanked the Assembly for the honor accorded her and closed a brief but eloquent speech by saying: "There is no necessity of asking you to ratify, for I am proud of the men of the West and of Nevada." As the vote was about to be taken W. O. Ferguson of Eureka county announced that he would vote against the ratification; that he was opposed to having the people of this State telling the women of the Union whether or not they should vote and that he came to Carson City especially to vote against the resolution. At this stage Speaker Fitzgerald stated that twenty-seven Legislatures had already ratified the amendment but so far as he was aware no woman had presided over one taking such action and he had great pleasure in being able to request Mrs. Hurst to take charge of proceedings during roll call. Twenty-five members answered in favor of ratification, and one, Mr. Ferguson, against it.

Mrs. Hurst declared the resolution carried. At the suggestion of Assemblyman Sanai an opportunity was given to the women to address the legislators. Those speaking were Mrs. Patrick, chairman, and Mrs. Belford, secretary of the Ratification Committee; Mrs. Church, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs. Eichelberger, chairman of its suffrage committee; Mrs. Hood, regent of the State University; Mrs. Maud Edwards, president of the W. C. T. U., and Mrs. L. D. Gassoway. All expressed their appreciation of the special session, to which most of the members had paid their own expenses. Governor and Mrs. Boyle invited the legislators and the Ratification Committee to the Mansion for luncheon. And thus was closed the Nevada chapter on woman suffrage.

#### A STORY OF THE NEVADA SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN.<sup>1</sup>

In February, 1912, Miss Anne Martin of Reno, who had spent the years 1909-11 in England, during which she worked for suffrage under Mrs. Pankhurst, was elected president of the State Equal Franchise Society. Miss Martin, a native of Ne-

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this sketch to Miss B. M. Wilson, vice-president of the State Equal Franchise Society during the campaign, 1912-1914.

vada, was a graduate of the State University; had the degrees of A.B. and A.M. from Leland Stanford University and had been professor of history in the former. She had studied abroad and travelled widely but her whole interest had now centered in woman suffrage. Miss B. M. Wilson of Goldfield was elected vice-president and Mrs. Grace Bridges of Reno, secretary. Mrs. Stanislawsky had removed to California and the organization, with the long wait between Legislatures and no definite work, had but a small membership, no county organizations and no funds. It was obvious to Miss Martin and her associates that, judging by the experience of other States, the legislative vote of 1911 must be regarded as merely complimentary and the real battle must be fought in 1913. Miss Martin therefore began the campaign by organizing the State in 1912. She paid her own expenses on speaking trips to every county for this purpose, also on journeys to California, to the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference at St. Louis in April and to the National Suffrage Convention in Philadelphia in November. Here she enlisted the interest and financial support of national and State leaders and an advisory board of influential women outside of Nevada was formed.

In February, 1913, her report made to the State suffrage convention in Reno showed that the Equal Franchise Society had been developed in one year into a State-wide body, with practically every county organized and a large number of auxiliary town societies, and with nearly one thousand paid-up members. There was a bank balance of several hundred dollars, from collections at meetings, monthly pledges of members and gifts from Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Joseph Fels, Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. George Day (Conn.), and Connecticut and Massachusetts suffrage associations and other eastern supporters, and from suffrage leagues of California, Oregon, Arizona and Colorado. Reports also showed that a press bureau had been organized at State headquarters (principally Miss Martin and Mrs. Bridges) by which Nevada's forty-five newspapers, chiefly rural weeklies, were supplied regularly with a special suffrage news service; that every editor, all public libraries and railroad men's reading rooms, more than



one hundred school districts and three hundred leading men and women throughout the State received the *Woman's Journal* (Boston) every week, which always contained Nevada suffrage news; that every voter on the county registration lists had been circularized with suffrage literature.

An advisory council of the State's most prominent men had been formed. Every legislative candidate had been asked to vote for the suffrage amendment, if elected, and, as a result of the favorable public opinion created by the new State organization, more than the necessary number had pledged themselves in writing, so the day after the election in November it was known that there was a safe majority in the coming Legislature if all pledges were kept. The Legislative Committee of the Equal Franchise Society was on duty and within the first two weeks of the session, in January, 1913, the amendment was passed by both Houses and approved by Governor Oddie.

The problem before the State convention at Reno in February was how to educate the voters and overcome the active opposition of the liquor and other vested interests, which were determined to continue Nevada "wide-open" by "keeping out the women." The convention re-elected Miss Martin and left in her hands the supervision of building up a majority for the amendment at the election in November, 1914. During 1913 she had kept the State organization actively at work by trips through the northern and southern counties and by securing the help of suffrage speakers from other States. Miss Wilson, the vice-president and also president of the Esmeralda County League, with headquarters at Goldfield, was in general charge of the southern counties, which had a very large miners' vote. In November Miss Martin had gone as delegate to the National Woman Suffrage Convention in Washington, and there, in addition to promises of an organizer and money from Dr. Shaw, the national president, she secured from Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union, the services of Miss Mabel Vernon, perhaps its most capable organizer. She also obtained pledges of \$1,000 from Senator Newlands; \$1,000 from Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw of Boston through Mrs. Maud Wood Park; \$1,000 from the National American Woman Suffrage Associa-

tion; \$500 from Mrs. Fels, \$300 from Miss Eileen Canfield; also \$250 from Mrs. W. O'H. Martin of Reno and many smaller sums from individuals and organizations.

With the assurance of an adequate fund, amounting to over \$7,000 in all, the final "drive" for suffrage for Nevada women was begun after the State convention. Miss Vernon arrived, as promised, in April and at once made a trip around the State to strengthen the county and local organizations. At State headquarters in Reno Miss Martin kept in touch with the work in every section of the State, wrote suffrage leaflets and planned the final campaign. Its concrete object was to secure the endorsement of labor unions, women's clubs and political parties; to rouse as many women as possible to active work and to have at least one in charge of every voting precinct; to reach every voter in the State with literature and by a personal message through a house-to-house canvass, and to appeal to both men and women everywhere through press work and public meetings addressed by the best speakers in the country.

The 20,000 voters were scattered over the enormous area of 110,000 square miles. There was only one large town, Reno, with about 15,000 inhabitants, and three or four others with a population of a few thousands each; the rest of the people lived far apart in families or small groups, in mining camps on distant mountains and on remote ranches in the valleys. Nothing could prevent a heavy adverse vote in Reno and other towns where the saloons, with their annexes of gambling rooms, dance halls and "big business" generally, were powerful, so everything depended on reducing their unfavorable majority by building up the largest possible majorities in the mining camps and rural districts. "Every vote counts" was the slogan.

In July, 1914, Miss Martin and Miss Vernon started out on their final canvass of the State, "prospecting for votes" in the mines, going underground in the vast mountains by tunnel, ladder or in buckets lowered by windlass to talk to the miners who were "on shift" and could not attend the street or hall meetings. To reach less than 100 voters at Austin, the county seat of Lauder county, required a two days' journey over the desert, and many places were a several days' trip away from a rail-

road. By automobile, wagon, on horseback, climbing up to mining camps on foot, the canvassers went; making a house-to-house canvass of ranches many miles apart; travelling 150 miles over the desert all day to speak to the "camp," which was always assembled on the street in front of the largest and best lighted saloon, on their arrival at dusk. Many were the courtesies they received from shirt-sleeved miners and cowboys. They were also greatly assisted by the suffrage association's local chairmen, who would hastily secure substitutes to cook for their "hay crews" and drive miles to arrange meetings. They always tried to reach a settlement or hospitable ranch house for the night. Where this was not possible they slept on blankets in hayfields or on the ground in the heart of the desert itself. The trip covered 3,000 miles.

Meanwhile at State headquarters in Reno leaflets that had been carefully written as appeals to "give Nevada women a square deal" were addressed to voters' lists as they registered for the approaching election, under the direction of the society's treasurer, Mrs. Bessie Eichelberger.

A State labor conference representing 6,000 members endorsed the amendment and every labor union that took a vote on it. The official endorsements of the Democratic, Progressive and Socialist parties were obtained. Individual Republicans supported it but the party refused its approval and the leading Republican newspaper, the *Reno Evening Gazette*, under the orders of George Wingfield, multi-millionaire, with other newspapers he controlled, bitterly fought the amendment to the last. Only one or two newspapers, notably the *Nevada State Journal*, actively supported it but many published campaign news. Reno papers contained over 200 columns of suffrage matter. Fremont Older, editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, gave to State headquarters the valuable services and paid the expenses of Miss Bessie Beatty, a member of its staff, to direct the State-wide press campaign of news and advertisements planned for September and October. With the assistance of President Stubbs and in spite of the opposition of Regent Charles B. Henderson, a College Equal Suffrage League was formed at the State University, under the leadership of Miss Clara Smith, and a suffrage

essay contest was promoted in the schools of the State. Through Judge William P. Seeds' and Miss Martin's efforts a Men's Suffrage League was formed, to counteract the so-called Business Men's League, organized to fight the amendment.

A state-wide Anti-Suffrage Society was organized during the last months, led by Mrs. Jewett Adams and Mrs. Paris Ellis of Carson, Mrs. Frank M. Lee of Reno and Mrs. John Henderson of Elko. Miss Minnie Bronson of New York and Mrs. J. D. Oliphant of New Jersey, sent by the National Anti-Suffrage Association, toured the State under their auspices. In contrast with the hardships of travel to remote places endured by the loyal workers for suffrage and the economic problems always to be solved, the speakers for the "antis" only visited the large towns, were provided with every obtainable luxury and the meetings well advertised and arranged.

The organizer promised by the National Suffrage Association, Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon, arrived in September and was sent at once to organize more thoroughly the southern counties, as success depended on an overwhelming vote from the miners and ranchers there. Miss Margaret A. Foley of Boston also came, as arranged by Miss Martin, for constant speaking through the northern and southern counties during the last two months. Miss Jane Addams gave a priceless four days to a whirlwind tour. The Overland Limited was stopped for her to speak at Elko and Winnemucca. She ended her trip at Reno, where she addressed an overflow mass meeting at the Majestic Theater just two weeks before election day. A large public dinner was given in her honor at the Riverside Hotel by the State Franchise Society. Dr. Shaw, tireless crusader and incomparable speaker, travelled swiftly through the State by train and automobile during the eight days she gave in October, which were filled with receptions and crowded meetings. Mrs. Martin gave a reception in her home in Reno, whose hospitality was extended throughout the campaign to those who came from outside the State to help it. Dr. Shaw's strenuous itinerary included meetings at Battle Mountain, Winnemucca, Lovelocks, Reno, Washoe, Carson City, Virginia City, Tonopah, Goldfield, Las Vegas and Caliente. She made many hundreds of votes for the amendment.

Other notable outside speakers and workers, whose interest was aroused by Miss Martin and who gave their services during the nearly three years' sustained effort, were Miss Annie Kenney of London, Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Miss Ida Craft and "General" Rosalie Jones of New York; Mrs. Antoinette Funk of Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. William Kent, Dr. Charles F. Aked, J. Stitt Wilson, Miss Gail Laughlin, Dr. Mary Sperry, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Miss Maud Younger, Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney, Mrs. Alice Park, Mrs. Eleanor Stewart, Mrs. Mary Ringrose of California. The last named did valuable work among the Catholics. Miss Mary Bulkley and Mrs. Alice Day Jackson, a granddaughter of Isabella Beecher Hooker, whom Miss Martin had interested on her visit to Connecticut, came at their own expense and for three weeks canvassed Reno, Carson City, Virginia City and other places. Miss Vernon's work in organization and her many strong speeches on the streets of Reno and in meetings throughout the State were an important factor in winning votes. While many splendid Nevada women worked with enthusiasm and great efficiency in every county, yet without Miss Martin's leadership in organizing them and direction of the campaign during the years 1912-13-14, and without the money she gave and raised, woman suffrage in Nevada would probably have been delayed for several years. She personally contributed in her travelling expenses and other ways over \$2,000. Aside from this sum the entire three years' campaign was made at a cost of \$7,000.

Out of the 240 precincts in the State every one that had ten votes in it was canvassed and open air or hall meetings held before election. More than 180 were organized, each with a woman leader, who, with her committee, "picketed the polls" every hour during election day, handing out the final appeal to give women a square deal by voting for the amendment. The suffrage map showing Nevada as the last "black spot" in the West was printed in every newspaper and on every leaflet, put up in public places and on large banners hung in the streets.

The amendment received the largest proportionate vote for woman suffrage on record. Reno and Washoe county, as had been anticipated, went against it by a majority that was

brought down to 600. Of the remaining fifteen counties, three others, the oldest in the State—Ormsby, Storey and Eureka—also defeated the amendment, but the favorable majorities of the other northern counties and the staunch support of the miners in the south won the victory. Esmeralda, a mining county and one of the largest in population, gave a majority for the amendment in every precinct. Out of 18,193 votes cast on it, it had a majority in favor of 3,679, and Nevada gave its leverage on Congress for the Federal Amendment.

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At the annual convention of the State Equal Franchise Society in Reno in February, 1915, the Nevada Woman's Civic League was formed as its successor. It continued an affiliated member of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, pledged to support the Federal Amendment. Its object was to meet a general demand of the newly enfranchised women for information about the wise use of the ballot.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE.<sup>1</sup>

There has been a woman suffrage association in New Hampshire since 1868 with some of the State's most eminent men and women among its members. In 1900 it took on new life when the New England Association, with headquarters in Boston, sent Mrs. Susan S. Fessenden to speak and organize. In 1901 Miss Mary N. Chase of Andover spent a month forming societies and a conference was held at Manchester in December, addressed by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and Henry B. and Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, editors of the *Woman's Journal*.

In 1902 the National Board engaged Miss Chase as organizer for a month. A State Suffrage Association was formed with seven auxiliary clubs and the following officers were elected: President, Miss Chase, honorary president, Mrs. Armenia S. White, Concord; honorary vice-presidents, ex-U. S. Senator Henry W. Blair, U. S. Senator Jacob H. Gallinger; vice-president, Miss Elizabeth S. Hunt, Manchester; secretary, Miss Mary E. Quimby, Concord; treasurer, the Rev. Angelo Hall, Andover; auditors, Miss Caroline R. Wendell, Dover; Sherman E. Burroughs (afterwards member of Congress), Manchester.

A convention met in Concord December 2 to revise the State constitution and on the 4th Captain Arthur Thompson of Warner offered an amendment which struck out the word "male" from the suffrage clause. A hearing on it was granted on the 9th and Mrs. Catt and Mr. and Miss Blackwell addressed the convention. After long discussion by the delegates it was voted on the 11th, by 145 to 92 that this amendment should be submitted to the voters with the revised constitution in March, 1903. The State suffrage convention was held in December at the time the hearing

<sup>1</sup>The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Frances M. Abbott, treasurer of the State College Equal Suffrage League, writer and genealogist.

took place. The officers of the State association did a great deal of work before the constitutional convention met to influence its action. Miss Chase spoke 103 times before the local Granges, an important factor in State politics. Miss Quimby circularized the delegates, prepared a leaflet of opinions from prominent citizens and aided in securing a petition of 2,582.

In January, 1903, Mrs. Catt came and took charge of the campaign, remaining until the vote was taken in March. Others from outside who gave their services without pay, speaking throughout the State, were Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president of the National Association; Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, Mrs. Mary D. Fiske, Mrs. Priscilla D. Hackstaff, Mrs. Maud Wood Park and Mrs. Mary E. Craigie. The National Association contributed \$3,255 to the campaign and various States sent generous donations. Among the New Hampshire speakers were Captain Arthur Thompson, the Rev. Charles W. Casson (Unitarian) of Milford; the Hon. Oliver E. Branch of Manchester; the Hon. Clarence E. Carr of Andover. Miss Chase continued her work among the Granges, addressing thirty-seven. Miss Quimby circularized 87,000 voters. Mrs. White gave the headquarters in Concord. Seventy-five ministers preached sermons in favor of the amendment.

So much interest was aroused that the opponents wrote for Dr. Lyman Abbott of New York to come to Concord. Among the signers of the letter were former Governor Nahum Batchelder of Andover; Judge Edgar Aldrich of the district court of Littleton; Winston Churchill of Cornish; Irving W. Drew of Lancaster and George H. Moses of Concord.<sup>1</sup> On March 4 Representatives' Hall was packed to hear addresses against the amendment by Miss Emily P. Bissell of Delaware; Mrs. A. J. George of Brookline, Mass.; Judge David Cross of Manchester and Dr. Abbott. The Concord *Monitor* of that date in a leading editorial said: "Through a maudlin sense of false sentiment the constitutional convention sent this question to the people . . . and the people will deal with it as it deserves." On March 5 came

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Drew and Mr. Moses as U. S. Senators in 1918 were able to defeat the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, which lacked just two votes. Mr. Churchill afterwards became an earnest advocate of woman suffrage.



the speeches of the suffragists. Representatives' Hall was even more crowded than before and scores were turned away. The Hon. James O. Lyford of Concord presided and the speakers were Mrs. Catt, Mr. Branch, one of the ablest lawyers in the State, and Henry H. Metcalf of Concord, founder and editor of the *Granite Monthly*. The amendment was submitted to the voters March 10 with the constitution. The votes in favor were 14,162; against, 21,788, lost by 7,626.

During the year the membership of the association more than doubled. The annual meeting was held in the Unitarian Church, Milford, November 18, 19. In 1904 the National Association engaged Miss Chase to do three months' organization work and the membership increased 137 per cent. The annual meeting was held in the Christian Church at Franklin November 14, 15, with addresses by the Rev. Nancy W. Paine Smith (Universalist) of Newfields and other State speakers. On Oct. 30, 31, 1905, the State convention was held at Claremont with Dr. Shaw as the principal speaker. The most important work of the year had been the effort to secure a Municipal suffrage bill. Mrs. Mary I. Wood of Portsmouth, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, had been the chief speaker at the hearing.

In 1906 the convention was held at Concord, October 30, 31, with addresses by Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Wood, vice-president, and Mrs. Fannie J. Fernald of Old Orchard, president of the Maine Suffrage Association. Mrs. White, now 89 years old, gave reminiscences of the early days of the suffrage movement. Among the clergymen taking part were the Reverends Edwin W. Bishop (Congregationalist); John Vannevar, D.D. (Universalist); Daniel C. Roberts, D.D. (Episcopalian); L. H. Buckshorn (Unitarian); E. C. Strout (Methodist); John B. Wilson (Baptist), all of Concord; and the Rev. Olive M. Kimball (Universalist) of Marlboro.

In 1907 the convention was held in Manchester October 25 with Dr. Shaw, national president, as the inspiring speaker. The State Federation of Labor had unanimously endorsed woman suffrage. On January 2 at Washington, D. C., had occurred the death of Mrs. Henry W. Blair of Plymouth and Manchester, whose husband, U. S. Senator Henry W. Blair, had secured the

first vote in the Senate on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Both were lifelong friends of the cause.

In 1908 prizes were offered in the State Granges for the best essays in favor of Woman Suffrage and excellent ones were sent in. A lecture bureau had been organized and eighteen men and women were speaking at public meetings. On October 23 Mrs. Mary Hutchinson Page of Boston addressed a meeting at the home of Agnes M. (Mrs. Barton P.) Jenks, president of the Concord society. The State convention was held in Portsmouth November 11, 12; where Dr. Shaw as usual made the principal address and Miss Aina Johanssen, a visitor from Finland, gave an interesting account of woman suffrage there.

By 1909 there was considerable advance in favorable sentiment and people of influence were seeing the justice of the cause. Governor Henry B. Quinby and his wife gave their support. The Rev. Henry G. Ives (Unitarian) of Andover and his wife were strong advocates. Intensive work had been done in the 275 Granges, their State lecturer sending out instructions to discuss woman suffrage at April meetings. Fifty-four Grange essays were submitted for the prizes by the State association. Resolutions in favor of woman suffrage were passed by the State Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Universalist State Convention. The annual convention was held in Manchester November 11, addressed by Mrs. Fernald and the Rev. Ida C. Hultin (Unitarian), Sudbury, Mass.

In February, 1910, Miss Ethel M. Arnold of England lectured for the Concord society in the Parish House (Episcopalian). The annual meeting was held in the Free Baptist Church at Franklin November 15, 16. Among the speakers was the Rev. Florence Kollock Crooker (Universalist) of Roslindale, Mass. Miss Chase had given addresses in thirty-one towns and cities and organized nine new committees.

In 1911 an attractive booth at the Rochester Agricultural fair, made possible by Miss Martha S. Kimball of Portsmouth, drew crowds and 10,000 leaflets were distributed and hundreds of buttons and pennants sold. The Free Baptist convention passed a resolution favoring suffrage. Mrs. Jenks attended the congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Stockholm,

Sweden, as delegate. At a meeting of the Concord society where the special guest was the Woman's Club, addresses were made by Judge Charles R. Corning, Mrs. Winston Churchill and Mrs. Jenks. The noted English suffragist, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, spoke there on March 30. In 1912 the convention was held in Portsmouth December 4, 5 in the chapel of the old North Congregational Church. The Rev. Lucius Thayer, pastor since 1890, and his wife were strong suffragists. Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston made the principal address. Miss Chase after having held the presidency ten years declined re-election and was succeeded by Miss Kimball, who was re-elected for the next seven years.<sup>1</sup>

In 1913 a brilliant suffrage banquet, the first of its kind, was given at the Eagle Hotel, Concord, on February 28, attended by notables from all parts of the State. Mrs. Wood was toast mistress. Among the speakers were Governor Samuel D. Felker, Mrs. Josiah N. Woodward, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and William J. Britton, Speaker of the House. On May 9 a debate was held in the Woman's Club of Newport, between Miss Frances M. Abbott of Concord, press agent of the State association, and Mrs. Albertus T. Dudley of Exeter, president of the State Society Opposed to Woman Suffrage. The large audience voted in favor of woman suffrage. The convention was held at Concord, December 10, 11, with addresses by Mrs. Katherine Houghton Hepburn, president of the Connecticut association; Witter Bynner of Cornish, the poet and playwright, and Senator Helen Ring Robinson of Colorado. Miss Kimball subscribed \$600, the largest individual contribution yet received. Mrs. Jenks gave a report of the meeting of the International Suffrage Alliance at Budapest, which she attended. This year the charters of Manchester and Nashua were changed by the Legislature to give School suffrage to women.

<sup>1</sup> It has been impossible to obtain a complete list of those who have served as officers but the following is a partial list of those not mentioned elsewhere. Vice-presidents: Mrs. Ella H. J. Hill, Concord; Mrs. Frank Knox, Manchester; secretaries: the Rev. Olive M. Kimball, Marlboro; Mrs. Henry F. Hollis, Concord; Dr. Alice Harvie, Concord; Mrs. Edna L. Johnston, Manchester; Mrs. Arthur F. Wheat, Manchester; treasurers: Henry H. Metcalf, Harry E. Barnard, Frank Cressy, Miss Harriet L. Huntress, all of Concord; auditors: Mrs. Charles P. Bancroft, Concord; the Rev. H. G. Ives, Andover; members National Executive Committee: Mrs. Ida E. Everett and Dr. Sarah J. Barney, Franklin; Witter Bynner, Cornish; Mrs. Churchill.

In 1914 the convention was held in the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Manchester, November 11, 12, with able State speakers. Major Frank Knox, head of the Manchester *Union*, always strong for suffrage, presided in the evening. Ten county chairmen were appointed. The association cooperated with that of Vermont in a booth at the State fair at White River Junction.

In 1915 State headquarters in charge of Miss Abbott were opened in Concord and continued five months during the legislative session. Public meetings were addressed by Mrs. Marion Booth Kelley and Mrs. Park of Boston; Mrs. Antoinette Funk of Chicago, member of the National Congressional Committee; Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston of Bangor and U. S. Senator Hollis of New Hampshire. Miss Jeannette Rankin of Montana made a few addresses. A large illuminated "suffrage map" was framed and put in the State House and other public places. Quantities of suffrage literature were sent out, including 400 suffrage valentines and tickets for the suffrage film *Your Girl and Mine* to the legislators. At the 150th anniversary celebration of the naming of Concord on June 8 an elaborate suffrage float and several decorated motor cars filled with suffragists, two of college women in caps and gowns, were in the procession. Many members marched in the parade in Boston October 6. Through Miss Kimball's generosity Mrs. Mary I. Post of California was sent for six months' work in the New Jersey campaign. Later she took charge of headquarters in Manchester and in Concord. The State convention was held at Nashua December 2, 3. Among the speakers were Miss Zona Gale, the novelist; U. S. Senator Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota, and John R. McLane, son of former Governor McLane of New Hampshire.

On May 7, 1916, Mrs. Armenia S. White passed away at the age of 98. To her more than to any one person was the suffrage cause in New Hampshire indebted. With her husband, Nathaniel White, she had been from the first identified with the unpopular reforms, anti-slavery, temperance and equal suffrage. More men and women of national prominence had been entertained under their roof than in any other home in the State. A successful conference was held in Manchester February 28, addressed by Mrs. Catt, president again of the National

Association, and Mrs. Susan Walker Fitzgerald of Massachusetts. The State convention was held at Concord November 9, 10, with Dr. Effie McCollum Jones of Iowa as the chief speaker.

In February, 1917, ten newspapers issued special suffrage editions with plate matter furnished by the National Association and 3,000 extra copies were mailed, besides thousands of suffrage speeches and circulars. In March and April 371 Protestant, 81 Catholic and four Jewish clergymen were circularized. The services of Mrs. Post were given to Maine for two weeks' and to New York for six weeks' campaign work. Money also was sent to the Maine campaign. The State convention was held at Portsmouth, November 8, 9, with addresses by Mrs. Park, Mrs. Post, Mrs. Wood, Congressman Burroughs and Huntley L. Spaulding of Rochester, Government Food Administrator.

In 1918 as chairmen of committees, the State officers were almost submerged in war work, as were the other members of the association, but although no State convention was held they did not cease their suffrage duties. Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, national recording secretary, addressed a number of the leagues, urging them to keep alive their interest and be ready for the next step, which would be the ratification of the Federal Amendment. On August 17 occurred the death of U. S. Senator Jacob H. Gallinger. A staunch friend of woman suffrage for fifty years, much of the time vice-president of the State association, it seemed the irony of fate that death intervened when his vote and influence as Republican leader would have carried the Federal Suffrage Amendment without delay. Senator Hollis and Representatives Mason and Burroughs were in favor of it.

Irving W. Drew of Lancaster, an avowed "anti," was appointed by Governor Henry W. Keyes as Senator until the fall election. It was said that he was urged to appoint an opponent by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge when he came to Concord to deliver Senator Gallinger's funeral address. The situation was tense at the November election. Senator Hollis (Democrat) declined to stand for another term and Governor Keyes (Republican) was elected in his place. The two candidates for Senator Gallinger's unexpired term were George H. Moses (Republican) and John B. Jameson (Democrat). Mr. Moses was known as an

uncompromising opponent while Mr. Jameson was a sincere suffragist. The prospects were good for Mr. Jameson's election when President Wilson issued an appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress, which had the effect of stiffening the Republican ranks and Mr. Moses was elected by a small majority. After his election the National Association sent a representative to interview him. He told her that he was not interested in the question but that if the Legislature should instruct him by resolution to vote for the Federal Amendment he would do so. It would not sit for some time and therefore Mrs. Anna Tillinghast of Boston, Miss Eva S. Potter and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore of New York were sent by the National Association, and in cooperation with the State association, secured a petition from more than two-thirds of the Legislature, which numbered 426 members, asking Senator Moses to vote for the amendment. When it was presented he said that he must insist on a resolution.

When the Legislature convened in 1919 Senator Moses made a trip to Concord, took a room in a hotel and made it his office, where he was visited by members of the Legislature. It was current opinion that he was using his influence against a resolution and the results bore out the conclusion. The resolution was introduced in the House January 8 by Robert M. Wright of Sanbornton and on the 9th in Committee of the Whole it granted a hearing. The galleries were crowded with people from all parts of the State and many women were invited to sit with the legislators. The speakers urging the resolution were: Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Winfield L. Shaw of Manchester, also Miss Doris Stevens representing the National Woman's Party. Those opposing it were Mrs. Albertus T. Dudley of Exeter, president of the State Anti-Suffrage Association; James R. Jackson of Littleton; Mrs. John Balch of Milton, Mass., and Miss Charlotte Rowe of Yonkers, N. Y., representing the National Anti-Suffrage Association. The resolution was carried by 210 to 135 votes.

It was now most important to win the Senate. The twenty-four members were again interviewed by the suffragists and seventeen declared their intention to vote for the resolution. On January 14 it was introduced by Senator John J. Donahue of Manchester and six Senators voted for it, fifteen against it!

It was generally believed and freely charged that Senator Moses, astounded at the vote in the House, had used all the influence he possessed to prevent the Senate from concurring. It was publicly stated that Senator Lodge and other Republican U. S. Senators urged the members not to vote for the resolution. When the vote was to be taken three men, Merrill Shurtleff of Lancaster, alleged to be the personal representative of U. S. Senator John W. Weeks of Massachusetts, and the best lobbyist in the State, assisted by Burns P. Hodgman, clerk of the District Court, and John Brown of Governor Bartlett's Council, appeared to confer with the legislators. At this time U. S. Senators Dillingham of Vermont and Wadsworth of New York published a letter in the papers of the State protesting against the action of the Republican National Committee in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Nothing was left undone to secure an adverse vote in the New Hampshire Senate. Mrs. Catt issued to the press a detailed record of each State Senator, showing that 11 of the 15 who voted against the resolution had signed the petition to Senator Moses asking him to vote for the Federal Amendment. The adverse vote stood 12 Republicans, 3 Democrats; the Republican president of the Senate not voting.

Senator Moses returned to Washington and voted against the Federal Suffrage Amendment every time it came before the Senate; in February, 1919, when it lacked only one vote, he disregarded an urgent appeal from Theodore Roosevelt made a few days before his death.

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In March, 1919, the National Association sent one of its best organizers, Miss Edna Wright, to interest the leagues in ratification and the State Association retained her for the remainder of the year. Invitations for a Citizenship School at Durham, July 8-12, were sent out by the association and President Hetzel of the State College, the first time in history that a State College had cooperated with women in such an undertaking. The school was organized by Miss Wright and presided over by Mrs. Wood, with the publicity and press conference in charge of Miss Marjorie Shuler, sent by the National Association.

RATIFICATION. The Federal Suffrage Amendment had been

submitted by Congress to the Legislatures in June and the vital question now was ratification. A mass meeting was held in Manchester at which Governor Bartlett announced that he was willing to call a special session to ratify. Realizing from past experience that the association could have little influence with it, the board appointed Huntley N. Spaulding, a prominent citizen, chairman of a Men's Committee for Ratification, and he called to his aid Dwight Hall, chairman of the State Republican Committee, and Alexander Murchie, chairman of the State Democratic Committee. The Governor can not call a session without the consent of his Council, which consists of five men. It met on August 13 and the Governor arranged to have a hearing for the women. Mrs. Olive Rand Clarke, Mrs. Winfield Shaw of Manchester, Mrs. Charles Bancroft of Concord and Mrs. Vida Chase Webb of Lisbon made short speeches. After the hearing the Council voted to call a special session for September 9.

Mr. Hall and Mr. Murchie immediately got in touch with the members of the Legislature belonging to their respective parties. Under the direction of Mr. Spaulding a remarkable publicity campaign was inaugurated and the leading men of the State, many of whom had been extremely opposed to woman suffrage, gave interviews in favor of ratification. The Manchester *Union* devoted its front pages to these interviews for three weeks. Marked copies were sent not only to members of the Legislature but to the 750 committeemen of each of the parties. James O. Lyford, dean of the Republicans, put his political knowledge at the disposal of the committee. Miss Betsy Jewett Edwards came from the National Woman's Republican Committee and did splendid work among the Republicans, who made up a large majority of both Houses. Miss Kimball, State president, gave devoted service and much financial assistance. Miss Wright had entire charge of the office work, publicity, organization, etc.

The special session met on September 9 and the Governor sent a strong message calling for ratification. The House voted on the opening day, 212 ayes to 143 noes. The real test was in the Senate, which on September 10 gave forty minutes to outside speakers. Mrs. Mary I. Wood spoke for the suffragists and Mrs. F. S. Streeter of Concord, Miss Charlotte Rowe and two



Senators for the opponents. The Senate ratified by 14 to 10 and Governor Bartlett signed the bill without delay.

The last meeting of the State Association, its work accomplished, took place in Manchester, November 21, 22, 1919. Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, national corresponding secretary, described the aims of the League of Women Voters, and, after discussion, it was decided to merge the association into a State League. Miss Kimball was elected chairman. The National Association had contributed to New Hampshire during the last year about \$3,000.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION: 1905. A bill for Municipal suffrage was introduced in the House by William F. Whitcher of Haverhill, a hearing granted and it was reported out of the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 7 to 2 but got no farther.

1907. The bill was introduced by Mr. Whitcher but the House Judiciary Committee reported against it 8 to 7. An attempt to have the minority report substituted was defeated February 20 by a vote for indefinite postponement of 224 to 77.

1909. The chairman of the Legislative Committee, Mrs. Barton P. Jenks, conducted an energetic campaign for the bill and a hearing was held before the Judiciary Committee, which reported 8 to 7 against it, and in the House on the question of substituting the minority report the vote was 86 ayes; 115 noes.

1911. Bills for Municipal suffrage were introduced by Mr. Whitcher and George S. Sibley of Manchester. The large committee room was crowded for the hearing. The speakers were Mrs. Jenks, the Rev. John Vannevar, Mrs. Wood and Miss Chase, the latter presenting a petition of 1,100 names headed by Governor and Mrs. Quinby and Clarence E. Carr, recent candidate for Governor. The committee reported the bill favorably but on January 26 the House voted to postpone indefinitely by 160 to 121.

1913. The association had two bills, one for Municipal and one for Presidential and County suffrage. The latter, introduced by Raymond B. Stevens of Landaff, Congressman-elect, had a hearing February 19, at which one of the chief affirmative speakers was Dean Walter T. Sumner of Chicago, later Bishop of Oregon, who was in town for the Conference of Charities and Corrections. The Judiciary Committee reported the bill favor-

ably but six out of fifteen members signed an adverse report. The debate in the House on March 18 was particularly acrid. Among the speakers in favor were Levin J. Chase of Concord and Edward C. Bean of Belmont, later Secretary of State. The saloon element as usual was prominent in the opposition. The roll call showed 98 ayes; 239 noes.

1915. The bill for Municipal suffrage was unfavorably reported by the Committee on Revision of Statutes. On March 17 when the vote to substitute the minority report was taken the State House was crowded with eager throngs from all parts of the State. Mr. Chase, Benjamin W. Couch and James O. Lyford spoke in favor. Dr. Thomas Manley Dillingham of Roxbury represented the "antis." The vote was 121 ayes; 230 noes. A bill for Presidential suffrage had previously been killed in committee.

1917. Bills for Presidential and for County and Municipal suffrage were introduced into both Houses. The former was favorably reported by Joseph P. Perley, Daniel J. Daley and Clarence M. Collins of the Senate Committee with a minority report by Obe G. Morrison and Michael H. Shea, which was substituted February 7 by a vote of 16 to 7. The favorable report of eight of the fifteen members of the House Committee was submitted by John G. Winant, afterward vice-rector of St. Paul's School, Concord. The struggle came on March 7 when it was debated for several hours with galleries crowded and finally defeated by 205 to 152. On March 16 the bill for Municipal suffrage was defeated without debate or roll call.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### NEW JERSEY. PART I.<sup>1</sup>

The first women in the United States to vote were those of New Jersey, whose State constitution of 1776 conferred the franchise on "all inhabitants worth \$250." In 1790 the election law confirmed women's right to the suffrage and in 1807 the Legislature illegally deprived them of it. In 1867 Lucy Stone, then a resident of New Jersey, organized a State society, one of the first in the country, which lapsed after her removal to Massachusetts a few years later. In 1890 a new State association was organized, which held annual meetings and was active thereafter, although interest diminished after women lost their School suffrage in 1897. [See New Jersey chapter Volume IV.]

Mrs. Florence Howe Hall, a daughter of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, was president from 1893 until 1900, when she declined re-election. Mrs. Minola Graham Sexton of Orange was elected president at the annual meeting in Moorestown in November. At that time there were but five local societies, which she soon increased to fifteen. With her during the five years of her presidency were the following officers: Vice-presidents, Mrs. Susan W. Lippincott of Cinnaminson; Catherine B. Lippincott, Hartford; corresponding secretaries, Dr. Mary D. Hussey and Mrs. Bertha L. Fearey, East Orange, Mrs. Fanny B. Downs, Orange; recording secretaries, Miss Jennie H. Morris, Moorestown, Miss Helen Lippincott, Riverton; treasurer, Mrs. Anna B. Jeffery, South Orange; auditors, Mrs. Mary C. Bassett and Mrs. Emma L. Blackwell, East Orange; Mrs. Anna R. Powell and Mrs. Louise M. Riley, Plainfield. Mrs. Riley had started the first woman's club in the State in Orange in 1872.

The Orange Political Study Club was the first suffrage club to

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Dr. Mary D. Hussey, a founder of the State Woman Suffrage Association in 1890 and continuously an officer for the next twenty years.

join the State Federation in 1901, which invited other clubs to hear Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Suffrage Association, give one of her convincing lectures. Mrs. Cornelia C. Hussey of East Orange held a meeting in her park to hear the reports of the four delegates who attended the national convention at Minneapolis. Dr. Hussey gave out suffrage leaflets to the farmers on their "salt water day" at Sea Girt and to the Congress of Mothers at Trenton. Mrs. Eliza Dutton Hutchinson, press superintendent, got some of the plate matter from the National Association for the first time into four newspapers. Letters were sent to 400 progressive women telling them how the ballot would aid them in all good work and inviting them to join the association and many did so. The annual meeting was held in Newark and Mrs. Howe Hall was elected honorary president.

In July, 1902, Mrs. Sexton in cooperation with the National Association, held the first of the seashore meetings that were continued every summer as long as she was president. They were held for two days in the Tabernacle at Ocean Grove and welcomed by Bishop Fitzgerald and Dr. A. E. Ballard, heads of the Camp Meeting Association. The speakers were Mrs. Catt, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president of the National Association, Miss Kate Gordon, its corresponding secretary, and Miss Mary Garrett Hay, a national organizer. The Mayor and two editors became advocates of the cause. At the Friends' conference at Asbury Park in September a day was devoted to political equality and Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Mariana W. Chapman, president of the New York State Association, spoke. The annual meeting was held at Orange and a board of directors was elected: the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Elizabeth; Mrs. Katherine H. Browning, West Orange; Mrs. Phebe C. Wright, Sea Girt; Mrs. Joanna Hartshorn, Short Hills; Miss Susan W. Lippincott and Mrs. Elizabeth Vail, East Orange. Memorials were read for Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mrs. Cornelia C. Hussey and Mrs. Sexton told of the \$10,000 Mrs. Hussey had left the National Association and of her constant generosity to the suffrage work in New Jersey for many years. Mrs. Howe Hall and Henry B. Blackwell gave addresses. Women's clubs were

urged to devote a meeting to the discussion of woman suffrage and the Woman's Club of Orange, the largest in the State, heard Mrs. Catt and the Outlook Club of Montclair heard Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Mrs. Florence Fenwick Miller of England addressed a number of leagues. Miss Susan B. Anthony was heard early in May at the Political Study Club of Orange.

In 1903 large audiences again attended the two-day suffrage rally under the auspices of the Camp Meeting at Ocean Grove. Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Hall, Miss Harriet May Mills of New York and Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg of Philadelphia were the speakers and the interest resulted in the starting of several leagues along the coast. With the help of the National Association Miss Mills was engaged for a month, during which she formed ten new leagues, speaking twenty-four times in nineteen places. The leagues studied local government and found that women paid about one-third of the taxes. Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Ellis Meredith of Denver, Mrs. Stanton Blatch of New York and Miss Alice Stone Blackwell of Boston were heard by different leagues. The convention this year was held for the first time in Trenton.

In 1904 a special effort was made to bring the question of woman suffrage before other organizations and Mrs. Sexton spoke to the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Conference of Charities and Corrections and the State W. C. T. U.; Dr. Hussey spoke before the convention of the Epworth League and the subject was presented to the State Grange. At the Ocean Grove meeting Mrs. Emma Bourne brought greetings from the State's 8,000 white ribboners. Mrs. Sexton and Miss Mills spoke at seaside meetings and five new leagues were formed. The State convention was held in the public library in Jersey City and welcomed by Dr. Medina F. DeHart, president of the Political Study Club; Miss Cornelia F. Bradford, head worker of Whittier House; Mrs. Spencer Wiart, president of the Woman's Club and Mrs. Andrew J. Newberry, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

At the Ocean Grove meeting in 1905 resolutions were adopted in memory of Mrs. Mary A. Livermore. The State convention was held in Orange. Mrs. Emma L. Blackwell, a niece of Lucy Stone, was elected president and the other officers were re-elected.

In 1906 Miss Anthony passed away and many leagues held memorial meetings. The Woman's Club of Orange joined the suffrage association in holding one addressed by Dr. Shaw, preceding the State convention held there in Union Hall in November. Henry B. Blackwell traced the history of woman suffrage in New Jersey from 1776 and made a plea for the Presidential franchise for women, for which a committee was appointed. Resolutions thanking the American Federation of Labor for its stand on woman suffrage and expressing sympathy with the imprisoned "suffragettes" in England were passed.

In 1907 little suffrage work was done by the association owing to the absence of the president from the State. The leagues worked along many lines, for police matrons; for "school cities"; studied the lives of the pioneers and the constitution and laws of the State and held public meetings with good speakers. The annual convention met in the public library in Newark and it was voted to petition Congress for a Federal Suffrage Amendment. Dr. DeHart was elected president and the other new officers were Mrs. Ella A. Kilborn and Miss Mary D. Campbell, secretaries. Miss Mary Willits and Mrs. Mary B. Kinsley were the only other officers who had been added in the past seven years.

In 1908 at the State convention in Bayonne Mrs. Clara S. Laddey of Arlington was elected president and Miss Emma L. Richards of Newark recording secretary. Dr. Hussey was made chairman of the Committee on Literature and Petitions and the Rev. Mrs. Blackwell was appointed to write to President Roosevelt in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, as requested by the National Association. Public lectures by Dr. Shaw, Miss Janet Richards of Washington and others were arranged for Newark. Dr. Emily Blackwell, of the New York Infirmery for Women, was made honorary president.

Mrs. Laddey visited all the leagues and spoke before many societies, including the large German Club at Hoboken. With Dr. Hussey she attended the State convention of the Federation of Labor and obtained its endorsement of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. She put new life into the association and was re-elected at the State convention in 1909 at Newark. Over fifty delegates were present and it was reported that 5,000 names

were on the petition to Congress which the Socialists, Granges, W. C. T. U.'s and Trade Unions had helped secure, and they had given an opportunity for much educational work. Committees on legislation and organization were formed. Mrs. Sexton was elected honorary president; Mrs. Elizabeth T. Bartlett of Arlington was made historian and Mrs. Mary L. Colvin of East Orange, corresponding secretary. Resolutions were adopted in memory of Henry B. Blackwell and William Lloyd Garrison. Professor Francis Squire Potter, corresponding secretary of the National Association, delivered a very able address.

In the fall of 1909 two young women in East Orange, Dr. Emma O. Gantz and Miss Martha Klatschken, started the Progressive Woman Suffrage Society and held the first open air meetings in the State. The first one took place on a Saturday night at the corner of Main and Day streets in Orange, the speakers Mrs. J. Borrmann Wells of England, Miss Klatschken and Miss Helen Murphy of New York. The next was in Newark. The crowds were always respectful, listened and asked questions. Much literature was given out. A Political Equality League of Self Supporting Women, a branch of the one in New York organized by Mrs. Stanton Blatch, was formed by Mrs. Mina Van Winkle, later called Women's Political Union.

At the January board meeting in 1910 Mrs. Ulilla L. Decker was made chairman of organization and Mrs. Minnie J. Reynolds of the press committee. Mrs. Laddey reported having received an invitation to bring greetings to a meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Stevens at Castle Point, Hoboken, to form a New Jersey branch of the Equal Franchise League which Mrs. Clarence Mackay had organized in New York. At an adjourned meeting on February 3 Mrs. Decker reported having consulted Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw, Miss Mary Garrett Hay and others in New York and also in New Jersey about the proposed new league. Mrs. Laddey urged harmony among all workers and she, Dr. Hussey, Miss Emma L. Richards and others attended the meeting at Castle Point. The Equal Franchise Society of New Jersey was formed there with Mrs. Thomas S. Henry of Jersey City president; Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander, Hoboken, Mrs. Everett Colby, West Orange, Mrs. George Harvey, Deal, and Miss Alice

Lakey, Cranford, vice-presidents; Mrs. Harry Campton, Newark, corresponding secretary; Miss Richards, Newark, recording secretary; Mrs. Charles Campbell, Hoboken, treasurer.

The delegation of the State association to the national convention in Washington in April rode in the procession to the Capitol and presented a petition to Congress for a Federal Amendment containing over 9,000 signatures from New Jersey. At the great parade held in New York on the last Saturday in May it was represented by its president and seven members. Its first experience with street speaking was in Military Park in June with Mrs. Priscilla D. Hackstaff of Brooklyn as the speaker and a respectful audience. Open air meetings were also held in Asbury Park at which Mrs. Laddey and Mrs. Emma Fisk spoke. Miss Richards took charge of a booth at the Olympic Park Fair, assisted by Mrs. Campton. Charles C. Mason was thanked for reviewing the laws of the State relating to women compiled by Miss Laddey. Lucy Stone's birthday was celebrated August 13 in six places in memory of her pioneer work in the State. Mrs. Laddey organized leagues in Montclair and Asbury Park and spoke at seven public meetings. Money was contributed to the South Dakota, Washington and Oklahoma campaigns and to the national treasury. Congressmen were questioned as to their stand on woman suffrage. Dr. Shaw was heard at the Conference of Governors at Spring Lake.

The convention of 1910 was held in Plainfield welcomed by Mrs. C. R. Riley, the local president. The Rev. Mrs. Blackwell paid a tribute to Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, who had passed away, and after resolutions by Mrs. Colvin the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" was sung. Mrs. Decker presented a flag to the association in honor of Mrs. Sexton, the former president. Mrs. Kinsley gave a greeting from the Equal Franchise Society. How it Works in Wyoming was told by Mrs. May Preston Slosson, Ph.D., and Dr. Edwin A. Slosson. In the evening Mayor Charles J. Fisk welcomed the convention. Professor Earl Barnes, who had resided two years in England, gave an address on The Englishwoman. Champlain Lord Riley of Plainfield announced the organization in Newark on March 23 of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage with Dr. William L. Saunders of Plainfield,



president; Merton C. Leonard, Arlington, vice-president; Dr. Edward S. Krans, Plainfield, secretary; Edward F. Feickert, Dunellen, treasurer and 17 members.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Laddey was re-elected. Four new committees were appointed on Church Work, Mrs. Bartlett, chairman; Industrial Problems relating to Women and Children, Miss Bessie Pope; Endorsement by Organizations, Mrs. Laddey; Education, Mrs. Riley. Public meetings were held in the various cities; prizes for school essays were awarded and a year book published. With the Equal Franchise Society the association had a hearing before the State Senate Committee on Education, Joseph S. Frelinghuysen, chairman in behalf of a School suffrage bill. Mrs. Laddey, Mrs. George T. Vickers, Mrs. Philip McKim Garrison, Mrs. Frederick Merck, and Mrs. Kinsley appeared for the suffragists. The committee approved it but the Legislature rejected it.

In January, 1911, a luncheon was given by the association in Newark to Mrs. Minnie J. Reynolds, who had returned from work in the victorious campaign in the State of Washington. At a board meeting it was decided that some plan must be adopted for enrolling non-dues-paying members similar to that of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York. This name was taken for New Jersey and an Enrollment Committee was formed with Mrs. Lillian F. Feickert of Dunellen chairman, to organize by political districts. Over a hundred New Jersey women marched in the second New York parade on May 4. The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony was placed in libraries. The three associations agreed to unite in work for a suffrage measure in the Legislature and Dr. Luella Morrow, Miss Laddey, Miss Grace Selden and Mrs. Howe Hall were appointed to have

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Mr. Riley became president and Arthur B. Jones, secretary. Among the League's prominent members were the Hon. Everett Colby, Governor John Franklin Fort, J. A. H. Hopkins, Jesse Lynch Williams, Charles O'Connor Hennessy, the Hon. John W. Westcott, the Rev. Dr. Arthur E. Ballard, the Rev. Edgar S. Weirs, Colonel George Harvey, the Hon. Edmond B. Osbourne, the Hon. Ernest R. Ackerman, Emerson P. Harris, Richard Stevens, the Hon. James C. Connally and Mayor Victor Mavalag of Elizabeth. They passed resolutions "reaffirming their sympathy with the great world movement for woman suffrage"; "heartily approved" of the Federal Amendment; pledged their "untiring support" of the State referendum; spoke at legislative hearings; raised money; addressed meetings; appointed a State committee of 63 members which met monthly; appointed a committee with George M. Strobell, chairman, that marched in the parade in Newark, Oct. 25, 1913; held a mass meeting in Elizabeth at which Mayor George L. LaMonte and Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale spoke, and helped in many ways.

charge of it. Mrs. Bartlett secured the favorable opinions of twelve New Jersey clergymen and had them printed for circulation. The Equal Justice League of young women was started in Bayonne with eighty members, Miss Dorothy Frooms, president. At this time the State association had fourteen branches and about 500 members.

The convention of 1911 was held in Willard Hall, Passaic, in November. All rose to greet the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell when she entered. Mayor George N. Seger in his welcome said that all women who paid taxes should vote and with the ballot women could help many needed reforms. A hundred copies of the New York *American* with an editorial on woman suffrage in New Jersey sent by Arthur Brisbane were distributed.

It was voted to ask Governor Woodrow Wilson, as a Presidential candidate, if he favored woman suffrage. Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr of the editorial staff of *Hampton's Magazine* appealed for legislation in behalf of working girls. Miss Emma McCoy, president of the New Brunswick Teachers' Association, made a plea for equal pay for women teachers. Addresses were given by Robert Elder, assistant district attorney of Kings county, N. Y.; Mrs. Raymond Brown of New York, Miss Melinda Scott of Newark, treasurer of the National Women's Trade Union League, and Judge William H. Wood of New York. Dr. Hussey told of 10,000 leaflets distributed.

Mrs. Feickert described the successful house-to-house canvass in Jersey City by Miss Pope and herself, by which the membership had increased to 1,400. Mrs. Decker announced the opening of the first State headquarters the next week in Newark with a volunteer committee in charge, Mrs. George G. Scott, chairman. Mrs. Vernona H. Henry of Newark was elected recording secretary and no other change was made in the board, most of whom had served over ten years. With the cooperation of all the societies the meeting at the auditorium in Newark addressed by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst of England was a great success.

This record of details, much condensed, represents the seed-sowing in the first decade of the century in preparation for the harvest which came at the end of the second decade.

NEW JERSEY. PART II.<sup>1</sup>

In December, 1911, a Joint Legislative Committee, representing the four woman suffrage organizations in New Jersey was formed with Mrs. George T. Vickers as chairman, and in January, 1912, a resolution for a submission to the voters of a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution was first introduced in the Legislature at the request of this committee.

On Oct. 25, 1912, a parade was given in Newark under the auspices of the State Suffrage Association with all four organizations represented among the marchers, who numbered about 1,000 men and women. This was followed by a well-attended mass meeting at Proctor's Theater, arranged by the Women's Political Union, at which Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association, was the principal speaker.

The twenty-second annual convention of the association was held in Trenton in November, when the following officers were elected: President, Mrs. E. F. Feickert; first vice-president, Mrs. F. H. Colvin; second, Miss Elinor Gebhardt; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Charles P. Titus; recording secretary, Mrs. Charles P. Eaton; treasurer, Mrs. Anna B. Jeffery; auditor, Miss Bessie Pope. Twenty-five local branches were reported with a total membership of 2,200.

In December the Legislative Committee was re-organized on the basis of equal representation for each of the four organizations. Mrs. Everett Colby was elected chairman and Mrs. Minnie J. Reynolds was engaged as legislative secretary, who resigned in six months to become field organizer for the Women's Political Union. This committee continued to function until 1917, when the Women's Political Union, the Equal Franchise Society and the Men's League having disbanded and their branches having joined the State association the political work was taken over by its Legislative Committee. In 1914 Mrs. Philip McKim Garrison succeeded Mrs. Colby and she was succeeded by Mrs. Robert S. Huse in 1916. Among those who served actively were Miss Bessie Pope, who gave valuable and continuous service to the

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Lillian F. Feickert, president of the State Woman Suffrage Association 1912-1920.

completion of suffrage work in 1920; Champlain Lord Riley, William L. Saunders, Everett Colby, Mrs. Mina C. Van Winkle, Mrs. Reynolds, Mrs. R. T. Newton, Miss Belle Tiffany, Mrs. Colvin, Mrs. James Billington and Mrs. Feickert.

In June, 1913, the Women's Political Union held its first State conference, at which the following officers were elected: President, Mrs. Van Winkle; vice-presidents, Miss Julia S. Hurlbut, Mrs. E. T. Lukens, Mrs. H. R. Reed, Mrs. W. H. Gardner, Miss Edna C. Wyckoff, Mrs. R. T. Newton, Miss Louise Antrim, Mrs. Carl Vail, Miss Louise Connolly; recording secretary, Miss Sara Crowell; executive secretary, Mrs. Reynolds; financial secretary, Mrs. Amelia Moorfield; treasurer, Mrs. Stewart Hartshorne. This was the only state-wide conference held until after the referendum election in 1915 and these officers continued to serve. The Equal Franchise Society's president, Mrs. Vickers, served from 1911 until it disbanded in 1915. Other active members were Mrs. H. Otto Wittpen and Mrs. Mary B. Kinsley.

On March 25, 1913, the State association held a jubilee mass meeting in Newark to celebrate submission of a State suffrage amendment by the Legislature. This spring it held a large and successful school for suffrage workers in Newark and the expenses of two volunteer organizers were paid for several months, Mrs. U. L. Decker and Miss Dille Hastings. In August its representatives took part in the demonstration at Washington, arranged by the National Congressional Committee, when petitions were presented to the Senate asking for the immediate submission of the Federal Amendment, Mrs. Champlain Lord Riley, Mrs. Colvin, Miss Helen Lippincott, Miss Edith Abbott and Mrs. Feickert. The New Jersey petitions of several thousand names were unwillingly presented by Senator James E. Martine, who made a speech against woman suffrage at the same time.

At the annual convention held in Newark in November reports showed that the membership had more than doubled during the year, there being now 44 local branches with over 6,000 members. Three changes took place in the board, Miss Lippincott, elected second vice-president; Mrs. Edward Olmsted, treasurer and Mrs. Arthur Hunter, auditor. Just after this convention a delegation of 58 from the association and 17 from the Political Union went

to Washington at the request of the National Congressional Committee to interview President Wilson in behalf of favorable action on the Federal Amendment by the House of Representatives. The committee could not arrange for a special interview but finally saw him by going to the White House at the hour set aside for the reception of the general public and made their request. The President was cordial and said that he was giving the matter careful consideration and hoped soon to take a decided stand which he thought the suffragists would find satisfactory. The speakers were its chairman, Mrs. Feickert, Mrs. Van Winkle and Miss Melinda Scott, who represented the organized working women of New Jersey.

In April, 1914, the State headquarters were transferred to Plainfield, the home of the president, who took charge of them. Board meetings were held in different sections of the State each month, followed by open conferences for suffragists from the nearby towns. Each of these was attended by from 50 to 250 and resulted in greatly increased activity in the branches. During the summer a number of county automobile tours were made, a "flying squadron" of decorated cars going from town to town, holding meetings and distributing literature. These tours were well worked up and advertised and very successful. A great deal of the work connected with them was done by Miss Florence Halsey, a volunteer field organizer.

During July a week of suffrage meetings was held in Asbury Park, the auditorium there given free on condition that there should be debates and not merely presentations of suffrage. Over a hundred columns of publicity were secured for them in the New Jersey papers and during the week the hotels of Asbury Park and nearby resorts were canvassed and thousands of leaflets and circulars given out. This year over 300,000 pieces of literature were distributed by the State association and the Political Union. A weekly press service was established by the association and news bulletins and special stories were sent regularly to over one hundred papers. The local branches of the association increased to 96 and of the Political Union to 15, with a membership of 22,000 and 4,000 respectively. At the annual convention of the association held in Camden in November the new officers

elected were, second vice-president, Mrs. Robert P. Finley; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Bayard Naylor; recording secretary, Mrs. L. H. Cummings. All attention and action were centered on the approaching campaign.

The resolution to submit the amendment had passed two Legislatures and was to go to the voters at a special election Oct. 19, 1915. A Cooperative Committee was formed of three from the State association and the Women's Political Union each and one each from the Equal Franchise Society and the Men's League. A Committee of One Hundred was also organized to raise money for the campaign, Mrs. Colby chairman. It obtained \$9,000 which were used for the expenses of the Press Committee, that had its office at the National Suffrage headquarters in New York, for news bulletins every day, plate matter, interviews, stories, advertising cards and posters in the trolley cars and the stations of the Hudson Tunnels system; illuminated signs and street banners in New Jersey cities and a half-page advertisement in all the papers of the State at the end of the campaign. The executive secretary was Mrs. Flora Gapen Charters. The total amount of money raised and spent by the State and local organizations was approximately \$80,000, obtained by dues and pledges, by collections at mass meetings, special luncheons and very largely by personal contributions from men and women.

The State association increased to 200 branches in twenty-four cities. The Political Union maintained a large headquarters in Newark. Over 3,000,000 pieces of literature and 400,000 buttons were distributed. The association circularized all the women's organizations of the State, the fraternal organizations, clergymen, grange officers, lawyers, office-holders and other special groups. Speakers were sent to grange picnics and county fairs. Street meetings took place regularly in all the principal cities and towns and automobile tours over the State. Over 4,000 outdoor and 500 indoor meetings were held. Four paid and thirty volunteer organizers were kept in the field for eight months.

The association arranged a conference of the leaders of the four campaign States, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Jersey, which was held in East Orange in connection with the celebration on August 13 of the birthday of its founder,

Lucy Stone. There was a pilgrimage of suffragists from almost every county, and, after exercises at her old home and the unveiling by her daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell, of a tablet placed in front of the house, there was an automobile parade through the nearby towns, winding up with a mass meeting in the park in East Orange, where Dr. Shaw and ex-Governor John Franklin Fort were the principal speakers.

The Women's Political Union conducted a "handing on the torch" demonstration which was quite effective. The New York Union supplied a large torch of bronze, which Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, representing New York, took with her on a tugboat half way across the Hudson River, where she was met by a New Jersey tug bearing Mrs. Van Winkle, to whom the torch was delivered. It was sent about the State to twenty or more towns where the Union had branches and its arrival was made the occasion for an outdoor reception and mass meeting.

The Women's Anti-Suffrage Association was also busy. It paid the salaries and expenses of two New Jersey speakers, Mrs. O. D. Oliphant of Trenton and John A. Matthews of Newark, an ex-Assemblyman, and brought in a number of outside speakers. It never claimed to have more than fifteen local branches and 18,000 members. Among the more prominent were the president, Mrs. E. Yarde Breese of Plainfield; Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, Mrs. Garrett A. Hobart, Mrs. Carroll P. Bassett, Miss Anna Dayton, Robert C. Maxwell, Miss Clara A. Vezin, Mrs. Hamilton F. Kean, Mrs. Alexander F. Jamieson, Mrs. Charles W. MacQuoid, Mrs. Thomas B. Adams, Miss Anne McIlvaine and Mrs. Sherman B. Joost.

James R. Nugent of Newark, prominent as the champion of the "wets" and the "antis," paid the salary of Edward J. Handley, an ex-newspaperman of Newark, and gave him a suite of offices in the Wise building with several clerks. His "publicity" kept the amendment on the front pages of the papers and the suffragists were always able to refute and disprove his statements. The intensive campaign carried on among the editors for the past two or three years bore fruit and 80 per cent. of the newspapers by actual canvass favored the amendment, and frequently when the front page carried a story against suffrage it was contradicted

on the editorial page. Among editors who were particularly strong friends were James Kerney and John E. Sines of the Trenton *Evening Times*; Joseph A. Dear and Julius Grunow of the Jersey City *Journal*; John L. Matthews of the Paterson *Press Guardian*; George M. Hart of the Passaic *Daily News*; the Boyds of the New Brunswick *Home News*; J. L. Clevenger of the Perth Amboy *Evening News*; William H. Fischer of the New Jersey *Courier*; George W. Swift of the Elizabeth *Daily Journal* and E. A. Bristor of the Passaic *Herald*.

Three weeks before the election President Wilson announced himself in favor of the amendment, and he and his private secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty, made a special trip to New Jersey to vote for it. This had a marked effect over the country.

The Legislative Committee having secured a bill allowing women to watch at the polls, watchers' schools were held in every important city under the direction of Mrs. Colvin, with the result that at the election 1,657 of the 1,891 polling places in the State were supplied with trained women watchers.

On election day Nugent and his lieutenants worked all day at the Newark polling places and the suffragists were positive that hundreds of voters were imported from New York and other places, which was possible because men could vote on the amendment without having previously registered. Nugent is reported to have said: "We knew we had the amendment beaten when the election was put on registration day." This was done against the protests of the suffragists. Men voted on it at the same time they registered and in the police canvass made before the general election, the names of several thousand illegally registered were taken off the books in Essex and Hudson counties, all of whom had a chance to vote on the amendment. All day in all the cities the women watchers saw little groups of men taken into saloons opposite the polling places by persons avowedly working to defeat it, instructed how to vote on it, marshalled to the polling place and after voting taken back to the saloon to be paid.

Finding at the last moment that no provision was made by the State to pay for sending in returns from special elections, the State association arranged with the Associated Press to obtain its own returns and a wire was run into the suffrage headquarters in



Jersey City. By midnight complete returns were in from 70 per cent. of the State, due to the splendid cooperation of the county and local suffrage chairmen, who knew only one day in advance that this work would be required of them. A manager of the Associated Press said that they had never handled an election where the returns came in faster or more accurately and few where they came in as well.

The election resulted in a vote of 317,672, a very large one considering that the Presidential vote in 1912 had been only 459,000. The vote in favor of the suffrage amendment was 133,281, or 42 per cent. of the whole; against, 184,391, defeated by 51,110. Ocean county was the only one carried but 126 cities and towns were carried and a number of counties gave from 46 to 49 per cent. in favor.

Two weeks after their defeat several hundred New Jersey suffragists went to New York and Philadelphia to march in the suffrage parades, taking the biggest and best band in the State and carrying at the head of their division a runner twenty feet long reading: New Jersey—Delayed but not Defeated.

The State convention of 1915 was postponed until January, 1916, when it was held in Elizabeth. There were then 215 local branches with a membership of over 50,000. No discouragement was visible but a program of educational work and intensive organization was adopted, money was pledged for the salaries of three field organizers and it was decided to have a bill for Presidential suffrage introduced in the Legislature. Mrs. Ward D. Kerlin, second vice-president, was the only new officer elected. A new constitution was adopted putting the association on a non-dues-paying basis, providing for an annual budget and re-organization of the State by congressional districts.

In June New Jersey was represented at the National Republican convention in Chicago by Mrs. Feickert, Miss Esther G. Ogden, Mrs. E. G. Blaisdell, Miss A. E. Cameron and Mrs. Joseph Marvel. All of the New Jersey delegates were interviewed and twelve of the twenty-eight promised to support a suffrage plank in the platform.

In July the Women's Political Union disbanded and its local branches joined the State association. The national suffrage

convention held at Atlantic City in September gave a great impetus to the State work. The annual convention met in Jersey City in November, where it was decided to conduct a strenuous campaign during 1917 for Presidential suffrage and for the Federal Amendment and to employ four field organizers. The new officers elected were Mrs. John J. White, Miss Lulu H. Marvel, Mrs. J. Thompson Baker, vice-presidents; Miss Anita Still, auditor. The Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell and Dr. Mary D. Hussey were added to the list of honorary presidents.

A bill for Presidential suffrage was introduced in the Legislature in February, 1917, and everything was going finely when war was declared. The suffrage association was the first women's organization in the State to offer its services to the Governor and was publicly thanked by him for its patriotic stand. At his request it conducted a canvass of women nurses, doctors and clerical workers and received letters of thanks from him and the Adjutant General for this very successful piece of work. It cooperated in the organization of a Woman's Division of the State Council of National Defense and its president, Mrs. Feickert, was vice-chairman of the Council. The association purchased and operated a Soldiers' Club House and canteen in the town of Wrightstown, near which Camp Dix was located. It was opened in November, 1917, and was kept open until June, 1919, by volunteer workers. Over \$30,000 were raised for it, one-fifth of this amount being contributed by Mrs. White. More than 250,000 men were entertained there. Officers and members of the association responded to all demands of the war.

The annual convention was held in the Capitol at Trenton in November. Reports showed that only thirty of the hundreds of local branches had dropped suffrage work because of their war activities, and the spirit was one of determination that the battle for real democracy in the United States should be kept up just as actively as the war against autocracy abroad. Mrs. Wells P. Eagleton was elected a vice-president, Mrs. E. G. Blaisdell a secretary and Mrs. F. W. Veghte an auditor. The State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs was accepted as an affiliated organization and its president, the Rev. Florence Randolph, was made a member of the State Board. The convention voted to

make its special work for the year the collecting of a monster petition of women, to be so worded that it could be used in Congressional work for the Federal Amendment and with the Legislature for ratification.

In the summer of 1918 U. S. Senator William Hughes, who was pledged to vote for the Federal Amendment, died and the candidate for the office was David Baird, a strong anti-suffragist. As only one more vote in the Senate was needed to pass the amendment the National Association asked the New Jersey association to do its best to defeat him. An active campaign was carried on for two months but he was too powerful a party leader, though he ran 9,000 votes behind the rest of the ticket. He voted against the amendment every time it came before the Senate.

Because of the Baird campaign and the general unsettled feeling around the time of the signing of the armistice the annual convention was postponed to May, 1919, when it was held in Atlantic City. The ratification petitions collected the preceding year had over 80,000 names of women not previously enrolled as suffragists. Mrs. H. N. Simmons, vice-president, and Mrs. F. T. Kellers, auditor, were the only new officers elected. It was voted that the other State organizations of women should be asked to join in the campaign for ratification of the Federal Amendment by the Legislature. The committee was organized in July, 1918, with the following organizations represented: Woman Suffrage Association, Federation of Women's Clubs, Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Public Health Nursing, Teachers' Association; chairman, Mrs. Feickert; secretary, Mrs. James Simister; treasurer, Mrs. Olmsted. A Finance Committee was appointed—Mrs. Seymour L. Cromwell, Mrs. Colby and Mrs. Hunter—which raised over \$10,000. The principal contributors were Mrs. Cromwell, Mrs. Colby, Judge and Mrs. John J. White, Mrs. Wittpenn, Mrs. Hartshorne, Mrs. Lewis S. Thompson and Mrs. Robert Stevens.

A very active primary and general election campaign was made in 1919 for the election of men pledged to vote for ratification, in which 110,000 personal letters were sent out, all kinds of organizations were circularized and about 1,000,000 pieces of literature were distributed. A State ratification mass meeting

at Asbury Park in August opened the campaign and local meetings were held in every county. A Governor and a majority in both Houses were elected who were pledged to ratification.

A Men's Council for Ratification was organized in December with Everett Colby as chairman, Governor Edward I. Edwards and U. S. Senators Joseph S. Frelinghuysen and Walter E. Edge as honorary chairmen and 54 of the most prominent Democrats and Republicans in the State as vice-chairmen. This was not an active organization but the fact that the leaders of their parties allowed their names to be used had considerable influence upon many legislators. In January, 1920, campaign headquarters were opened in Trenton near the State House in charge of Miss Julia Wernig, field organizer of the association, where a great deal of literature was given out and other work done.

On January 27 in Crescent Temple, Trenton, the Ratification Committee staged the most spectacular suffrage mass meeting ever held in New Jersey. Its special purpose was to present to the Governor, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House the huge suffrage petition containing almost 140,000 names of women, arranged by counties and towns. The hall was beautifully decorated with American flags and suffrage banners and a fine band played at intervals. The speakers were Governor Edwards, President of the Senate Clarence E. Case, Speaker of the Assembly W. Irving Glover and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Suffrage Association. The twenty-one county chairmen and representatives of the women's organizations composing the committee were seated on the platform and at the proper time each came forward with her petitions and was presented to the Governor and the legislative officials by Mrs. Feickert, who presided. About 1,200 women and most of the Legislature were present and there was much enthusiasm.

**RATIFICATION.** The Federal Suffrage Amendment was submitted by Congress June 4, 1919. The resolution for ratification was the first measure introduced when the Legislature convened in 1920, by Senator William B. MacKay, Jr., of Bergen county and Assemblyman Henry G. Hershfield of Passaic county. A public hearing was held February 2 with Mrs. Feickert chairman. The principal suffrage speakers were U. S. Sena-

tor Selden Spencer of Missouri, Mrs. Robert S. Huse, Mrs. Harriman N. Simons and the Rev. Florence Randolph. Each of five others representing various women's organizations spoke for two minutes. That day the Senate ratified by 18 ayes, 2 noes, two men voting in favor who had been pledged against it.

The opposition then concentrated its efforts upon the Assembly, where various tricks were played which in the end were unsuccessful. U. S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer had written to each of the Democratic members urging his support. The evening that ratification was to be voted on, February 9, the chamber was jammed and it was evident that the opposition intended to "filibuster" all night rather than allow the resolution to pass. One motion after another was made by the leader of the opposition, Assemblyman Hugh Barrett of Essex, Nugent's special representative, and after a hot fight and much talking they were defeated. Mr. Nugent was outside in the corridor constantly sending in messages to his delegation and it was understood that he was offering anything the Assemblymen might ask for their votes against ratification. The women suffragists were present in force helping their friends to maintain their determination to vote on the resolution that night. It was a stormy session, the "filibuster" going on steadily from 8 p. m. Finally the opposition gave up the fight and at ten minutes to 1 o'clock in the morning the Assembly passed the resolution by 34 ayes, 24 noes. The gallery was still filled with women, who were most enthusiastic.

The resolution was signed promptly by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House and the Governor sent it to Washington by a special messenger. The suffragists felt especially indebted to Senators William N. Runyon, C. D. White and Arthur Whitney and to Assemblymen William A. Blair, Emmor Roberts, Henry G. Hershfield and William George for their work in party caucuses as well as on the floor. Governor Edwards and Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City (the Democratic leader of the State) were responsible for the solid vote of all the Democrats except those under the control of Nugent. U. S. Senators Frelinghuysen and Edge and Attorney General McCran also rendered most valuable assistance.

The State Suffrage Association celebrated the successful termination of its over fifty years of continuous effort by a Victory Convention held in Newark on April 23, 24. Leading features were a Victory banquet with prominent men of both political parties as speakers, and a Pioneers' luncheon, at which Dr. Mary D. Hussey, Mrs. Florence Howe Hall, Mrs. Minola Graham Sexton, Mrs. Clara S. Laddey and other early workers spoke. Before the close of the convention the State League of Women Voters was organized to carry on the work for good government and better conditions through the use of the power which had been secured for them by the older association. Mrs. John R. Schermerhorn was elected chairman.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION: 1912. The first resolution for the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the voters was introduced in February by Senator William C. Gebhardt in the Senate and Assemblyman A. R. McAllister in the House. A public hearing was held on March 12 at which Mrs. Vickers presided and the speakers for the suffrage side were Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. Clara S. Laddey, George T. Vickers and Linton Satterthwaite. Miss Anna Dayton presided for the "antis" and Mrs. E. N. Loomis was their principal speaker. The vote in the Senate was 18 noes, 3 ayes—Senators Gebhardt of Hunterdon county, J. Warren Davis of Salem and G. W. F. Gaunt of Gloucester. In the Assembly the resolution was finally forced out of an unfavorable committee but was tabled by a vote of 31 ayes, 19 noes.

1913. In January the resolution was introduced by Senator J. Warren Davis and Assemblyman Charles M. Egan. A hearing was held February 18 at which Mrs. Everett Colby presided and the speakers were Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Suffrage Association; U. S. Senator Shafroth of Colorado, Everett Colby, George La Monte and Cornelius Ford, president of the State Federation of Labor. The resolution passed the Senate by 14 ayes, 5 noes, and the Assembly by 45 ayes, 5 noes. A few weeks later it was discovered that the word "or" appeared in the printed resolution instead of "and," making it necessary to have a new one introduced, which went through by the same vote.

The New Jersey law in regard to constitutional amendments provides that after being submitted by one Legislature they must be advertised in every county for three months prior to the next election, acted upon favorably by the succeeding Legislature and then voted on at a special election, the date of which it decides. After the passage of the referendum resolution in 1913 the Legislative Committee took up with the Secretary of State the matter of advertising and were assured that it would be attended to and they could go home and "forget it," which they trustingly did. When no advertisements appeared members of the committee hurried to Trenton and learned that Governor James F. Fielder was responsible. His excuse was that his secretary had mislaid the resolution and forgotten to remind him of it.

1914. The resolution was introduced in January by Senator Charles M. Egan and Assemblyman Joseph M. Branegan, both of Hudson county. It passed the Senate by 15 ayes, 3 noes, and the Assembly by 49 ayes, 4 noes.

1915. The advertising was properly done for this year and the resolution came up for second passage in January, introduced by Senator Blanchard H. White and Assemblyman Robert Peacock, both of Burlington county. A hearing was held January 25, Mrs. Philip McKim Garrison chairman and speakers Dr. Shaw, E. G. C. Bleakley, city counsel of Camden; Mrs. Reynolds and Mrs. Feickert. The Senate passed the resolution by 17 ayes, 4 noes, and the Assembly by unanimous vote.

1916. A bill for Presidential suffrage for women was introduced by Senator Charles O'Connor Hennessy of Bergen county and was lost by a vote of 10 noes, 3 ayes—Senators Hennessy, Austen Colgate of Essex county and Carlton B. Pierce of Union county. No effort was made to press the bill in the Assembly.

1917. Another bill for Presidential suffrage was introduced by Senator Edmund B. Osborne of Essex county and Assemblyman Roy M. Robinson of Bergen. In both Houses the presiding officers were strongly opposed to woman suffrage and put the bill into unfavorable committees, who refused to report it for action. A hearing was held with Mrs. Robert S. Huse chairman and Mrs. Antoinette Funk the chief speaker. Finally by using what is known as the "rule of fifteen," in the Assembly

its friends got the bill out of committee on March 15 but with an unfavorable report. Majority leader Oliphant moved that the House concur and Speaker Edward Schoen of Essex county ruled that the motion was carried. Many members demanded a roll call but the Speaker paid no attention to them. Pandemonium reigned, members shouting and banging their desks until finally he declared a recess and fled to his private room.

1918. It was hoped that the Federal Amendment would be submitted in the spring and it was decided not to complicate ratification by introducing a Presidential suffrage bill. In February a bill providing that the Legislature should not act on the ratification of Federal Amendments until after they had been referred to the voters was introduced by Assemblyman Arthur N. Pierson of Union county. It was designed especially to prevent action on the Prohibition Amendment but would also apply to the one for woman suffrage. The Legislative Committee went at once to Trenton, where the Anti-Saloon workers were already busy. Sufficient force was brought to keep the bill in committee for three weeks, at the end of which time 46 votes were pledged against it and it was killed in committee at the request of its introducer. In 1919 a similar bill was introduced by Assemblyman David Young of Morris county but the suffragists made so strong a demonstration against it that it was killed in committee.



## CHAPTER XXX.

### NEW MEXICO.<sup>1</sup>

As the railroads were few and automobiles almost unknown in New Mexico in the first decade of the present century, and as the distances were great and cities and towns widely separated, there was no attempt to organize for woman suffrage. In 1910 the Women's Clubs were called in convention at Las Cruces through the efforts of Mrs. George W. Frenger, secretary of the General Federation, and Mrs. Philip North Moore, then its president, was in attendance. A State Federation was formed with Mrs. S. P. Johnson of Palomas Springs, president; Mrs. Sam J. Nixon of Portales secretary, and several department chairmen were named, Mrs. W. E. Lindsey being chosen for the Legislative Department.

This department through its bold stand for woman suffrage and better laws for women and children easily became the foremost factor in the federation. At each yearly convention one evening was given to the discussion of the benefits which women would receive from the suffrage. Almost before it was realized suffrage had become popular with both men and women. The delegates carried the messages from the State conventions to their own clubs; suffrage discussions became the regular program for one meeting each year in almost every club and generally made converts of those taking the opposition. Women began searching the statutes and questioning their attorneys and husbands in regard to laws. Their interest became such that no Legislature during the federation's existence has proposed any law derogatory to the rights of women and children, but when attention has been called to unfair laws, some of them have been replaced by better ones.

Under direction of the executive board of the federation this

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Deane H. (Mrs. Washington E.) Lindsey, State chairman of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

department sent out questionnaires to all of the State candidates for office in 1916 as to whether they would work for placing women on the State boards and use their influence to bring the Federal Amendment to a successful vote in the United States Senate and House. Their members were also interrogated as to whether they would work and vote for it. Therefore the Legislative Department of the Federated Clubs really did the work that any suffrage organization would do and had the backing of the women of the State in general. Suffrage was unanimously endorsed in the convention of the federation at Silver City in 1914. It is to the credit of the work of the Federated Clubs in the State that its members of Congress, with one exception, have needed no lobbying from suffrage forces in Washington. Senator Andrieus A. Jones, as chairman of the Suffrage Committee, made the submission of the amendment possible in the present Congress by his systematic and forceful course in the last one.

Mrs. Lindsey remained chairman of this department six years. In 1913 she was appointed State chairman for the National American Woman Suffrage Association by its president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. In 1914 the suffragists had a "float" in the parade at the State fair in Albuquerque. In May, 1916, the National Association under the presidency of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, sent one of its organizers, Miss Lola Walker of Pittsburgh, for ten days to look over the situation and she visited Albuquerque, Santa Fé, Portales and Las Vegas. In the last place she spoke before the Woman's Club with about eighty present and at the close of her talk a vote was taken which stood unanimous for suffrage. At Portales a society was formed and a large evening reception was held to which both men and women were invited. Miss Walker gave a very interesting résumé of woman suffrage which aroused much interest. An appeal was sent to the National Association to return her for a fall campaign to organize the State as an auxiliary. She went to Maine, however, and Miss Gertrude Watkins of Little Rock was sent to New Mexico in January, 1917. She visited the eastern and central parts of the State organizing leagues in most of the towns. In Santa Fé one was formed of about thirty

members with Mrs. Paul A. F. Walter president; Mrs. R. W. Twitchell secretary, and Mrs. Ellen J. Palen treasurer.

The Congressional Union also sent an organizer into the State in 1916, Mrs. Thompson, who spent some time in Santa Fé, Albuquerque and Las Vegas. The Santa Fé women were sufficiently aroused to hold a street parade and march to the home of U. S. Senator Catron, an opponent, where they gathered on the lawn and made speeches to convince the aged Senator of the wishes of the women as to his conduct in the Senate. Mrs. Joshua Reynolds was made State chairman of the Congressional Union and afterwards Mrs. Nina Otero Warren, and Mrs. A. A. Kellan was legislative chairman, all of Albuquerque. Miss Mabel Vernon came from Washington to hold meetings that year and Miss Anne Martin in 1917, and active work was done.

Washington E. Lindsey was Governor in 1917-18, and in November, 1918, all the suffrage forces in Albuquerque and Santa Fé were invited by Mrs. Lindsey to meet at the Executive Mansion and form a committee to work for suffrage at the coming session of the Legislature. This meeting elected the following officers: Mrs. R. P. Barnes chairman; Mrs. A. B. Stroup secretary; Mrs. Warren legislative chairman; Mrs. John W. Wilson party platform chairman; Mrs. Walter congressional chairman. This committee did good work for suffrage in both the regular and special sessions.

In December, 1919, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and her party of speakers for the ratification of the Federal Amendment came to Albuquerque for the last of several western State conferences. It was arranged by Mrs. Barnes and was carried out with great success. Mrs. Catt spoke at a large luncheon held in the Y. M. C. A. building, which many of the Judges, newspaper representatives and other prominent men and women attended. On account of the great distances few except from Albuquerque and Santa Fé were present but Mrs. Catt's appeal was carried from one end of the State to the other through the public press and created an atmosphere of hope. This was changed to rejoicing as word came that Governor Octaviano A. Larrazolo would call a special session of the Legislature for the ratification.

**RATIFICATION.** When the time came the Legislature had adjourned and would not meet again until 1921, so a special session would be necessary if it ratified before the presidential election. The opponents concentrated their forces to prevent it and were successful until 1920 but finally were obliged to yield and Governor Larrazolo called the special session for February 16. When it met there was a determined effort by one member, Dan Padillo of Albuquerque, to have a referendum to the voters of the State. All the city was up in arms—men's organizations, the Y. W. C. A., the W. C. T. U., the Woman's Committee, the Woman's Party, individual men and women—until at last he declared that he would vote for the immediate ratification. The vote in the Senate February 18 was 17 ayes, 8 Republicans, 9 Democrats; 5 noes, all Republicans—Gallegos, Mirabel, Lucero (Emiliano), Salazar and Sanchez. The vote in the House February 19 was 36 ayes, 23 Republicans, 13 Democrats; 10 noes, 8 Republicans, 2 Democrats.

**LEGISLATIVE ACTION.** Beginning with 1915 the Federation of Women's Clubs was able to secure some legislation favorable to women and children. In 1916 the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, through its president, Mrs. Harriet L. Henderson, had a Prohibition Amendment endorsed by the State Republican platform which the Legislature submitted to the electors in November, 1917. Both parties, all women's organizations and everybody of influence from the Governor down worked with zeal for its passage. Miss Anna A. Gordon, national president of the W. C. T. U., came to the State in October and was a guest at the convention of the Federated Clubs in Gallup, which voted unanimously to give all the time until the election to work for its success, and parades and much individual effort followed. Women went to the polls with their lists of voters, checking them off as they came and then going for those who had not voted. It was carried by 20,000 majority, the largest percentage vote ever given by any State for prohibition.

As the State constitution rendered it impossible to carry an amendment for woman suffrage the women made no attempt to have the Legislature submit one, but in 1917 some of the Representatives brought an amendment resolution before the House,

which promptly killed it. As the State conventions of both political parties this year had declared in favor of woman suffrage, the committee appointed at the meeting in the Governor's mansion asked for the Presidential and Municipal franchise, which the Legislature had power to grant without a referendum to the voters. They made a spirited campaign with all the assistance that Governor Lindsey could give and the suffrage societies throughout the State poured in letters upon the legislators. The vote in the Senate was 9 ayes, 14 noes. Before it was taken in the House a conference was held in the office of the Governor at the Capitol attended by the following workers for the bill: Senator Isaac Barth, National Committeeman; Charles A. Spiess, Holm O. Bursum, Supreme Justice Clarence J. Roberts, Charles Springer, Mrs. Kellam, Mrs. Walter, Mrs. Hughey, chairman of the State suffrage legislative committee; Mrs. Kate Hall, president of the Santa Fé branch of the Congressional Union; Mrs. N. B. Laughlin and Mrs. Lindsey.

The leaders of the two political parties admitted that they could not control their legislators and tried to hold the Spanish-Americans responsible. The House voted on the bill March 7, after a loud, disorderly and acrimonious debate, 26 noes, 21 ayes. The Speaker afterwards explained his affirmative vote by saying that he thought it was to submit the question to the electors! Of the 29 Republican members 10 voted for the bill; of the 18 Democratic members, 11 voted for it.

**SUFFRAGE.** The convention to prepare a constitution for statehood, which met in 1910, was the battle ground for School suffrage for women. The question was very seriously debated in the Elective Franchise Committee, which many times voted it down only to renew it upon appeal to do so. Mrs. S. F. Culberson, then county school superintendent in Roosevelt county, argued the matter before the committee, and its chairman, Nestor Montoya, cast the deciding vote for it to come before the convention. Both Democrats and Republicans rallied to its support but José D. Sena, Clerk of the Supreme Court, a member of the convention, strenuously opposed it and finally carried it back to be caucused upon by the Republican majority. After a stormy caucus it was returned to the convention and

passed. The president of the convention, Charles A. Spiess, spoke urgently in Committee of the Whole to save women's eligibility to the county superintendency from being eliminated. The clause gave women the right to vote for school trustees, on the issuing of bonds and in the local administration of public schools but not for county or State superintendents. It provided that "if a majority of the qualified voters of any school district shall, not less than thirty days before any school election, present a petition to the county commissioners against woman suffrage in that district it shall be suspended and only renewed by a petition of the majority!"

No effort could obtain any larger extension of the franchise to women but the new State constitution gave universal suffrage to men and carefully protected the right to vote of those who could not speak, read or write either the English or Spanish language. It then provided that the suffrage clause could only be amended by having the amendment submitted by a vote of three-fourths of each House of the Legislature. In order to be carried, it must have a three-fourths majority of the highest number voting at a State election and a two-thirds majority of the highest number voting in every county. This was expressly designed to prevent woman suffrage and it destroyed all possibility of it until conferred by a Federal Amendment.

Among the women who worked for woman suffrage in addition to those mentioned in the chapter were Mesdames Margaret Cartright, S. F. Culberson, George W. Carr, Josie Lockard, J. R. Kinyon, H. F. LaBelle, N. J. Strumquist, Margaret Medler, William J. Barker, Lansing Bloom, C. E. Mason, R. P. Donahoe, Ruth Skeen, John W. Wilson, S. C. Nutter, Catherine Patterson, Minnie Byrd, Howard Huey, Alfred Grunsfeld, Edgar L. Hewett, I. H. Elliot and I. H. Rapp.

As all women were fully enfranchised by the Federal Amendment a State branch of the National League of Women Voters was formed with Mrs. Gerald Cassidy as chairman.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### NEW YORK.<sup>1</sup>

New York was the cradle of the movement for woman suffrage not only in this State but in the world, for here in 1848 was held the first Women's Rights Convention in all history. Except during the Civil War there was no year after 1850 when one or more such conventions did not take place until 1920, when all the women of the United States were enfranchised by an amendment to the National Constitution. This State was the home of the two great leaders for half a century—Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. The first appeal ever made to a Legislature for woman suffrage was made by these two women in 1854 and there was never a year afterwards when this appeal was not made by the women of New York except during the Civil War. The State Woman Suffrage Association was organized in 1869 and its work never ceased. Notwithstanding this record no suffrage for women had ever been obtained in this State, except a fragment of a School franchise for those in villages and country districts, up to 1901, when this chapter begins.

The cause had gradually gained in strength, however, and a factor which had strong influence was the splendid cooperation of many other organizations. The president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union often spoke at the suffrage conventions and legislative hearings and the superintendent of franchise, Dr. Lavinia R. Davis, sent out thousands of suffrage leaflets and appeals to the women of the local unions every year. The State Grange, with its membership approaching 100,000, passed favorable resolutions many times and gave the president and vice-president of the suffrage association, who were members, opportunities to speak at its meetings. The State Federation

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this part of the chapter to Mrs. Ella Hawley Crossett, president of the State Woman Suffrage Association, 1902-1910.

of Labor granted the vice-president time for an address at its convention in Troy as early as 1908 and thereafter endorsed the suffrage bills and sent speakers to the hearings on them. Women from labor unions spoke at conventions of the State Suffrage Association, which had a Committee on Industrial Work. The Western New York Federation of Women's Clubs, under the leadership of Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler of Buffalo, its president, was the first federation to admit suffrage clubs and a suffrage resolution was passed at its convention in 1909, at which time it had 35,000 members.

The annual conventions of the State association always were held in October. The thirty-third in the long series met at Oswego in the Presbyterian Church in 1901 and was welcomed by Mayor A. M. Hall. Addresses were made by Miss Susan B. Anthony, honorary president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, its vice-president-at-large; Alice Stone Blackwell, its recording secretary; Harriet May Mills and Julie R. Jenney of Syracuse. A memorial service was held for one of the pioneers, Charlotte A. Cleveland of Wyoming county, Mrs. Jean Brooks Greenleaf, former State president, and Mrs. Ella Hawley Crossett, vice-president, offering testimonials of her ability and helpfulness. She left the association a legacy of \$2,000, the first it ever had received. Mrs. Mariana W. Chapman, president since 1896, was re-elected.

The convention of 1902 was held in Buffalo at the Church of the Messiah. The wife of the Mayor, Erastus Knight, represented him in giving a welcome from the city. Owing to the illness of Mrs. Chapman, Mrs. Crossett presided. She was elected president, after having served four years as vice-president. Miss Mills was chosen for that office and they served for the next eight years.

In 1903 the convention was held in the Presbyterian Church at Hornellsville welcomed by Mayor C. F. Nelson and the Rev. Charles Petty, pastor of the church. Mrs. Crossett responded and gave her annual address, which showed much activity during the year. Miss Mills, chairman of the State organization committee, said that she had arranged for fifty-five meetings. Dr. Shaw had spoken in thirty different counties, the president

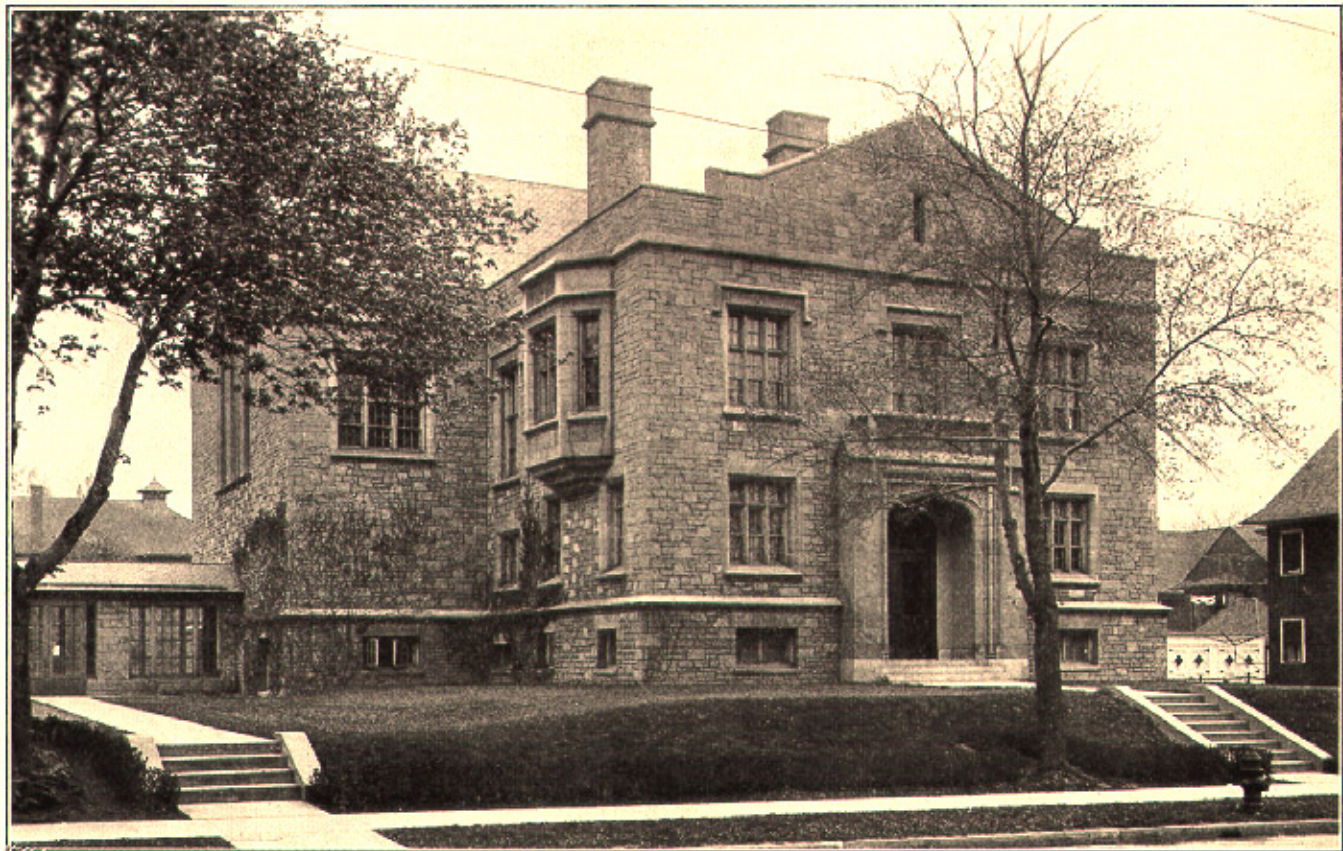


or vice-president accompanying her and organizing clubs at many places. The chairmen of the standing committees—Organization, Press, Legislative, Industries, Work Among Children, Enrollment, School Suffrage—and also the county presidents reported effective work. The addresses of Miss Anthony, Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, national president, were highly appreciated by large audiences. During the summer of 1903, as in many others, Miss Anthony and Dr. Shaw attracted large gatherings at the Chautauqua and Lily Dale Assemblies.

The convention of 1904 met at Auburn. Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne, daughter of Martha Wright and niece of Lucretia Mott, two of those who had called the first Woman's Rights Convention, entertained the officers and many chairmen in the annex of the hotel, a stenographer, typewriter and every convenience being placed at their disposal. In her own home she had as guests Miss Anthony, Dr. Shaw, Mrs. William Lloyd Garrison (her sister), Emily Howland, Mrs. William C. Gannett, Lucy E. Anthony and others. One evening her spacious house was thrown open for the people of the city to meet the noted suffragists. The convention was held in Music Hall, a gift of Mrs. Osborne to the city, and her son, Thomas Mott Osborne, welcomed it as Mayor.

The old Political Equality Club of Rochester, of which Miss Mary S. Anthony was president for many years, invited the convention for 1905. To go to the home city of the Anthony sisters was indeed a pleasure. They opened their house one afternoon for all who desired to take a cup of tea with them. It was crowded and many expressed themselves as feeling that they were on a sacred spot. A large number went to the third story to see the rooms where Mrs. Ida Husted Harper spent several years with Miss Anthony writing her biography and Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage. A reception was given at Powers Hotel attended by over 600 people. During the meetings Miss Anthony introduced a number of women who had attended the first Woman's Rights Convention, which adjourned from Seneca Falls to Rochester, Mary Hallowell, Sarah Willis, Mary S. Anthony and Maria Wilder Depuy.

The convention was held in the Universalist Church. Mayor



THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY MEMORIAL BUILDING  
At Rochester (N. Y.) University.

James G. Cutler, who welcomed the delegates, spoke very highly of his "esteemed fellow citizen, Susan B. Anthony" and presented her with a large bouquet of American Beauty roses. Mrs. Crossett in her annual address compared the convention held at Rochester in 1890, when there were but seven local clubs in the State, with this one representing 100 local and 31 county clubs. Elnora M. Babcock, press chairman, reported 500 papers in the State using articles favorable to woman suffrage.

The convention for 1906 met at Syracuse in the (Samuel J.) May Memorial Church. Miss Anthony had passed away the preceding March. Over the entrance door of the church was a large banner with the last words of the beloved leader, "Failure is Impossible." The afternoon meeting closed with tributes of reverence and appreciation by Mrs. Osborne, Anne Fitzhugh Miller, Marie Jenney Howe, Mrs. Crossett, Miss Mills and Dr. Shaw. Large audiences gathered for the evening meetings, among the speakers being Mrs. Florence Kelley, Mrs. Henry Villard and Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery. Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Avery spoke in the University Chapel to the students.

The convention of 1907, which met in Geneva, received a warm welcome; stores displayed the suffrage colors in their windows and many citizens hung flags over their doorways. The gracious presence of Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller and her daughter Anne, president of the Geneva Political Equality Club, the largest in the State, made the convention especially memorable. The delegates were invited to Lochland, the Miller home on the lake, one afternoon where a memorial service was held on the big porch, the place of many suffrage meetings, in memory of Mary S. Anthony, who had died the preceding February. Affectionate tributes were paid.<sup>1</sup> The convention was welcomed by Mayor Arthur P. Rose, City Attorney W. Smith O'Brien, Miss Miller and Mrs. Charlotte A. Baldrige, county president. Speakers were President Langdon C. Stewardson of Hobart

<sup>1</sup> Mary Anthony left to Mrs. Crossett, Miss Mills and Isabel Howland \$1,000 to be used for State work as they thought best. The interest for three years was given as prize money for the best essays in the colleges of the State. When the headquarters were opened in New York City some of the money helped to furnish them and the rest was put in the State work the following year.

College and Professors F. P. Nash and Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University.

The 40th State convention was held in 1908 in Buffalo, whose suffrage club invited the National American Association to hold its convention there the same week, to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the first Woman's Rights Convention. For eight years Mrs. Richard Williams, president of the club, had carried on the work in this city and had built up an excellent organization. Mrs. George Howard Lewis and Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey were valuable members. Mrs. Lewis gave \$10,000 to Dr. Shaw for suffrage work. The State convention, which met two days before the National, voted to have headquarters at Albany during the legislative session. It also voted to continue the State headquarters in Syracuse. Dr. Shaw had presented the suffrage question at the State Federation of Women's Clubs; Miss Mills had addressed the World's Temperance Congress; members had spoken before the resolution committees of the political State conventions and before many different organizations, institutions, etc. On May 26, 27, Mrs. Stanton Blatch had arranged a meeting in Seneca Falls to commemorate the 60th Anniversary of the first Women's Rights Convention, called by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and that noble band of women in 1848. Addresses were made by their descendants and a number of the pioneer suffragists and a bronze tablet was placed on the Wesleyan Methodist Church, where the convention was held.

This year Mrs. Clarence Mackay became interested in the work for woman suffrage and organized in New York an Equal Franchise League of which she was president, with headquarters in the Metropolitan Tower. She opened her house for lectures, interested a great many prominent and influential people and also arranged a course of public lectures in one of the theaters, which attracted large audiences. The papers gave columns of space to her efforts and the movement received a great impetus.

It had always been Miss Anthony's strong desire to have headquarters in this large center from which news of all kinds was sent to the four quarters of the globe. She realized the vast numbers of people who could be reached and the great prestige which would be given to the movement but even with

her wonderful ability for getting money she never could secure anywhere near enough to carry out this plan in the city where everything must be done on a large scale to be successful. The longed-for opportunity did not come in her lifetime but in 1909 Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont decided to take an active part in the work for woman suffrage and inquired of the leaders what was the most important thing to be done. They answered quickly: "Establish State headquarters in New York City and also bring the National headquarters here." With the executive ability for which she was noted Mrs. Belmont at once rented the entire floor of a big new office building at 505 Fifth Avenue, corner of 42nd Street, and invited both associations to take headquarters there for two years. They did so and the movement received a strong impulse not only in New York but in the country at large. The State association paid no rent and the national press bureau was maintained by Mrs. Belmont.

While in New York City women of the highest character and ability had sponsored the suffrage work it had not attracted the women who could give it financial support. When Mrs. Mackay and Mrs. Belmont identified themselves with it, opened their homes for lectures and interested their friends public attention was aroused. The meetings given in August by Mrs. Belmont at Marble House, Newport, which never before had been opened to the public, received an immense amount of space in the New York papers and those outside. The big headquarters soon were thronged with women; magazines, syndicates and the daily press had articles and pictures; mass meetings and parades followed and thousands of women entered the suffrage ranks. At the end of two years the State association was sufficiently well financed to maintain its headquarters, which remained in New York until its work was finished. Mrs. Belmont never lost her interest in the cause and continued to make large contributions. In a few years Mrs. Mackay turned her attention to other matters but her society was continued under the presidency of Mrs. Howard Mansfield. In 1909, under the direction of Mrs. Catt, its chairman, the Inter-Urban Council of twenty societies became the Woman Suffrage Party and organization along the lines of the political parties was begun.

The delegates came to the State convention at Troy in 1909 with high hopes that with headquarters established in New York City the suffrage work could be promoted as never before. It was held in the Y. M. C. A. building and greeted by representatives of the Emma Willard Association, City Federation of Women's Clubs, Daughters of the American Revolution and Teachers' Association. Mayor E. P. Mann extended an official welcome. Among the speakers was Professor Frances Squire Potter, national corresponding secretary. Mrs. William M. Ivins gave her impression of the suffrage movement in England and Miss Carolyn Crossett spoke on the meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in London, which she attended with Dr. Shaw. Not since the constitutional convention in 1894 had so much work been reported. The State president or vice-president had attended meetings in 41 counties. All-day meetings were held in all the cities on the Hudson River with excellent speakers, including Dr. Shaw. The president, vice-president and corresponding secretary, Miss Alice Williams, remained at Albany for three months, speaking and working in the towns in the eastern part of the State. Three large Self-Supporting Women's Suffrage Leagues joined the association.

In 1910 both the State association and the Woman Suffrage Party wrote Chairman Timothy Woodruff of the Republican and Chairman John A. Dix. of the Democratic State Committees requesting a hearing at the conventions. They were politely referred to the Resolutions Committees. They went to the Republican convention at Saratoga Springs, carrying their literature and the printed resolution which they wished the committee to put in the platform: "We believe that the question of woman suffrage has reached such a degree of importance that the Legislature should submit an amendment for it to the voters of the State." The committee allowed ten minutes; Mrs. Crossett presided and presented Mrs. Mary Wood, national organizer of the Republican women; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, a leader of the New York Woman Suffrage Party and other able speakers but no attention was paid to their request. This program was repeated at the Democratic convention in Rochester with the same result, and this had been the experience for years. At this

time candidates all over the State were being interviewed and women went to many county and city political conventions asking for endorsement of equal suffrage, seldom with success, although the politicians admitted that the time for acting was not far off.

The convention met at Niagara Falls in October, 1910, in the auditorium of the Shredded Wheat Biscuit Company, and was welcomed by Mayor Peter Porter. Mrs. Crossett responded and gave her annual address, which, she said, would be her last as president. Her home was in Warsaw in the western part of the State and when headquarters in New York City were given to the association she promised to make that her home for one year but could not do so longer. Over 1,000 persons had registered at the headquarters, she said, but these probably were not over one-third of those who called. Most of them came for speakers or help in some way; others came to volunteer assistance. Meetings had been held in nearly every unorganized county and there were 37 county societies. There were 155 clubs in the association, which had begun to make the assembly district the unit in the State, as Mrs. Catt had done in New York City. These clubs had held 695 public and 1,614 local meetings. The State board had arranged for 241 public meetings making 2,550. The association had now a membership of 58,000.

Mrs. Belmont, who had rooms on the same floor with the State and national associations, had formed eight clubs and given some of them headquarters. The city had headquarters and altogether there were ten. A Men's League had been organized. A Cooperative Service Club of over 100 business women was formed and met evenings at the State headquarters. The association sponsored the work of securing names to the National petition to Congress and they were tabulated at headquarters. Greater New York women secured 24,114 names and there were 72,086 signers in the State. A lecture bureau was established; Miss Carolyn Crossett went over the State arranging meetings; Miss Mills spoke in 28 counties. Dr. B. O. Aylesworth of Colorado University was spending the summer in New York and gave over twenty lectures for the association before clubs and public meetings. It seemed as if every woman's club in New York City asked for speakers and many of note were

supplied. The association had published thousands of pieces of literature and used thousands prepared by the National.

It was in this flourishing condition that the State association passed from the hands of Mrs. Crossett into those of her successor, Miss Harriet May Mills, who had served with her as vice-president throughout the preceding eight years. The other officers during this period were Mrs. Shuler, Mary T. Sanford, Ada M. Hall, Ida A. Craft, Isabel Howland, Alice Williams, Anna E. Merritt, Georgiana Potter, Nicolas Shaw Fraser, Mrs. Ivins, Eliza Wright Osborne, Mariana W. Chapman and Mrs. Villard. The lack of space prevents naming the hundreds of women who gave unceasing service through these years when faith and courage were required and there were no victories as a reward. In all the cities of the State the local women arranged courses of lectures with prominent speakers and kept suffrage continually before the people through the press and in other ways. By this quiet, persistent work of comparatively few women the foundation was laid for the majorities in the many "up-State" counties when the amendment came to a vote.

#### 1910-1913.<sup>1</sup>

At the annual convention of the State Association held in Niagara Falls, Oct. 18-21, 1910, the following officers were chosen: President, Miss Mills; vice-president, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Yonkers; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Roxana B. Burrows, Andover; recording secretary, Mrs. Nicolas Shaw Fraser, Geneseo; treasurer, Mrs. Ivins, New York; auditors, Mrs. Osborne, Auburn, Mrs. Villard, New York. During the three following years there were but few changes.<sup>2</sup>

The convention of 1911 met in Ithaca; that of 1912 in Utica and that of 1913 in Binghamton. This period was one of great activity, leading to the submission of an amendment to the State

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this part of the chapter to Miss Harriet May Mills, vice-president of the State Woman Suffrage Association, 1902-1910; president, 1910-1913.

<sup>2</sup> In 1911 Mrs. Livermore was succeeded by Mrs. William L. Colt, who later resigned on account of illness and Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe was unanimously elected. After the death of Mrs. Osborne, Mrs. Rumsey of Buffalo was appointed second auditor. Mrs. Katharine Gavit of Albany succeeded Mrs. Burrows and served to 1913. Mrs. Ivins resigned in the winter of 1913 and Mrs. Maud Ingersoll Probasco of New York was chosen for the remainder of the year.



constitution by the Legislature in January, 1913, the object of the association for over forty years. Its paying membership had steadily increased from 5,252 in October, 1910 to 8,139 in October, 1913, with over 50,000 enrolled members in addition. New York was thus enabled to continue its record of having the largest delegation each year in the national convention. The receipts from membership were respectively \$8,182, \$11,836 and \$14,230, the gains in membership and money amounting to about 60 per cent. The enrolled membership was finally adopted in place of the paid individual membership through suffrage clubs. For fourteen years the association maintained the *News Letter*, edited for ten years by Miss Mills and afterwards by Mrs. Minnie Reynolds and Miss Cora E. Morlan successively.

One part of the work which helped build up the association was the great campaigns through the summers of 1911-12, covering the eastern, northern and western counties and Long Island. Over 200 of these open-air rallies were held and thousands of enrolled members as well as new clubs and workers were secured. At the large Delhi meeting, held as an exception in the opera house, Mrs. Henry White Cannon came into the ranks, formed a strong organization and continued to be one of the valued leaders. Mrs. Gertrude Nelson Andrews for two years conducted classes in public speaking and knowledge of suffrage principles at the New York headquarters. She also went out into the State, rousing the women to the need of training themselves and others to speak for the cause and prepared a valuable book for her students.

In 1911 the State headquarters were moved into a beautiful old mansion at 180 Madison Avenue, just south of 34th Street in the heart of the shopping district, where they remained during 1912-13. Through the generosity of Mrs. Frances Lang, of whom they were leased, a comparatively low rent was paid. The new quarters were opened with a brilliant house-warming and in February a big State bazar and fair were held to raise funds. The preceding year the association celebrated Miss Anthony's birthday with a bazar in the roof garden of the Hotel Astor, with articles contributed from all parts of the State and several thousand dollars were realized. Never was this anniversary on February 15 allowed to pass without a special observance.

In 1913 it was celebrated by a reception at the Hotel Astor with speeches by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Miss Anthony's biographer, and others. A bust of the great leader was unveiled by the sculptor, Mrs. Adelaide Johnson. Contributions of \$2,500 were made.

In May the State association united with all the suffrage societies of New York (except the Women's Political Union, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, president, which did not wish to take part), in a meeting and pageant at the Metropolitan Opera House arranged by Mrs. Mansfield. Former President Theodore Roosevelt and Dr. Shaw made notable addresses to an enthusiastic audience which crowded the vast amphitheater and the great prima donna, Madame Nordica, a strong advocate of woman suffrage, sang magnificently. The pageant was beautiful and was accompanied by an orchestra composed entirely of women led by David Mannes. The association cooperated in a number of big parades during these years, representatives coming from societies throughout the State and from neighboring States. On the last Saturday in May, 1910, there was a night procession down Fifth Avenue with Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw as the efficient chairman of arrangements. One on the first Saturday in May, 1911, will ever be remembered, all the thousands of women dressed in white, headed by Mrs. C. O. Mailloux and Miss Carolyn Fleming carrying the flag of the State association, white satin with a heavy gold fringe and a golden wreath of laurel in the center with the name and date of organization. The fund for it was collected by Mrs. Ivins, the State treasurer, who gave so generously of her money, time, thought and effort to strengthen the association through the years of her service. At the head of the great parade the first Saturday in May, 1912, marched the handsome and stately Mrs. Herbert Carpenter, carrying the Stars and Stripes. Miss Portia Willis as grand marshal, robed in white and mounted on a white horse, made a picture never to be forgotten. These two led several processions. The pioneers rode in handsomely decorated carriages. In these processions tens of thousands of women were in line and they marched with many bands from Washington Square to Central Park, a distance of several miles. Delegates

from Men's Suffrage Leagues walked with them. Half a million people lined the streets, orderly and respectful.

In 1912 representatives of the association attended the State conventions of all the parties and extended hearings were granted by the Resolutions Committees. Their treatment was in great contrast to that of earlier days when they could scarcely obtain five or ten minutes before a committee. This year every party declared for woman suffrage in its platform. It was a gratification to sit in the great convention hall at Saratoga and hear the Hon. Horace White of Syracuse, who throughout his long years in the State Senate had constantly opposed the amendment, report in his capacity as chairman of the Resolutions Committee that the Republican party favored a speedy referendum on woman suffrage. Many dramatic features of propaganda characterized these years, which marked the awakening of the women of the entire State and brought into the ranks many wide-awake, independent young women, who wanted to use aggressive and spectacular methods, and these the older workers did not discourage. Those that attracted the most attention were the suffrage "hikes," in which Miss Rosalie Jones, a girl of wealth and position, was the leading spirit. She sent a picturesque account of these "hikes," which has had to be condensed for lack of space.

The idea originated with Rosalie Gardiner Jones, who began by making a tour of Long Island, her summer home, in a little cart drawn by one horse and decorated with suffrage flags and banners, stopping at every village and town, giving out literature and talking to the crowds that gathered. "If you once win the hearts of the rural people you have them forever. That is why I decided to organize a pilgrimage from New York City to Albany before the opening of the legislative session, when it was hoped a woman suffrage amendment would be submitted to the voters," she said.

Miss Jones recruited a small army of brave and devoted members, of which she was the "General" and Miss Ida Craft of Brooklyn the "Colonel" and the three others who walked every step to the end of the journey were Miss Lavinia Dock—"little Doc Dock"—a trained nurse, department editor of the *American Journal of Nursing* and author of *The History of Nursing*; Miss Sybil Wilbur of Boston, biographer of Mary Baker Eddy, and Miss Katharine Stiles of Brooklyn. They carried a message to Governor William Sulzer expressing the earnest hope that his administration might be distinguished by the speedy passage of the woman suffrage amendment,

signed by the presidents of the various New York suffrage organizations, engraved on parchment and hand illumined by Miss Jones. The "hike" began Monday morning, Dec. 16, 1912, from the 242nd street subway station, where about 500 had gathered, and about 200, including the newspaper correspondents, started to walk.

From New York City to Albany there was left a trail of propaganda among the many thousands of people who stopped at the cross roads and villages to listen to the first word which had ever reached them concerning woman suffrage, and many joined in and marched for a few miles. The newspapers far and wide were filled with pictures and stories. The march continued for thirteen days, through sun and rain and snow over a distance of 170 miles, including detours for special propaganda, and five pilgrims walked into Albany at 4 p. m., December 28. Whistles blew, bells rang, motor cars clanged their gongs, traffic paused, windows were thrown up, stores and shops were deserted while Albany gazed upon them, and large numbers escorted them to the steps of the Capitol where they lifted their cry "Votes for Women." They were received at the Executive Mansion on the 31st and "General Rosalie" gave the message in behalf of the suffragists of New York State. The newly-elected Governor answered: "All my life I have believed in the right of women to exercise the franchise with men as a matter of justice. I will do what I can to advance their political rights and have already incorporated in my Message advice to the legislators to pass the suffrage measure."

The "hike" had resulted in such tremendous advertising of woman suffrage that another on a larger scale to Washington was planned. "General" Jones and "Colonel" Craft were reinforced by "little Corporal" Martha Klatschken of New York and a large group, who were joined by others along the route. The "army" was mustered in at the Hudson Terminal, New York, at 9 a. m. on Lincoln's birthday, Feb. 12, 1913, and the start was made a little later at Newark, N. J. Each marcher wore a picturesque long brown woolen cape. The little yellow wagon with the good horse "Meg," driven by Miss Elizabeth Freeman, was joined at Philadelphia by Miss Marguerite Geist, with a little cart and donkey, and she helped distribute the suffrage buttons, flags and leaflets.

Thousands of people were gathered at Newark to see the start of this "army of the Hudson," which now was known as the "army of the Potomac," and hundreds marched with them the first day. After this about a hundred fell in at each town and marched to the next one. Alphonse Major and Edward Van Wyck were the advance agents who arranged for the meetings and the stopping places for the night. They were constantly attended by the press correspondents, at one time forty-five of them with their cameras, besides the magazine writers. The Mayors of the places along the route would send delegations to meet them and escort them to the town hall, where the speech-making would begin. At Wilmington, Del., the city council declared a half-holiday; the Mayor and officials met them at the edge

of town and escorted them to the town hall, which was crowded, and they were obliged also to hold street meetings for hours. They reached Philadelphia at 7 o'clock Sunday evening, where the streets had been packed for hours awaiting them, and it was only by holding street corner meetings on the way that they could get to the hotel.

The Princeton University students had been roaming around all the afternoon waiting for them, as there were a number of young college boys and girls with them, and the speakers held the crowd of boys for several hours. The next day a delegation of students walked with them for miles. At all of the other university towns they were received with the same enthusiasm. At the University of Pennsylvania they were detained hours for speeches in the grounds. At Baltimore they were received by Cardinal Gibbons in his mansion, an extraordinary courtesy, as they were not Catholics.

The "hikers" reached Hyattsville, four miles from Washington, the evening of February 27 and spent the night there. The next morning, escorted by a delegation of suffragists from the city, they marched down Pennsylvania Avenue. The streets had been thronged for several hours with a cosmopolitan crowd, from the highest to the lowest. At the headquarters of the Congressional Committee of the National American Suffrage Association, across from the Treasury building, "General" Jones was presented with flowers and disbanded her army. Fourteen had walked the entire distance from New York—295 miles with some detours—and two had walked from Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup>

A message to President Taft, similar to the one which had been sent by the New York officers to Governor Sulzer, had been entrusted by the board of the National Suffrage Association to the pilgrims, who expected to march in a body to the White House to deliver it. Before they reached Washington they were notified that the board itself would present it to the incoming President Wilson at a later date. Miss Florence Allen, the well known Ohio lawyer, who had been marching for several days, returned to New York, to try to obtain the recall of this decision but was unsuccessful. Afterwards the board informed "General" Jones that they would go together to the White House but all had separated, the psychological moment had passed and the message was never presented.

**LEGISLATIVE ACTION.** The legislature of New York meets annually and from 1854 to 1917 a woman suffrage measure was presented only to be rejected, with two exceptions. The first was in 1880, when the Legislature undertook to give women the right to vote at school meetings, but the law was ineffective and this great privilege was confined to women in villages and country

<sup>1</sup> From New York: Misses Jones, Craft, Klatschken, Constance Leupp, Phoebe Hawn, Minerva Crowell, Amalie Doetsch, Elizabeth Aldrich, Mrs. George Wend and her son, Milton Wend, Mrs. George Boldt, Master Norman Spreer, Ernest Stevens and A. C. Lemmon. From Philadelphia: Miss Virginia Patsche and Mrs. George Williams.

districts. The charters of a number of third class cities granted School suffrage to women and some of them included the right to vote on special appropriations for those who paid taxes. This was the situation at the beginning of the century.<sup>1</sup>

1901. When Theodore Roosevelt was Governor he advised the suffragists to drop the effort for a constitutional amendment awhile and work for something the Legislature could grant without a referendum to the voters. For five years, therefore, they tried to get some form of partial suffrage that could be obtained without amending the constitution. The total result was a law in 1901 giving to taxpaying women in the towns and villages a vote on propositions to raise money by special tax assessment, which was signed by Governor Benjamin F. Odell. Miss Susan B. Anthony considered this of little value but it covered about 1,800 places and when she saw the interest aroused in the women by even this small concession she came to think that it was worth while. In 1910 a legislative enactment increased this privilege to a vote on the issuing of bonds.

During the legislative sessions of 1902-3-4-5 the effort was concentrated on a bill to give a vote on special taxation to taxpaying women in all third class cities—those having less than 50,000 inhabitants. Mrs. Mary H. Loines of Brooklyn was chairman of the committee, as she had been since 1898. The special champions of the bill were Senators Leslie B. Humphrey, H. S. Ambler, John Raines; Representatives Otto Kelsey, George H. Smith, Louis C. Bedell, E. W. Ham. Among the strongest opponents were Senators Edgar Truman Brackett, George A. Davis, Thomas F. Grady and Nevada M. Stranahan. Governors Odell and Frank M. Higgins recommended it and Speaker Frederick S. Nixon urged it. Committee hearings were granted at every session and among its advocates were Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, national president, Mrs. Crossett and Miss Harriet May Mills, State president and vice-president; Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich, Mrs. Mary E. Craigie and Miss Anne Fitzhugh Miller. Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the Anti-Suffrage

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Ella Hawley Crossett, president of the State Suffrage Association, sent a complete résumé of the legislative action from 1900 to 1913, comprising many thousand words, but the exigencies of space compelled condensation to the bare details.

Association, and Mrs. George Phillips, secretary, spoke in opposition. During these four years neither House voted on the bill and it was seldom reported by the committees.

In 1906 after consulting with Miss Anthony, the State leaders decided to return to the original effort for the submission to the voters of an amendment to the State constitution, which was presented by Senator Henry W. Hill of Buffalo and Representative E. C. Dowling of Brooklyn. Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. John K. Howe and Mrs. Helen Z. M. Rodgers were among the suffrage speakers and Mrs. Winslow W. Crannell was added to the "antis." No committee reports were made. The taxpayers' bill was also presented in 1906 and 1907 with no results of six years' work.

Thenceforth the resolution for the constitutional amendment was introduced every year, in 1908 by Senator Percy Hooker of LeRoy. The club women had now become interested and the legislators were deluged with letters and literature. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Miss Helen Varick Boswell and Mrs. Harry Hastings headed the large delegation from New York City for the hearing. Mrs. Crossett informed the Judiciary Committee that during the past year woman suffrage had been officially endorsed by the New York City Federation of Labor with 250,000 members; State Grange with 75,000; New York City Federation of Women's Clubs with 35,000; Woman's Christian Temperance Union with 30,000 and many other organizations. F. A. Byrne spoke for the City Central Labor Union. Mrs. Francis M. Scott represented the Anti-Suffrage Association. Morris Hilquit and Mrs. Meta Stern spoke independently for the Socialists, making a strong appeal for the amendment. The Senate took no action and Speaker James W. Wadsworth, Jr., was able to defeat any consideration by the Lower House. During the following summer mass meetings were held in every city on the Hudson River addressed by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, now president of the National Suffrage Association, and other noted speakers and a vast amount of work was done in the State.

In the Legislature of 1909 Senator Hill and Representative Frederick R. Toombs introduced the resolution. At the hearing the Assembly Chamber was filled to overflowing. Mrs. Villard,

chairman of the Legislative Committee, presided.<sup>1</sup> People stood four hours listening to the speeches and returned to a suffrage mass meeting at night. Mrs. William Force Scott and Miss Margaret Doane Gardner spoke for the "antis." Mrs. Crossett asked of the committee: "Does it mean nothing to you that 40,000 women in this State are organized to secure the franchise; that a few years ago 600,000 people signed the petition for woman suffrage to the constitutional convention; that associations formed for other purposes representing hundreds of thousands of members have endorsed it?" Mrs. Graham, president of the State W. C. T. U.; Mrs. John Winters Brannan and Mrs. Pearce Bailey, representing the Equal Franchise Society; Miss Mills, speaking for the State League; Leonora O'Reilly, presenting the resolution of the Women's Trade Union League of New York for the amendment; Mrs. Dexter F. Rumsey, speaking for Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, president of the Western New York Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, a pioneer suffragist, president of the Legislative League; Mrs. Florence Kelley, executive secretary of the Consumers' League; Mrs. George Howard Lewis of Buffalo, a well known philanthropist; Mrs. Maud Nathan, president of the New York Consumers' League; Mrs. Rodgers and Mrs. Gabrielle Mulliner, lawyers—all urged the legislators to submit the question to the voters. Dr. Shaw held the audience spellbound until 6 o'clock. John Spargo, the well known socialist, spoke independently with much power, demanding the vote especially for working women. The use of the Assembly Chamber was granted for an evening suffrage meeting which attracted a large audience. The Legislature took no action.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Legislative Committee was composed of Mrs. George Howard Lewis, Miss Miller, Mrs. L. Cuyler, Mrs. Villard, Mrs. Harry S. Hastings, Mrs. Craigie, Mrs. Rodgers, Miss Jenney. A Cooperating Committee representing the entire State was of great assistance. Among its members were Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Blatch, Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Shuler, each president of a large organization of women; the Rev. Josiah Strong, president American Institute of Social Science; Oswald Garrison Villard, proprietor of the *New York Evening Post*; Dr. Stewardson, president Hobart College; Professor Schmidt, of Cornell University; Colonel A. S. Bacon, treasurer of the American Sabbath Union; Edwin Markham, William G. Van Plank, Dr. John D. Peters, D.D.; Florence Kelley, Elizabeth Burrill Curtis, Caroline Loxow, president College Women's League; Mrs. Osborne and others.

<sup>2</sup> Among those added to the Cooperating Suffrage Committee during this and the preceding year were Mrs. Belmont, president of the Political Equality Suffrage Association; Mrs. Mackay, president of the Equal Franchise Society; Jessie Ashley, president



Members of the large legislative committee met weekly during the session of 1910 at the State headquarters in New York to assist in promoting the work. All the workers as usual contributed their services. Mrs. Crossett and Miss Mills remained in Albany. A notable meeting was held there at Harmanus-Bleecker Hall, with excellent speakers. The boxes were filled with prominent women, who had invited many of the State officials as guests; seats were sent to all the members of the Legislature, most of whom were present, and the house with a capacity of 2,000 was crowded. Mrs. Clarence Mackay defrayed most of the expenses. On January 22 Governor Charles E. Hughes granted a hearing to George Foster Peabody, Oswald Garrison Villard, Mrs. Ella H. Boole, Mrs. Villard, Mrs. Crossett, Mrs. Frederick R. Hazard and Miss Anne F. Miller, who urged him to recommend the submission of an amendment. He seemed much impressed by the statements made but they had no effect. The hearing on March 9 broke all records. The Assembly Chamber was filled to the utmost and surging crowds outside tried to get in. Members of both Houses stood for hours listening to the speeches. Jesse R. Phillips, chairman of the Assembly Judiciary Committee, presided. The suffrage speakers were headed by the eminent lawyer, Samuel Untermyer. The anti-suffragists had a long list, including Mrs. Henry M. Stimson, wife of a New York Baptist minister, and Mrs. William P. Northrup of Buffalo. Both Judiciary Committees refused to let the resolution come before the two Houses, admitting that it would be carried if they did.

The most thorough preparation was made for the session of 1911 by all the suffrage societies. The Assembly committee refused to report and on May 10 Representative Spielberg, who had charge, moved to request it to do so. The vote was 38 in favor

of the College Equal Suffrage League; Mary E. Dreier, president of the Women's Trade Union League; Anna Mercy, president of the East Side Equal Rights League; Ella A. Boole, president State W. C. T. U.; George Foster Peabody, president, and Max Eastman, secretary of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage; Ida Husted Harper, chairman National Press Bureau; Mrs. William C. Story, president State Federation of Women's Clubs; Lucy P. Allen, president of the Washington county and Lucy P. Watson, president of the Utica Political Equality Clubs; Mrs. William C. Gannett, president of the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Association; Alice Lewisohn, noted for her social work in New York, Dr. Charles F. Aked, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and William M. Ivins.

to go against his motion. On May 15 the Senate Judiciary Committee by 6 to 2 reported in favor but not until July 12 was the vote taken in the Senate and the measure was lost by a vote of 14 ayes, 17 noes.

In 1912 a remarkable hearing was held in a crowded Assembly Chamber. Senator Stillwell, a member of the Judiciary Committee, again introduced the amendment resolution and its chairman, Senator Bayne, was a staunch friend but after the committee had reported it favorably the Senate could not be moved. In the Assembly, on the final day of the session, for the first time since 1895 and the second time on record, the resolution was adopted. Just as it was about to be taken to the Senate for action, Representative Cuvellier of New York blocked further progress by moving to reconsider the vote and lay the resolution on the table. This was carried by a vote of 69 to 6 and doubtless had been prearranged.

By 1913 the sentiment in favor of letting the voters pass on the question had become too strong to be resisted. Mrs. Katharine Gavit of Albany, representing the Cooperative Legislative Committee, had charge of the resolution. On January 6, the opening day, a delegation from all the suffrage societies sat in the Senate Chamber and heard it introduced by Senator Wagner, the Democratic floor leader, who said that, while not personally in favor of it he was willing to sponsor it because his party had endorsed it in their platform, and it was favorably reported. In the Assembly it was promptly introduced by A. J. Levy, chairman of the Judiciary Committee. The form of the proposed amendment had been changed from that of all preceding years, which had intended simply to take the word "male" from the suffrage clause of the constitution. As alien women could secure citizenship through marriage and would thus immediately become voters it provided that they must first live in the country five years. The Senate struck out this naturalization clause; in the Assembly the Democratic members wanted it, the Republicans objected to it. On January 20 the Assembly passed the measure without it. The Senate put back the clause and passed it January 23 by 40 ayes, two noes—McCue and Frawley of New York—and returned it to the Assembly, which passed it four days later by 128 ayes,

5 noes. The resolution had still to pass another Legislature two years later but this was the beginning of the end for which two generations of women had worked and waited.

[LAWS. A complete digest of the laws relating to women and children during the first twenty years of the century was prepared for this chapter by Miss Kathryn H. Starbuck, attorney and counsellor at law in Saratoga Springs. It comprises about 3,600 words and includes laws relating to property, marriage, guardianship, domestic relations, etc. Much regret is felt that the exigencies of space compel the omission of the laws in all the State chapters. Miss Starbuck gave also valuable information on office holding and occupations, which had to be omitted for the same reason.]

#### NEW YORK CITY CAMPAIGNS.<sup>1</sup>

The story of the growth of the woman suffrage movement in Greater New York is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of this cause, for while it advanced slowly for many years, it rose in 1915 and 1917 to a height never attained elsewhere and culminated in two campaigns that in number of adherents and comprehensive work were never equaled.

The Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Association was formed May 13, 1869, and the New York City Society in 1870. From this time various organizations came into permanent existence until in 1903 there were fifteen devoted to suffrage propaganda. In Manhattan (New York City) and Brooklyn these were bound together by county organizations but in order to unite all the suffragists in cooperative work the Interurban Woman Suffrage Council was formed in 1903 at the Brooklyn home of a pioneer, Mrs. Priscilla D. Hackstaff, with the President of the Kings County Political Equality League, Mrs. Martha Williams, presiding. The Interurban began with a roster of five which gradually increased to twenty affiliated societies, with an associate membership besides of 150 women. Under the able leadership of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman, it established headquarters in the Martha Washington Hotel, New York City, Feb.

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this part of the chapter to Mrs. Oreola Williams Haskell, former president of the Kings County Political Equality League; head of the Press Bureau of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party through the two campaigns, 1915-1917, and of the League of Women Voters from its beginning until the present time.

15, 1907, with a secretary, Miss Fannie Chafin, in charge, and maintained committees on organization, literature, legislative work, press and lectures; formed clubs, held mass meetings and systematically distributed literature. The Council was the first suffrage organization in New York City to interview Assemblymen and Senators on woman suffrage and it called the first representative convention held in the big metropolis.

The Woman Suffrage Party of Greater New York was launched by this Council at Carnegie Hall, October 29, 1909, modelled after that of the two dominant political parties. Its first convention with 804 delegates and 200 alternates constituted the largest delegate suffrage body ever assembled in New York State. The new party announced that it would have a leader for each of the 63 assembly districts of the city and a captain for each of the 2,127 election districts, these and their assistant officers to be supervised by a borough chairman and other officers in each borough, the entire force to be directed by a city chairman assisted by city officers and a board of directors. Mrs. Catt, with whom the idea of the Party originated, and her co-workers believed that by reaching into every election district to influence its voters, they would bring suffrage close to the people and eventually influence parties and legislators through public opinion.

The population of Greater New York was 4,700,000 and the new party had a task of colossal proportions. It had to appeal to native Americans of all classes and conditions and to thousands of foreign born. It sent its forces to local political conventions; held mass meetings; issued thousands of leaflets in many languages; conducted street meetings, parades, plays, lectures, suffrage schools; gave entertainments and teas; sent appeals to churches and all kinds of organizations and to individual leaders; brought pressure on legislators through their constituents and obtained wide publicity in newspapers and magazines. It succeeded in all its efforts and increased its membership from 20,000 in 1910 to over 500,000 in 1917.

In 1915, at the beginning of the great campaign for a suffrage amendment to the State constitution, which had been submitted by the Legislature, the State was divided into twelve campaign districts. Greater New York was made the first and under the

leadership of Miss Mary Garrett Hay, who since 1912 had served as chairman, the City Woman Suffrage Party plunged into strenuous work, holding conventions, sending out organizers, raising \$50,000 as a campaign fund, setting a specific task for each month of 1915 up to Election Day, and forming its own committees with chairmen as follows: Industrial, Miss Leonora O'Reilly; The Woman Voter, Mrs. Thomas B. Wells; Speakers' Bureau, Mrs. Mabel Russell; Congressional, Mrs. Lillian Griffin; the French, Mrs. Anna Ross Weeks; the German, Miss Catherine Dreier; the Press, Mrs. Oreola Williams Haskell; Ways and Means, Mrs. John B. McCutcheon.

The City Party began the intensive work of the campaign in January, 1915, when a swift pace was set for the succeeding months by having 60 district conventions, 170 canvassing suppers, four mass meetings, 27 canvassing conferences and a convention in Carnegie Hall. It was decided to canvass all of the 661,164 registered voters and hundreds of women spent long hours toiling up and down tenement stairs, going from shop to shop, visiting innumerable factories, calling at hundreds of city and suburban homes, covering the rural districts, the big department stores and the immense office buildings with their thousands of occupants. It was estimated that 60 per cent of the enrolled voters received these personal appeals. The membership of the party was increased by 60,535 women secured as members by canvassers.

The following is a brief summing up of the activities of the ten months' campaign.<sup>1</sup>

Voters canvassed (60 per cent of those enrolled).....	396,698
Women canvassed .....	60,535
Voters circularized .....	826,796
Party membership increased from 151,688 to.....	212,223
Watchers and pickets furnished for the polls.....	3,151
Numbers of leaflets printed and distributed.....	2,883,264
Money expended from the City treasury.....	\$25,579
Number of outdoor meetings.....	5,225
Number of indoor meetings (district).....	660
Number of mass meetings.....	93
Political meetings addressed by Congressmen, Assem- blymen and Constitutional Convention delegates...	25
Total number of meetings.....	6,003

<sup>1</sup> Extended space is given to the two New York campaigns because they were the largest ever made and were used as a model by a number of States in later years.—Ed.

Night speaking in theaters.....	60
Theater Week (Miner's and Keith's).....	2
Speeches and suffrage slides in movie theaters.....	150
Concerts (indoor, 10, outdoor, 3).....	13
Suffrage booths in bazaars.....	6
Number of Headquarters (Borough 4, Districts, 20).....	24
Campaign vans (drawn by horses 6, decorated autos 6, district autos 4), vehicles in constant use.....	16
Papers served regularly with news (English and foreign)	80
Suffrage editions of papers prepared.....	2
Special articles on suffrage.....	150
Sermons preached by request just before election.....	64

A *Weekly News Bulletin* (for papers and workers) and the *Woman Voter* (a weekly magazine) issued; many unique features like stories, verses, etc.; hundreds of ministers circularized and speakers sent to address congregations; the endorsements of all city officials and of many prominent people and big organizations secured.

In order to accomplish the work indicated by this table a large number of expert canvassers, speakers, executives and clerical workers were required. Mrs. Catt as State Campaign chairman was a great driving force and an inspiration that never failed, and Miss Hay in directing the party forces and raising the money showed remarkable ability. Associated with her were capable officials—Mrs. Margaret Chandler Aldrich, Mrs. Wells, Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren, Mrs. Robert McGregor, Mrs. Cornelia K. Hood, Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, Mrs. Joseph Fitch, Mrs. A. J. Newbury, and the tireless borough chairmen, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Manhattan; Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Brooklyn; Mrs. Henrietta Speke Seeley, Bronx; Mrs. Alfred J. Eno, Queens, and Mrs. William G. Willcox, Richmond.

The spectacular activities of the campaign caught and held public attention. Various classes of men were complimented by giving them "suffrage days." The appeal to the firemen took the form of an automobile demonstration, open air speaking along the line of march of their annual parade and a ten dollar gold piece given to one of their number who made a daring rescue of a yellow-sashed dummy—a suffrage lady. A circular letter was sent to 800 firemen requesting their help for all suffragists. "Barbers' Day" produced ten columns of copy in leading New York dailies. Letters were sent in advance to 400 barbers informing them that on a certain day the suffragists would call upon

them. The visits were made in autos decorated with barbers' poles and laden with maps and posters to hang up in the shops and then open air meetings were held out in front. Street cleaners on the day of the "White Wings" parade were given souvenirs of tiny brooms and suffrage leaflets and addressed from automobiles. A whole week was given to the street car men who numbered 240,000. Suffrage speeches were given at the car barns and leaflets and a "car barn" poster distributed.

Forty-five banks and trust companies were treated to a "raid" made by suffrage depositors, who gave out literature and held open meetings afterward. Brokers were reached through two days in Wall Street where the suffragists entered in triumphal style, flags flying, bugles playing. Speeches were made, souvenirs distributed and a luncheon held in a "suffrage" restaurant. The second day hundreds of colored balloons were sent up to typify "the suffragists' hopes ascending." Workers in the subway excavations were visited with Irish banners and shamrock fliers; Turkish, Armenian, French, German and Italian restaurants were canvassed as were the laborers on the docks, in vessels and in public markets.

A conspicuous occasion was the Night of the Interurban Council Fires, when on high bluffs in the different boroughs huge bonfires were lighted, fireworks and balloons sent up, while music, speeches and transparencies emphasized the fact that woman's evolution from the campfire of the savage into a new era was commemorated. Twenty-eight parades were a feature of the open air demonstrations. There were besides numbers of torchlight rallies; street dances on the lower East Side; Irish, Syrian, Italian and Polish block parties; outdoor concerts, among them a big one in Madison Square, where a full orchestra played, opera singers sang and eminent orators spoke; open air religious services with the moral and religious aspects of suffrage discussed; a fête held in beautiful Dyckman Glen; flying squadrons of speakers whirling in autos from the Battery to the Bronx; an "interstate meet" on the streets where suffragists of Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York participated. Ninety original features arranged on a big scale with many minor ones brought great publicity to the cause and the suffragists ended their campaign valiantly with sixty

speakers talking continuously in Columbus Circle for twenty-six hours.

On the night of November 2, election day, officers, leaders, workers, members of the Party and many prominent men and women gathered at City headquarters in East 34th Street to receive the returns, Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay at either end of a long table. At first optimism prevailed as the early returns seemed to indicate victory but as adverse reports came in by the hundreds all hopes were destroyed. The fighting spirits of the leaders then rose high. Speeches were made by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Catt, Miss Hay, Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, Mrs. Laidlaw and others, and, though many workers wept openly, the gathering took on the character of an embattled host ready for the next conflict. After midnight many of the women joined a group from the State headquarters and in a public square held an outdoor rally which they called the beginning of the new campaign.

The vote was as follows:

	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>Lost by</i>
Manhattan Borough . . . . .	88,886	117,610	28,724
Brooklyn Borough . . . . .	87,402	121,679	34,277
Bronx Borough . . . . .	34,307	40,991	6,684
Richmond Borough . . . . .	6,108	7,469	1,361
Queens Borough . . . . .	21,395	33,104	11,709
Total opposed, 320,853; in favor, 238,098; adverse majority, 82,755.			

Two days after the election the City Party united with the National Association in a mass meeting at Cooper Union, where speeches were made and \$100,000 pledged for a new campaign fund. The spirit of the members was shown in the words of a leader who wrote: "We know that we have gained over half a million voters in the State, that we have many new workers, have learned valuable lessons and with the knowledge obtained and undiminished courage we are again in the field of action." In December and January the usual district and borough conventions for the election of officers and then the city convention were held. At the latter the resolution adopted showed a change from the oldtime pleading: "We demand the re-submission of the woman suffrage amendment in 1917. We insist that the Judiciary Committee shall present a favorable report without delay and that the bill shall come to an early vote." Much legislative work was



necessary to obtain re-submission, for which the City Party worked incessantly until the amendment was re-submitted by the Legislatures of 1916 and 1917 and preparations were again made for a great campaign.

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The campaign of 1915 had been one of the highways, and of spectacular display. That of 1917 was of the byways, of quiet, intensive work reaching every group of citizens. The campaign was launched at a meeting in Aeolian Hall, March 29, where the addresses of Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay aroused true campaign fervor, the former saying: "Some foreign countries have given the franchise to women for their war work; we ask it that our women may feel they have been recognized as assets of the nation before it calls on them for war work."

The suffragists offered their services to the Government, even before it declared war; the State Party to the Governor, the City Party to the Mayor. The latter said in a resolution adopted February 5: "We place at the disposal of the Mayor of this city for any service he may require our full organization of over 200,000 women, thoroughly organized and trained and with headquarters in every borough." The mass of the members stood solidly behind this offer. A War Service Committee was appointed with Mrs. F. Louis Slade as its chairman and it accomplished work that was not exceeded, if indeed equalled, in any city of the United States. Nine other committees were also appointed.

The leading features of the campaign of 1917 were the war work and the enrolling of women. In 1916 when Mrs. Catt started a canvass to obtain a million signatures of women to a petition to answer the argument, "Women do not want to vote," the City Party took as its share the securing of 514,555 in Greater New York. This accomplished, the signatures mounted on big placards were placed on exhibition at Party headquarters, now in East 38th Street, and a little ceremony was arranged during which Mayor John Purroy Mitchel and other prominent men made commendatory speeches. Debarred from outdoor meetings during the summer of 1916 on account of an epidemic and during the summer of 1917 because of war conditions, the following was nevertheless accomplished:

Meetings .....	2,085
Leaflets distributed .....	5,196,884
Money expended .....	\$151,438
Canvassed and enrolled women.....	514,555
Women secured to watch at polls.....	5,000
Campaign headquarters maintained.....	40
Newspapers (English and foreign) served daily.....	153
Suffrage editions and pages edited.....	10
Special suffrage articles.....	200
Other suffrage articles and interviews.....	400
Posters placed in shop windows.....	2,000

Maintained Letter Writing Committee to send letters to the press; issued Weekly News Bulletin; printed suffrage news in papers in ten languages; circularized all churches and business men in 75 per cent of the 2,060 election districts; conducted hundreds of watchers' schools; exhibited suffrage movies in hundreds of clubs, churches and settlements; had series of suppers and conferences for working-women; held captains' rally at the Waldorf-Astoria and a patriotic rally at Carnegie Hall; gave a series of suffrage study courses; raised funds at sacrifice sales, entertainments, lectures, etc.; sent speakers to hundreds of Labor Union meetings; held four pre-election mass meetings and as a wind-up to the campaign staged eight hours of continuous speaking by 40 men and women at Columbus Circle.

The Party leaders had to meet attacks and misrepresentations from the Anti-Suffrage Association, whose national and State headquarters were in New York City. The Party had also to combat the actions of the "militant" suffragists, whose headquarters were in Washington and whose picketing of the White House and attacks on President Wilson and other public men displeased many people who did not discriminate between the large constructive branch of the suffrage movement and the small radical branch. The Party leaders had often publicly to repudiate the "militant" tactics. In the parade of Oct. 28, 1917, the Party exhibited placards which read: "We are opposed to Picketing the White House. We stand by the Country and the President."

During the campaign, Miss Hay had associated with her on the executive board, Mrs. Slade, Mrs. Aldrich, Mrs. George Notman, Miss Annie Doughty, Mrs. F. Robertson-Jones, Mrs. Wells, Miss Adaline W. Sterling, Mrs. Herbert Lee Pratt, Mrs. Charles E. Simonson, Dr. Katherine B. Davis, Miss Eliza McDonald, Mrs. Alice P. Hutchins, Mrs. Louis Welzmilller. Borough chairmen who assisted were Mrs. John Humphrey Watkins, Man-

hattan; Mrs. Dreier, Brooklyn; Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer, Bronx; Mrs. David B. Rodger, Queens; Mrs. Wilcox, Richmond.

On the evening of November 6, election day, the City Party headquarters were crowded with people waiting for the returns. Mrs. Catt, Miss Hay, Mrs. Laidlaw and other leaders were present. Mr. Laidlaw and Judge Wadhams were "keeping the count." Walter Damrosch and other prominent men came in. From the beginning the returns were encouraging and as the evening wore on and victory was assured, the room rang with cheers and applause and there were many jubilant speeches.

The election brought a great surprise, for the big city, whose adverse vote suffragists had always predicted would have to be outbalanced by upstate districts, won the victory, the latter not helping but actually pulling down its splendid majority. The final vote in Greater New York read:

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Majority in Favor</i>
New York County.....	129,412	89,124	40,288
Kings (Brooklyn) .....	129,601	92,315	37,286
Bronx .....	52,660	36,346	16,314
Richmond .....	7,868	5,224	2,644
Queens .....	34,125	26,794	7,331
Total .....	353,666	249,803	103,863

Upstate districts, 349,463 ayes; 350,973 noes, lost by 1,510.

Majority in the State as a whole, 102,353.

Immediately opponents made the charge that suffrage won in the City because of the pro-German, pacifist and Socialist vote. An analysis showed that in many districts where the Germans and Socialists predominated there was not as great a suffrage majority as in Republican or Democratic districts; that some of the conservative residential sections were more favorable than radical districts and that the soldiers in the field had voted for suffrage in the ratio of two to one.

Those who were best informed attributed the victory to many causes—to the support of voters in all the parties; to the help of the labor unions; to recognition of women's war work; to the example set by European countries in enfranchising their women; to the endorsement of prominent men and strong organizations. Most of all, however, it was due to the originality, the dauntless energy, the thorough organization methods and the ceaseless

campaigning of the suffrage workers, who in winning the great Empire State not only secured the vote for New York women but made the big commonwealth an important asset in the final struggle for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

#### THE TWO STATE CAMPAIGNS.<sup>1</sup>

At the 45th convention of the State Woman Suffrage Association held in Binghamton Oct. 14-17, 1913, Miss Harriet May Mills declined to stand for re-election to the presidency. The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Henry W. Cannon, Delhi; recording secretary, Mrs. Nicolas Shaw Fraser, Geneseo; treasurer, Mrs. Edward M. Childs, New York City; directors; Miss Mills, Syracuse; Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Yonkers; Mrs. Helen Probst Abbott, Rochester; Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey, Buffalo; Mrs. George W. Topliff, Binghamton; Mrs. Luther Mott, Oswego; Mrs. Chanler Aldrich, Tarrytown.

This convention had before it work of the gravest importance. The submission of a woman suffrage amendment had passed one Legislature and it was almost certain that it would pass a second and be voted on at the fall election of 1915. New York was recognized as an immensely difficult State to win. It contained great areas of sparsely settled country and also many large cities. It had a foreign born population of 2,500,000 in a total of 9,000,000. The political "machines" of both Republican and Democratic parties were well entrenched and there was no doubt that the powerful influence of both would be used to the utmost against a woman suffrage amendment. Party leaders might allow it to go through the Legislature because confident of their ability to defeat it at the polls. The vital problem for the suffragists was how to organize and unite all the friendly forces.

While the State Suffrage Association was the one which was organized most extensively there were other important societies. For some years the Women's Political Union, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch president, had carried on an effective campaign. The Woman Suffrage Party, a large group, existed principally in New

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this part of the chapter to Mrs. Raymond Brown, president of the State Woman Suffrage Association.

York City, organized by assembly districts. The Men's League for Woman Suffrage comprised a considerable number of influential men, now under the presidency of James Lees Laidlaw. The College Equal Suffrage League, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, president, was an active body of young women. The Equal Franchise Society, organized originally among the society women of New York City by Mrs. Clarence Mackay had Mrs. Howard Mansfield as president and had helped make the movement "fashionable." This was the case with Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont's Political Equality League.

On April 15, 1913, Miss Mills had invited representatives of these organizations to a conference at the State headquarters in New York to consider concerted action at which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was urged to become chairman of a State Campaign Committee composed of their presidents. Before accepting, Mrs. Catt, in order to learn conditions in the State, sent out a questionnaire to county presidents and assembly district leaders asking their opinion as to the prospect of success. Of the forty-two who answered twelve believed that their counties might be carried for the amendment if enough work was done; sixteen thought it doubtful, no matter how much work was done, and fourteen were certain they could not be carried under any conditions. Not a single county believed it could organize or finance its own work. In spite of the discouraging situation, Mrs. Catt on her return in the autumn from the meeting in Budapest of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, of which she was president, accepted the chairmanship on the condition that \$20,000 should be raised for the work. The Empire State Committee organized November 11 was composed of Mrs. Raymond Brown, representing the State Association; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City; Mrs. Mansfield, the Equal Franchise Society; Mrs. Tiffany, the College League and Mr. Laidlaw, the Men's League, with the following chairmen: Miss Rose Young, Press; Mrs. Warner M. Leeds, Finance; Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, Publicity; Mrs. John W. Alexander, Art; Mrs. Mansfield, Literature.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Before the committee was fully organized Mrs. Blatch and the Women's Political Union withdrew to carry on its work independently and Mrs. Belmont with her Political Equality League also ceased cooperation.

For convenience of work the State was divided into twelve campaign districts, whose chairmen were, 1st, Miss Hay, New York City; 2nd, Mrs. Brown, Bellport, Long Island; 3rd, Miss Leila Stott, Albany; 4th, Mrs. Frank Paddock, Malone; 5th, Mrs. L. O. McDaniel, succeeded by Miss Mills, Syracuse; 6th, Mrs. Helen B. Owens, Ithaca; 7th, Mrs. Alice C. Clement, Rochester; 8th, Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, Buffalo; 9th, Mrs. Carl Osterheld, Yonkers; 10th, Mrs. Gordon Norrie, Staatsburg; 11th, Miss Evanetta Hare, succeeded by Mrs. George Notman, Keene Valley; 12th, Miss Lucy C. Watson, Utica. Under all of these chairmen came the 150 assembly district leaders and under these the 5,524 election district captains. From the first it was realized that organization was the keynote to success and that to be effective it must extend into every polling precinct of the State. Mrs. Catt had no superior in organizing ability. The plan followed the lines of the political parties and was already in use by the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, which she had founded.

In January, 1914, Campaign District Conferences and Schools of Method were held, followed by a convention and mass meetings in every county. During the year twenty-eight paid organizers were constantly at work. Mrs. Catt herself visited fifty of the up-state counties. The annual State convention October 12-16, was preceded by a state-wide motor car pilgrimage. On every highway was a procession of cars stopping along the route for street meetings and converging in Rochester for the convention. There was little change in officers. Three vice-presidents were added, Mrs. Alfred E. Lewis of Geneva, Mrs. Livermore, Mrs. Notman. Mrs. Cannon was succeeded as corresponding secretary by Miss Marion May of New York. Mrs. Abbott and Mrs. Shuler were added to the board of directors. A comprehensive program of work for 1914-15, laid out by Mrs. Catt, gave a definite task for each month and included raising a \$150,000 campaign fund, each district being assigned a proportion; school for suffrage workers, special suffrage edition of a newspaper in every county, automobile campaign, work at county fairs and a house to house canvass to enroll the names of women who wanted the suffrage. Mrs. Catt's plan also included parades

in all the large cities and schools in every county to train watchers for the polls.

As was expected the resolution for the suffrage amendment was passed by the Legislature of 1915, the vote to be taken on the day of the regular election, November 2. Forty paid organizers were kept in the field and a convention was held again in each county. By autumn each of the 150 assembly districts was organized and in addition there were 565 clubs and 183 campaign committees. About 2,500 women held official positions, serving without pay. It was estimated that about 200,000 women worked in some capacity in this campaign. Twelve thousand New York City public school teachers formed a branch under Katharine Devereux Blake as chairman. Each paid fifty cents dues and many gave their summer vacation to work for the amendment.

The Equal Franchise Society, in charge of the literature, printed 7,230,000 leaflets, requiring twenty tons of paper; 657,200 booklets, one full set sent to every political leader in the State; 592,000 Congressional hearings and individual speeches were mailed to voters; 149,533 posters were put up and 1,000,000 suffrage buttons were used; 200,000 cards of matches with "Vote Yes on the Suffrage Amendment" on the back were distributed and 35,000 fans carrying the suffrage map.

The value of street speaking had long since been learned. A woman speaking from an automobile or a soap box or steps, while she might begin by addressing a few children would usually draw a crowd of men of the kind who could never be gotten inside a hall, and these men were voters. The effect of these outdoor meetings was soon seen all over the State in the rapidly changing sentiment of the man in the street. During the six months preceding the election 10,325 meetings were recorded besides the countless ones not reported. Mass meetings were held in 124 different cities, sixteen in New York, with U. S. Senators and Representatives and other prominent speakers. The week before election in New York, Buffalo, Rochester and other large cities Marathon speeches were made continuously throughout the twenty-four hours, with listening crowds even during the small hours of the night. Suffrage speeches were given in moving picture shows and vaudeville theaters and a suffrage motion

picture play was produced. Flying squadrons of trained workers would go into a city, make a canvass, hold street meetings, attract public attention and stimulate newspaper activity.

A remarkable piece of work was done by a Press and Publicity Council of one hundred women in New York City organized by Mrs. Whitehouse. They established personal acquaintance with the editors and owners of the fifteen daily papers; answered the anti-suffrage letters published; communicated with the editors of 683 trade journals, 21 religious papers, 126 foreign language papers and many others—893 in all—and offered them exclusive articles; they suggested special features for magazines and planned suffrage covers; they secured space for a suffrage calendar in every daily paper. This council placed suffrage slides in moving picture houses and suffrage posters in the lobbies of theaters; and had a page advertisement of suffrage in every theater program. Comedians were asked to make references to suffrage in their plays and jokes were collected for them and appropriate lines suggested.

A sub-committee of writers was organized which assembled material for special suffrage editions of papers, wrote suffrage articles and made suggestions for stories. The Art Committee illustrated the special editions and made cartoons. They held an exhibit of suffrage posters with prizes and raised money through an exhibition and sale of the work of women painters and sculptors. A new suffrage game was invented and installed at Coney Island. They supplied the posters for \$70,000 worth of advertising space on billboards and street cars which was contributed by the owners during the final weeks of the campaign. They organized and managed the suffrage banner parade, the largest which had yet taken place.

Among the other publicity "stunts" of the council were suffrage baseball games, a Fourth of July celebration at the Statue of Liberty and Telephone and Telegraph Day, when the wires carried suffrage messages to politicians, judges, editors, clergymen, governors, mayors, etc., all of these "stunts" receiving a large amount of newspaper publicity. The most effective was the One Day Strike, to answer the argument used by the "antis" that "woman's place was in the home" by asking all women to stay at



home for only one day. The suggestion was never intended to be carried out and did not go further than a letter sent by Mrs. Whitehouse to the presidents of women's clubs and some other organizations, asking them to come to a meeting to consider the plan, copies of which were sent to the newspapers. The effect was extraordinary. Department stores, telephone company managers, employers of all kinds of women's labor, hospitals and schools, protested loudly against the crippling of public service, the loss of profits and the disruption of business which would result from even one day's absence of women from their public places. Editorial writers devoted columns to denouncing the proposal. Suffrage leaders were bitterly criticized for even suggesting such a public calamity. The favorite argument of the "antis" was answered for all time.

At the very end of the campaign the anti-suffragists began to advertise extensively in the subway and on the elevated roads in New York City but the firm that controlled this space refused to accept any advertising from the suffragists. Woman's wit, however, was equal to the emergency. For the three days preceding the election one hundred women gave their time to riding on elevated and subway trains holding up large placards on which were printed answers to the "anti" advertisements. The public understood and treated the women with much courtesy.

It is difficult to give even the barest outline of the work of the Press Bureau, at first under the management of Mrs. Haryot Holt Dey and later of Miss Rose Young, with a volunteer force of 214 press chairmen over the State. There were 2,136 publications in the State, 211 dailies, 1,117 weeklies, 628 monthlies, and 180 foreign publications printed in twenty-five languages. To the weeklies a bulletin from the central bureau went regularly; 3,036 shipments were made of pages of plate matter. The American Press Association and the Western Newspaper Union for many weeks sent out columns of suffrage news with their regular service for the patent inside page used by country papers. The bureau furnished material for debates and answered attacks against suffrage. The support given by the newspapers was of great value. Of the fifteen dailies of New York City ten were pro-suffrage, while the rural press was overwhelmingly in favor.

Most of the papers of the larger cities up-state were opposed, although there were notable exceptions.

There were several high water marks. On Nov. 6, 1914, just a year before the election, at a mass meeting which packed Carnegie Hall, \$115,000 were pledged, the largest sum ever raised at a suffrage meeting, a visible proof of the great increase in favorable sentiment since the campaign had begun a year ago, when the \$20,000 which Mrs. Catt wanted as the original guarantee seemed almost impossible of attainment. In May, 1915, a luncheon attended by 1,400 people pledged \$50,000. On October 23, ten days before election, there occurred in New York City the largest parade ever organized in the United States for suffrage, called the "banner parade" because of the multitude of flags and banners which characterized it, only those for suffrage being permitted. There were 33,783 women who marched up Fifth Avenue, past a crowd of spectators which was record-breaking, taking from 2 o'clock in the afternoon until long after dark. The rear was brought up by scores of motor cars gaily decorated with Chinese lanterns and after darkness fell the avenue was a solid mass of moving colored lights. There seemed no end to the women who were determined to win the vote and a multitude of men seemed to be ready to grant it.

On Nov. 2, 1915, the vote took place. Every preparation had been made and every precaution taken, as far as the strength of the organization would permit, to secure a fair election and an honest count. A law had been obtained which permitted women to act as watchers at any election on woman suffrage, which proved an important safeguard. Wherever possible, watchers were provided for the polling places all over the State. The result of the election was: For the suffrage amendment, 553,348; against, 748,332; adverse majority 194,984.

The disappointment was almost crushing. Although the task of persuading the huge cosmopolitan population of New York State to grant equality to women had been recognized as being almost superhuman, the work done had been so colossal that it would have been impossible not to hope for success. Mrs. Catt had planned and seen carried out a masterly campaign never before approached anywhere in the history of suffrage. The

devotion and self-sacrifice of thousands of women were beyond praise but there were not enough of them. If every county and every town had raised its proportion of the funds and done its share of the work, the amendment might have been carried, but this first campaign laid the foundation for the victory that the next one would bring.

This was the largest vote ever polled for suffrage at any election—553,348 out of a vote of 1,300,880, being 42½ per cent. The vote in the State outside of New York City was 427,479 noes, 315,250 ayes, opposing majority, 112,229; in this city 320,853 noes, 238,098 ayes, opposing majority 82,755; total opposed, 194,984. The amendment received a larger favorable vote than the Republican party polled at the Presidential election of 1912, which was 455,428. In 1914 this party swept the State and it could have carried the suffrage amendment in 1915.

#### SECOND NEW YORK CAMPAIGN.

With 42½ per cent. of the vote cast in November, 1915, in favor of the woman suffrage amendment the leaders were eager to start a new campaign at once and take advantage of the momentum already gained. Two nights after election the campaign was started at a mass meeting in Cooper Union, New York City, where \$100,000 were pledged amid boundless enthusiasm. The reorganization of the State took place immediately, at the annual convention held in this city, November 30-December 2, and all the societies that had cooperated in the Empire State Campaign Committee became consolidated under the name of the State Woman Suffrage Party, into which the old State association was merged. The demand was so overwhelming that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who had led the two years' fight so magnificently, should continue to be leader, that she was obliged to accept the chairmanship.

The other officers elected were Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. Henry W. Cannon, first, second and third vice-chairmen; Mrs. Michael M. Van Beuren and Miss Alice Morgan Wright, secretaries; Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid, treasurer; Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey,

Miss Harriet May Mills and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, directors. A few weeks later the convention of the National Association called Mrs. Catt even more insistently to accept its presidency and Mrs. Whitehouse became chairman and therefore the leader of the new campaign. Mrs. Catt headed the list of directors; Mrs. Laidlaw was made chairman of legislative work and Mrs. Brown of organization.

The next State convention was held in Albany, Nov. 16-23, 1916, and the same officers were elected except that Mrs. Charles Noel Edge succeeded Mrs. Van Beuren as secretary. The chairmen of the twelve campaign districts were continued with the following changes: Second, Mrs. Frederick Edey, Bellport; fourth, Mrs. Robert D. Ford, Canton; fifth, Mrs. William F. Canough, Syracuse; sixth, Miss Lillian Huffcut, Binghamton; eighth, Mrs. Frank J. Tone, Niagara Falls; ninth, Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, Scarborough.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. The determination to enter immediately into another campaign met with much opposition, even from many suffragists. The Legislature had submitted the amendment in 1915 confident that it would be overwhelmingly defeated but the ability and persistence of the women and the big vote secured made the opponents afraid to take another chance. That it was finally forced through both Houses was due, first, to the brilliant legislative work of Mrs. Whitehouse and Mrs. Laidlaw, assisted by Mrs. Helen Leavitt, chairman of legislative work for the Albany district; second, to the extraordinary support given by the organizations throughout the State, through delegations, mass meetings, letters and telegrams, 6,000 from the 9th district alone. The Men's League gave invaluable help.

The resolution was introduced in both branches on Jan. 10, 1916. The fight centered in the Senate and had as determined opponents Senator Elon F. Brown, floor leader of the Republicans, and Senator Walters, Republican chairman of the Judiciary Committee. The Democratic minority gave it a lukewarm support. Every subterfuge was directed against it. Finally it was reported out of the Assembly Judiciary Committee February 15 by a vote of 11 to one and then there was a standstill. The

Senate Judiciary Committee constantly postponed action. At last 500 women came to the Capitol on March 14 to urge immediate action and the resolution was adopted in the Assembly that day by 109 ayes to 30 noes.

The Senate Committee had promised that it would report that same day, and at 2 p. m. it went into executive session and the suffrage leaders camped outside the door. That evening a suffrage ball was to take place in Madison Square Garden, New York City, which they were to open, and the last train that would reach there in time left Albany at 6 o'clock. The Committee knew this but hour after hour went by without word from it. After time for the train a friendly Senator appeared and announced that it had adjourned sometime before without taking action and had gone out the back way in order to escape from the waiting watchers! Taking the next train and arriving in New York at 10 o'clock at night the suffragists drove direct to Madison Square Garden. As they approached it they saw great throngs outside storming the doors, which had been closed by the police as it was dangerously crowded. They succeeded in getting in and were greeted by cheers as they led the grand march, which had been awaiting their arrival. At midnight Mrs. Whitehouse and Mrs. Laidlaw took the sleeper back to Albany and were on hand at the opening of the session the next morning. Such undaunted spirit caught the public imagination and the newspapers did it full justice, with big headlines and columns of copy, but still the bill did not pass.

The final pressure which put the amendment through was a clever bit of strategy due to Mrs. Whitehouse. In answer to her appeal editorials appeared in newspapers throughout the State saying that no group of men in Albany had the right to strangle the amendment or refuse the voters the privilege of passing on it. On March 22 the Senate Committee reported the resolution by 11 ayes, one no. On April 10 it passed the Senate by 33 ayes, 10 noes.

In 1917 the amendment was passed again to go to the voters at the regular election November 6. The State Woman Suffrage Party strengthened its organization with the goal of a captain for every polling precinct, each with a committee of ten women

to look after the individual voters. Larger cities had a chairman and board of officers combined with the assembly and election district organization. In Buffalo, Mrs. Thew Wright headed a capable board; in Rochester one was led by Mrs. Alice Clement, later by Mrs. Henry G. Danforth; in Syracuse by Mrs. Mary Hyde Andrews; in Utica by Miss Lucy C. Watson. By the end of the campaign, in addition to volunteers, 88 trained organizers were at work in the 57 counties outside of Greater New York. The National Suffrage Association contributed four of its best workers and paid their salaries. Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and some of the southern and western States sent valuable workers.

Early in 1917 the entire organization was well developed and suffrage work was at its height when it was suddenly stopped short by the entrance of the United States into the World War. At once everything else became of secondary importance. The Suffrage Party, like all organizations of women, was eager to serve the country and seized the first opportunity, which came with the order from Governor Charles S. Whitman for a military census of all the men and women of the State over 21 years of age. Entire responsibility for organizing and carrying on this work in several counties was given to the party. From April to August the suffrage campaign was almost entirely suspended while its leaders took a prominent part in war activities. It was only about three months before election that the suffrage issue again became dominant. The amendment must come before the voters at the November election. With the United States engaged in a World War for democracy it seemed impossible to allow democracy to be defeated at home, and therefore it was decided that the suffrage campaign must be carried on.

In spite of some opposition Mrs. Whitehouse called a State conference at Saratoga the end of August. Besides the distraction caused by the war other difficulties had arisen. The White House at Washington had been "picketed" by the National Woman's Party and the President burned in effigy as a protest because the Federal Suffrage Amendment had not been submitted by Congress. The press was filled with the story and the public was indignant. Because the country was at war and the

President burdened with heavy responsibilities, reproaches of disloyalty and pro-Germanism were hurled at suffragists in general. The officers of the National Association had repeatedly condemned the "militancy" and repudiated all responsibility for it but to the public generally all suffragists looked alike and people did not at first recognize the difference between the small group of "pickets" and the great suffrage organization of almost countless numbers. New York workers were very resentful because a direct appeal to suspend the "picketing" until after the election was refused by the leaders of the Woman's Party. The Saratoga conference adopted a resolution of disapproval.

At a mass meeting in New York soon afterwards Governor Whitman, Mayor Mitchel and other prominent men spoke most encouragingly, but on September 10 a suffrage amendment was defeated in Maine by a vote of two to one and this had a disastrous effect on the New York situation. It discouraged the workers and many newspapers which had been friendly, anticipating a similar defeat in New York, became hostile in tone; also because of the pressure of war news, the papers were almost closed to suffrage matter. Mass meetings which formerly were crowded were now so poorly attended that many had to be abandoned.

In order to help the chances of the amendment President Wilson on October 25 received a delegation of one hundred of the most prominent women of the Party, headed by Mrs. Whitehouse. He expressed his appreciation of the war work of women and his thorough belief that they should have the suffrage, praising the New York campaign and saying: "I am very glad to add my voice to those which are urging the people of your State to set a great example by voting for woman suffrage. It would be a pleasure if I might utter that advice in their presence, but, as I am bound too close to my duties here to make that possible, I am glad to ask you to convey that message to them. . . ."

This address was published far and wide and had a marked effect on the voters. Later the President wrote Mrs. Catt that he hoped no voter in New York would be influenced by anything the so-called "pickets" had done in Washington. The suffrage meetings were soon again crowded. On October 27 the final

parade took place in New York City. The signatures of 1,014,000 women citizens of the State, of voting age, asking for suffrage had been obtained. Those from up-State were pasted on huge cardboards and carried in the parade by delegations from the various counties. Those from the city were placed in 62 huge ballot boxes, one for each assembly district, with the number of them on the outside, and carried by the "captains" of the districts and their helpers.

The largest registration of men voters in the State was 1,942,000; there were nearly 100,000 more men than women of voting age and many more men than women were naturalized, therefore it was evident that 1,014,000 signatures represented a good majority of women eligible to vote. This enormous piece of work was done almost entirely by volunteers. For many months women in every county went from door to door, preaching suffrage, asking wives to talk to their husbands about it and leaving literature. The effect of this personal education was undoubtedly great and the petition influenced public opinion.

The propaganda carried on by the Educational section under Mrs. Howard Mansfield was enormous, including training schools, travelling libraries and 8,000 sets of correspondence courses sent out. Women were trained in watchers' schools for work at the polls and 15,000 leaflets of instructions were furnished. Over 11,000,000 pieces of literature, 7 million posters and nearly 200,000 suffrage novelties were used, in addition to the 5,000,000 pieces used in New York City. The Industrial Section, under Miss Mary E. Dreier, president of the Women's Trade Union League, made effective appeals to organized labor. A series of letters setting forth the conditions under which women work and their relation to the vote were distributed at factory doors as men left for home during the last fifteen weeks of the campaign. Organizers and speakers from their own ranks, men and women, spoke at trade union meetings, in factories and on the street. The State Federation of Labor endorsed the work and the Women's Trade Union League gave constant help. The Church Section, under Miss Adella Potter, was very successful in its appeal with specially prepared literature and the churches were an active force.



Every registered voter was circularized at least once and many twice. Special letters and literature were prepared for picked groups of men, 198,538 letters in all, and speakers were sent to the military camps where this was permitted. The Speakers' Bureau, conducted by Mrs. Victor Morawetz, had 150 speakers on its lists and a record of 2,015 speakers placed in the State. Besides these more than 7,000 meetings were arranged independently. In New York City 58 speakers held 2,085 meetings, a total of 11,100. Senators and Representatives from the equal suffrage States were to speak in the closing days of the campaign but the war held Congress constantly in session and most of the other prominent men who had promised to speak were prevented by service for the Government.

The Publicity Section, under Mrs. John Blair, advertised the amendment in every way that human ingenuity could devise. Huge street banners exhorting men to vote for suffrage hung across the most crowded streets in New York and in all the large cities. Every kind of advertising medium was used, billboards, street cars, subway and elevated cars and stations, railroad cars and stations; large electric signs and painted illuminated signs flashed weeks before election, the slogan most often used being, "1,014,000 Women ask you to Vote for Woman Suffrage November 6."

For the last two weeks a great campaign of newspaper advertising was carried on. There appeared almost daily in 728 morning and evening papers, including many in foreign languages, pages of suffrage argument, and as a result the news columns began to be filled again with suffrage. The Press Bureau, Miss Rose Young, director, assisted by local press chairmen, continued as in the first campaign but with an increased output, news bulletins, editorial matter, special articles, material for special editions, photographs, newspaper cuts, statements from one hundred leading New York City and State men headed, Why I am for Woman Suffrage, etc. About 20,000 columns of free plate material were provided for the newspapers.

It would be impossible to give the total cost of the campaign with accuracy. As far as possible each district supported its own work. The central State treasury spent \$413,353; New

York City, \$151,504; the counties outside of the city \$127,296; a total of \$692,153, besides the large amount spent locally. The raising of the central State funds was the work of the treasurer, Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid, assisted by Mrs. Whitehouse. A budget was prepared to which a group of prominent men, including several bankers, gave their endorsement, and, armed with their letter and helped by them in making appointments, Mrs. Reid and Mrs. Whitehouse called on one man and woman after another of a carefully selected list, solicited contributions, and many large amounts were given by persons who had not before been brought in touch with suffrage work. New York City led with \$183,387; Yonkers came next with \$41,748 and Buffalo with \$30,163.

The supreme test of the organization came on election day. It was hoped to cover every polling space with women watchers and probably about 80 per cent. of the total number of election districts of the State were so covered. A total of 6,330 women served, many being on duty from 5 a. m. till midnight.

On election night all over the State suffrage headquarters were open and victory seemed in the air. Bulletin boards in New York City showed the amendment winning in every borough and wires from up-State gave encouraging reports. The State headquarters, an entire floor of the large office building at 303 Fifth Avenue, New York, and the city headquarters were thronged with happy crowds. Before midnight it seemed certain that the four years of continuous campaign had resulted in final victory for New York State, the stronghold of opposition, the key to a Federal Suffrage Amendment because of its large representation and power in Congress. When the complete returns came in it was found that suffrage had lost up-State by 1,510 votes and that it was New York City which carried the amendment by its majority of 103,863, which reduced by 1,510 left a total majority of 102,353.

There were some evidences of fraud but the change of sentiment in favor of suffrage was State-wide, and every county showed a gain. The cities gave a better vote than the rural communities. The greatest overturn was in Buffalo which changed an adverse majority of 10,822 in 1915 to a favorable

one of 4,560 in 1917! The saloons of this city displayed placards, "Vote No on Woman Suffrage," some putting them on the outside of the building. Albany, in spite of the fight against the amendment made by the Barnes "machine," although lost, registered a gain of nearly fifty per cent. Rochester, which was lost, was dominated by George W. Aldrich, the Republican leader, and Monroe and adjoining counties were also influenced by their newspapers, which nearly all were anti-suffrage. In Livingston county, the home of Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., and his wife, who was president of the National Anti-Suffrage Association, his influence was so strong and his financial hold on the county so powerful that even men who were in sympathy with woman suffrage were afraid to vote for it. This influence materially reduced the favorable vote in adjoining counties. There were several bitter local "wet" and "dry" fights that were very bad for the suffrage vote.

The Republican Governor, Charles S. Whitman, spoke for the amendment. Herbert Parsons, the Republican National Committeeman for New York, and many individual Republicans gave valuable help but the "machine" all over the State did everything possible to defeat the amendment. A week before election, when their object was clearly apparent, the chairman of the Republican State Committee was requested by the women to write an official letter to its members reminding them of the endorsement given by the Republican party at its State convention. He refused to write it except as an individual and not as State chairman. In Rochester an anti-suffrage poster was kept on display in Republican headquarters. Among prominent members of the party who used their influence in opposition were Elihu Root, Henry L. Stimson and George Wickersham.

The two great figures of the suffrage movement, Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw, gave royally to the campaign. Even after Mrs. Catt became president of the National Association, she remained on the State Board of Directors and was a constant help and inspiration. Dr. Shaw contributed many weeks of speech making to the first campaign and almost as many to the second, although her time in 1917 was much occupied as chairman of the Woman's Division of the National Council of Defense. It would be

impossible to give the names of the thousands of women who rendered devoted service during these campaigns and it would be equally impossible to mention the names of the men who helped. Behind many a woman who worked there was a man aiding and sustaining her with money and personal sacrifice. "Suffrage husbands" became a title of distinction.

Mrs. Whitehouse said in reviewing the causes of the failure of the first campaign, "We worked like amateurs." Such a charge could not be brought in the second, for the suffragists became an army of seasoned veterans, quick to understand and to obey orders, giving suffrage precedence over everything else except patriotic work. The amendment as adopted gave complete suffrage to women on the same terms as exercised by men and provided that "a citizen by marriage shall have been an inhabitant of the United States for five years." This simply required the same term of residence for wives as for unmarried women and all men.

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From 1910 to 1917 the Men's League for Woman Suffrage was an influential factor in the movement in New York. It was believed to be the first of the kind and the idea was said to have originated with Max Eastman, a young professor in Columbia University, but in a sketch of the league by him in *The Trend* in 1913 he said that in 1909, when he went to consult Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the *New York Evening Post*, he found that Mr. Villard had received a letter from Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, asking him to organize such a league; that he had conferred with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and they had "agreed to share the ignominy" if some one would undertake the organizing. This was done by Mr. Eastman, who, armed with letters of introduction by Mr. Villard, succeeded in getting the names of twelve men of civic influence. Using these names he sent out several thousand letters to such men over the State and finally obtained twenty-five members. In November, 1910, the first meeting was held at the New York City Club and officers were elected. By good fortune George Foster Peabody was one of the earliest members, a Georgian by birth and one of New York's

prominent bankers and financiers. He consented to serve as president and with this prestige many members were secured. "The league owed its pecuniary life to him," said Mr. Eastman, "and a great part of its early standing before the public."

After the first year the league was equally fortunate in having James Lees Laidlaw, another New York banker and man of affairs, take the presidency. He retained it for the next six years, and when the National Men's League was formed he consented to serve also as its president until the contest for woman suffrage was finished, giving active and constant assistance. Mr. Eastman was secretary of the New York League for a year or more, assisted by Ward Melville, and was succeeded by Robert Cameron Beadle, general manager of the U. S. Stoker Corporation. He gave valuable and continuous service to the league until just before the campaign of 1917, when the pressure of business required his time and he became vice-president and George Creel ably filled the office of secretary during that strenuous period.

In 1910 the league took part in the first big suffrage parade and no act of men during the whole history of woman suffrage required more courage than that of the 87 who marched up Fifth Avenue on that occasion, jeered by the crowds that lined the sidewalks. It was a body of representative citizens, led by Mr. Peabody, Mr. Laidlaw and Mr. Villard. The league became a large organization, enrolling among its members such men as Governor Charles S. Whitman, Mayor John Purroy Mitchel, Frank A. Vanderlip, Colonel George Harvey, William M. Ivins, Dr. Simon Flexner, Professor John Dewey, Hamilton Holt, William Dean Howells, John Mitchell, Charles Sprague Smith, Samuel Untermyer, Herbert Parsons, President Schurman of Cornell University, President McCracken of Vassar College and many Judges, public officials and others of note. In the suffrage parade of 1912 the league four abreast extended five blocks along Fifth Avenue. Under its auspices mass meetings were held, district rallies, public dinners with 600 guests, balls and theatrical performances, and campaign activities of various kinds were carried on. Men's leagues were formed in many States. The *Woman Voter* of October, 1912, published in New York City, issued a special league number, with sketches, pictures, etc.

The Women's Political Union, which under the name of the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women was formed in New York City in the autumn of 1906 by Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, was an active force for many years. Its object was to bring to suffrage the strength of women engaged in wage-earning occupations and under its aegis trade-union women first pleaded their cause before a legislative committee on Feb. 6, 1907. That spring the league held two suffrage mass meetings, the first for many years in Cooper Union, and the following year Carnegie Hall was for the first time invaded by woman suffrage with a meeting in honor of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the leader of the English "militant" suffragists.

The league sent over 300 women to Albany by special train on Feb. 19, 1908, to a hearing on a woman suffrage amendment. The same year it started open air meetings throughout the State. On election day in 1909 the Union distributed literature at the polls and five members tested the right of women to act as watchers. It made the innovation of interviewing candidates and pledging them to vote, if elected, for the submission of a suffrage amendment to the electors.

In 1910 the Union organized in New York the first suffrage foot parade of 400 women, and other larger ones afterwards. In September it began a vigorous campaign against Artemus Ward, Republican candidate for re-election to the Assembly in a banner Republican district in New York City, because of his hostility to the suffrage amendment. Pedestrians could not go a block in the district without hearing a soap box orator trying to defeat him. The night before election eighty-six out-door meetings were held. Although it could not defeat him his former majority of 2,276 was reduced to 190. In 1911 it engineered campaigns against Cuvillier in Manhattan and Carrew in Brooklyn for the same reason, distributing over 100,000 pieces of literature in opposing the latter, who had an adverse majority of over 2,000.

In 1911 the Union took 400 women to Albany and in 1912 the largest suffrage delegation which had ever gone there. They practically compelled consideration of the suffrage resolution and after its defeat campaigned against the enemies, ending the po-

litical careers of some of them. Before election day the files of the Union contained signed pledges from every candidate for the Legislature in 45 of the 51 Senate districts and in 85 of the 150 Assembly districts. On Jan. 23, 1913, the Senate voted 40 to 2 for the amendment and on the 27th the Assembly concurred with but five adverse votes. On May 3, the Union organized a parade of victory in New York City.

During the great campaign of 1915 the Union was constantly evolving new features to draw attention to the amendment. It closed its activities with a luncheon of a thousand covers at the Hotel Astor just before election day in honor of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. After the defeat it amalgamated with the Congressional Union, abandoned State work and centered its efforts on an amendment to the Federal Constitution. Throughout its existence Mrs. Blatch was president, Elizabeth Ellsworth Cook, vice-president, Marcia Townsend, treasurer, Eunice Dana Brannan, chairman of finance, Nora Stanton Blatch, editor of the *Women's Political World*, the organ of the society; Caroline Lexow, field secretary and Alberta Hill and Florence Maule Cooley, executive secretaries. [Information furnished by Mrs. Blatch.]

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An important feature of the campaign in New York City and in other parts of the State was the work of the St. Catherine Welfare Association of Catholic women, organized by Miss Sara McPike, executive secretary of the advertising department of a large corporation, and Miss Winifred Sullivan, a lawyer. Its object was better social and economic conditions for women and children and the extension of the suffrage to women as a means to this end. Its leaders and prominent members worked with the State and city suffrage associations also but through their own they could carry the message into the different sodalities and fraternal organizations of the church and to its summer schools and conventions. Bishops and priests were interviewed and a number of the latter were persuaded to speak at the meetings held in twenty-six prominent parish school halls in New York City. Ten meetings were held in Brooklyn and others in surrounding towns.

Leaflets of opinions favorable to woman suffrage by the Catholic clergy were prepared and widely circulated among priests, educators and laymen. Space was secured in the Catholic press. Letters without number were written. A delegation was received by Cardinal Gibbons in Baltimore to explain the desire of its members for the vote. Many of the clergy looked with favor on their work, which encouraged Catholic women to take part in it, and 500 marched under the banner of the association in the last suffrage parade in New York in October, 1917. Miss McPike devoted every hour of her time outside of business hours and gave \$800 to the work of the association. Mrs. Mary C. Brown was a generous contributor. Among the countless members who helped unceasingly by writing, speaking and in many other ways were Elizabeth Jordan, Janet Richards, Mrs. William A. Prendergast, Countess Mackin, Mrs. Schuyler Warren, Sara H. Fahey, Mrs. William H. Yorke, Anne Sands O'Shea, Catharine G. Hogan, Helen Haines, Aimee Hutchinson, Mary C. Larkin, May H. Morey, Frances Gallogly, Annie Nolan, Rose and Fanny Flannelly. The activities of the association were extended into Pennsylvania, New Jersey and other States.

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The success of the suffrage amendment did not mean the disbanding of the organization. At the 49th State convention, held in New York City, Nov. 20-22, 1917, Mrs. Whitehouse was re-elected chairman, Mrs. Laidlaw vice-chairman, and most of the old officers were retained. It was decided to make the Federal Suffrage Amendment the chief object and in order to work more effectively the State was organized by Congressional districts, with the Assembly district organization retained. Early in 1918 Mrs. Whitehouse, because of her remarkable work in the suffrage campaign, was selected by the Government's Committee on Public Information to go to Switzerland. Mrs. Laidlaw was elected chairman at the convention and the name of the State Woman Suffrage Party was changed to the State League of Women Voters. Even before the war was ended an enormous work was begun throughout the State, under Mrs. Laidlaw, toward the political training of the more than a million women who had been enfranchised. This was continued under



Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, who was elected chairman of the State League of Women Voters, officially formed April 8, 1919,

The Federal Suffrage Amendment was submitted by Congress June 4, 1919. Senator William M. Calder voted in favor, Senator Wadsworth continuing his opposition to the end. Of the Representatives, 35 voted in favor; five were absent; three, Riordan of New York, Dunn of Rochester and Sanders of Stafford, voted no.

RATIFICATION. The ratification of this amendment by the State Legislatures became the pressing question and as most of them had adjourned for two years it would be necessary to have this done by special sessions if women were to vote in the November election of 1920. That of New York would meet in January, 1920, so there was no need of haste, but Mrs. Catt at once took up the matter with Governor Alfred E. Smith, pointing out the excellent effect on other States if New York should have a special session for this purpose. Without hesitation he issued the call on June 10, with a strong appeal for ratification. The Legislature met on June 16 and immediately the Assembly ratified by unanimous vote of 137. The resolution went at once to the Senate, where Henry M. Sage made a speech against it and asked to be excused from voting. It was then passed by unanimous vote, the Legislature being in session less than a day.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### NORTH CAROLINA.<sup>1</sup>

Previous to 1913 interest in woman suffrage in North Carolina was still dormant and no attempt had been made at organization. This year, without any outside pressure, a handful of awakening women met on July 10 at the home of Dr. Isaac M. Taylor of Morgantown to arrange for gathering into a club those in sympathy with the woman suffrage movement. Those present were Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Hosfeldt, Mrs. Hughson, Miss Allen, Miss Riddell, Miss Julia Erwin and Miss Kate Pearsall, who was elected secretary. Mrs. Hosfeldt was chosen for president and Miss Mamie Collett for vice-president. Mrs. Hughson, Mrs. Taylor and Miss Erwin were appointed to formulate the purposes of the society which it was agreed to call the Morgantown Equal Suffrage Association.

At the next meeting in Miss Erwin's home July 14 Miss Coffey acted as recording secretary and the organization was completed. Societies were formed in Greenville and Charlotte and through the efforts of Miss Susanne Bynum and Miss Anna Forbes Liddell of Charlotte a meeting was called in that city in November to form a State Association. The following officers were chosen: President, Mrs. Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill; vice presidents, Mrs. Eugene Reilley, Charlotte; Miss Gertrude Weil, Goldsboro; Mrs. Malcolm Platt, Asheville; corresponding secretary, Miss Bynum; recording secretary, Miss Liddell; treasurer, Mrs. David Stern, Greensboro. Mrs. Lila Meade Valentine, president of the Virginia Equal Suffrage League, was the principal speaker. A charter was subsequently obtained for the Equal Suffrage League of North Carolina, Inc., the charter members numbering about 200 men and women, representing every class and section in the State. The League be-

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Clara Booth Byrd, a member of the faculty of the North Carolina College for Women.

came auxiliary to the National Association. At this time, when it was far from popular to stand for this cause, Judge Walter Clark, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Gen. Julian S. Carr, Archibald Henderson, Wade Harris and E. K. Graham acted as Advisory Committee and gave freely of their time and money to help the new league.

The first annual State convention was held in Charlotte, Nov. 9-10, 1914, Mrs. Henderson presiding. During this first year Mrs. Medill McCormick, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National Association, was of the greatest assistance in many ways. She sent an organizer, Miss Lavinia Engle, who, with Mrs. Henderson, distributed literature throughout the State and organized a number of branches. The State League recorded itself as opposed to "militancy" in any form and as desiring "to gain the vote by appeal to reason and fair play." The *Charlotte Observer* carried a four-page suffrage section advertising the convention. Keener interest throughout the State, together with the existence of fourteen leagues, represented the net result of this first year's work. The officers were re-elected except that Mrs. Palmer Jerman of Raleigh was made recording secretary and Miss Mary Shuford of Hickory corresponding secretary. Delegates appointed to the national convention at Nashville, Tenn., were: Misses Bynum, Liddell and Mary Henderson.

The second annual convention met at the Battery Park Hotel, Asheville, Oct. 29, 1915. Mrs. Nellie Nugent Somerville of Mississippi, a vice-president of the National Association, gave an address. During the year Mrs. Desha Breckinridge of Kentucky, also a national vice-president, spoke several times in the State. Mrs. Henderson had sent a vigorous protest in the name of the league to Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union, against her coming into North Carolina to organize branches, saying that its policy was diametrically opposed to that of the State Suffrage League, whose arduous work of the past year would be undone. The outstanding feature of the year's work was the special hearing in the Legislature on the Act to Amend the Constitution so as to Give Woman Suffrage. In November, 1914, the legislators had been polled on the suffrage question. A few did not answer; fifteen were flatly opposed;

twelve were in favor; the majority declared themselves open to argument. At the hearing held in the hall of the House with a large audience present Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Association, was the chief speaker. Others included Mrs. Henderson, Mrs. Reilley, Mrs. Adelaide Goodno, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Mrs. Al Fairbrother and Mrs. Thomas W. Lingle. Miss Henderson, Legislative Committee chairman, presided. The measure was defeated. The committee recommended that future efforts be concentrated on Presidential and Municipal suffrage bills. Mrs. Charlotte Malcolm of Asheville was elected president.<sup>1</sup>

There was no convention in 1916 but two were held in 1917. The first met in the auditorium of the Carnegie Library, Greensboro, Jan. 12, 13. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, first vice-president of the National Association, was the principal speaker, addressing a mass meeting of representative people in the Opera House. Mrs. J. S. Cunningham was elected president. During 1916 Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs of Alabama made addresses in the State and Miss Gertrude Watkins and Miss Stokes, national organizers, assisted in forming clubs.

The second convention for 1917 met in the Wayne county Court House, Goldsboro, Oct. 30, 31, Mrs. Cunningham presiding and speaking. Colonel Joseph E. Robinson and J. F. Barrett made addresses. The principal speaker was Mrs. Jacobs, then auditor of the National Association. A fine collection of suffrage literature was presented from Chief Justice Clark. During the year Mrs. Miller had spoken several times in the State and delivered the commencement address at the North Carolina College for Women. Mrs. Jerman cautioned the various leagues against affiliation with the Congressional Union, now called the Woman's Party, whose representatives were then at work in the State. Mrs. Cunningham was re-elected president.

At the annual convention in the Woman's Club Building, Ra-

<sup>1</sup>Those besides the presidents who held office during the subsequent years were: Vice-presidents: Mrs. Lingle, Mrs. Jerman, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Fairbrother, Mrs. C. A. Shore, Miss Weil, Miss Julia Alexander; corresponding secretaries: Miss Susan Frances Hunter, Miss Elizabeth Hedrick, Miss Eugenia Clark; recording secretaries: Mrs. Lalyce D. Buford, Miss Margaret Berry, Miss Exum Clements; treasurers: Miss Lida Rodman, Mrs. E. J. Parrish, Mrs. Julius W. Cone.

leigh, Jan. 10, 1919, Miss Gertrude Weil was elected president and Mrs. Josephus Daniels honorary president. The chief speaker was the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, who addressed in the city auditorium an immense gathering of all classes. The past year had been a busy one. On April 9, 1918, the State Republican convention included a suffrage plank in its platform. On the 10th representative suffragists appeared at the Democratic State convention urging one but the plea fell upon dull ears and unresponsive hearts. The latter part of May the State Federation of Women's Clubs with 8,000 members endorsed equal suffrage with but two dissenting votes. In June the State Trained Nurses Association unanimously endorsed it. During September petitions signed by hundreds of college students and letters and telegrams representing hundreds of individuals were dispatched to U. S. Senators Simmons and Overman in Washington urging them to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. On the petition from one college the names represented 107 cities and towns in the State. The one from the State Normal College carried the signatures of 576 out of the 650 women students. The petition of citizens from Raleigh bore the names of two daughters of Senator Simmons. The Senators were not moved. In all that memorable struggle only one North Carolina Representative, Zebulon Weaver, a Democrat of Asheville, voted "aye." Edwin C. Webb of Cleveland county, as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, was a powerful foe.

Attempts were made to form suffrage leagues in different women's colleges, where the students were eager to be organized, but in no case would the trustees permit it. In November the State League telegraphed President Wilson urging the appointment of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, national president, on the Peace Commission. In December the Farmers' Union, representing 17,000 farmers, endorsed equal suffrage. During the year the cause was advanced by the addresses of Dr. Shaw and Miss Jeannette Rankin, the first woman Representative in Congress. At this time the State League carried on its letterhead an Advisory Committee of Men such as never had been formed in any other State. The list of ninety-six names included Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, Mr. Bryan, Chief Justice

Clark, the most eminent members of the legal, medical and clerical professions, public officials and business men.

The annual convention met in the O. Henry Hotel, Greensboro, Jan. 27, 28, 1920, Miss Weil presiding. A brilliant banquet was attended by a large number of representative men and women. The honorary president, Mrs. Daniels, made a brief speech and Miss Marjorie Shuler, national director of publicity, was a speaker. Mrs. Raymond Brown, vice-president of the National Association, and Miss Shuler addressed the convention and the public meeting in the evening, over which Mrs. Daniels presided. Twenty-four leagues were reported, largely the fruit of the organization work done during the year by Mrs. Mary O. Cowper of Durham, who had the assistance of Miss Mary E. Pidgeon, a national organizer. During the year a series of related suffrage papers were prepared by members of the Greensboro league and distributed by the State league among the different branches. Miss Weil was continued as president. Reports of all committees and of the work in general throughout the State, were so encouraging that Miss Shuler frequently voiced the common feeling, "North Carolina will ratify."

Among the North Carolina women who have made addresses for suffrage in the State are: Dr. Delia Dixon-Carroll, Miss Louise Alexander, Miss Clara B. Byrd, Mrs. Cunningham, Miss Harriet Elliott, Mrs. Fairbrother, Mrs. Henderson, Mrs. Jerman, Mrs. Lingle, Mrs. T. D. Jones, Mrs. Platt, Miss Weil.

When the State Equal Suffrage League was organized in 1913 many of the newspapers refused to carry stories about it or assist in advertising it in any way. Gradually, however, they have been won over almost without exception, not only to the publishing of news but many of the most influential papers contained during 1920 convincing editorials in behalf of equal suffrage, so that the women who are working for it regard the newspapers as among their strongest allies. Special mention should be made of the vigorous support of ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the *Raleigh News and Observer*, the *Greensboro Daily News* and the *Charlotte Observer*.

The workers are greatly indebted to Chief Justice Clark, who for years has been an unflinching champion of equal suffrage and

real democracy. Deep indebtedness is acknowledged to Dr. Shaw, who a number of times came to speak and whose memory is held in deep affection by North Carolina suffragists. Her last visit was made when she gave the commencement address at the College for Women at Greensboro in May, 1919, wearing the medal for distinguished service given by Secretary of War Baker the preceding day. A few years ago a beautiful residence for the women students was erected on the college grounds. She had spoken several times to the students, who were devoted to her, and after her death on July 2 the alumnæ officially requested that the residence be named the Anna Howard Shaw building, which was done.<sup>1</sup>

On Oct. 7, 1920, after the Federal Amendment had been proclaimed, the State League held its last meeting and was merged into the League of Women Voters, with Miss Gertrude Weil chairman. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the National League, addressed a large and appreciative audience.

RATIFICATION. The Legislature of 1919 had instructed Governor Thomas W. Bickett to call a special session in 1920 to consider matters connected with taxation and it was understood that the ratification of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment would be considered at that time. By March, 1920, it had been ratified by 35 States and it was evident that North Carolina might be the one to give the final affirmative vote. This did not seem impossible, as the most prominent men in the State were favorable, including the Lieutenant Governor, the Speaker of the House, several members of Congress, the Secretary of State and other officials; the presidents of most of the colleges and of various organizations; Judges, Mayors and many others. The Republican State convention in March seated two women delegates for the first time and put a woman on the ticket for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mrs. Mary Settle Sharpe of the North Carolina College for Women, who was on two State Republican Committees. The Democrats at their State convention, April 8, seated about forty women

<sup>1</sup> In this college women are at the head of the departments of mathematics, Latin, chemistry, political science and home economics. The situation is similar in all colleges for women. The State University and some others are co-educational.

delegates. Before the convention U. S. Senator Simmons, always a strong opponent of woman suffrage, announced himself in favor of ratification on the ground of political expediency. Governor Bickett issued a similar statement and A. W. McLean, member of the Democratic National Committee, declared publicly for it. Clyde Hoey, member of Congress, temporary chairman of the convention, made the key-note speech in regard to State issues, in which he said: "I hope to see our General Assembly at its special session ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. There is no one thing you can do here that will be worth so much to the party in the nation as to recommend to the Legislature the ratification of this amendment." It was supposed that U. S. Senator Overman would fall in line but in his speech he said: "I have been and still am opposed to woman suffrage. It is fundamental with me, deep and inborn . . . but I recognize the fact that it seems inevitable."

The plank in the platform, as it came from the committee, recommended that the amendment should not be ratified but a State amendment should be submitted to the voters. A minority report called for the submission to the convention of the question whether the platform should contain a plank for ratification. A second minority report was offered to eliminate all reference to woman suffrage. Never in the history of the party was there such a fight over the platform. Colonel A. D. Watts and Cameron Morrison led the opposition to ratification; W. P. Glidewell and John D. Bellamy the affirmative. Finally F. P. Hobgood, Jr., one of the earliest champions of woman suffrage, after a fiery speech, presented the following substitute for all the reports: "This convention recommends to the Democratic members of the General Assembly that at the approaching special session they vote in favor of the ratification of the proposed 19th Amendment to the Federal Constitution." This was carried by a vote of 585 to 428. Mrs. John S. Cunningham, former president of the State Equal Suffrage League, was elected by a large majority as honorary delegate to the Democratic National convention and Miss Mary O. Graham as delegate. She had already been made a member of the National Committee.

The attention of the country was focussed on North Caro-



lina. In the early summer President Wilson telegraphed to Governor Bickett: "I need not point out to you the critical importance of the action of your great State in the matter of the suffrage amendment." The Governor replied in part: "I hope the Tennessee Legislature will meet and ratify the amendment and thus make immediate action by North Carolina unnecessary. We have neither the time nor the money and such action on the part of Tennessee would save this State the feeling of bitterness that would surely be engendered by debate on the subject that would come up in the Legislature. I have said all I intend to say on the subject of ratification. While I will take my medicine I will never swear that it tastes good, for it doesn't."

Just before the assembling of the Legislature suffrage headquarters were opened in Raleigh with Miss Gertrude Weil, president of the State Equal Suffrage League, and Mrs. Palmer Jerman, chairman of its legislative committee, in charge. Miss Engle and Miss Pidgeon, national organizers, were also members of the headquarters group. Miss Martha Haywood did invaluable work as publicity chairman. A booth with literature, posters, etc., was established in the Yarborough Hotel.

Among the prominent men who during the struggle for ratification strongly urged it were: Secretary Daniels, Gen. Julian S. Carr; Col. Wade Harris, editor of the *Charlotte Observer*; J. W. Bailey, collector of Internal Revenue; Clyde R. Hoey, member of Congress; Max O. Gardner, Lieutenant Governor; J. C. Pritchard, Judge of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals; Dennis G. Brummitt, Speaker of the House; ex-Governor Locke Craig, A. W. McAlister and many others. Senator Simmons, who was asked to come to Raleigh to assist in the fight, refused to do so but issued another statement that, although he had always been opposed to suffrage and his position was unchanged, he realized that its coming was inevitable and believed that it would help the Democratic party to ratify. Later, in response to a request from the *Raleigh News and Observer*, he stressed the point that, since the rest of the country was practically unanimous for ratification, he feared sectional antagonism might be aroused if North Carolina did not ratify. Mr. Bryan

sent a message urging ratification. Mrs. Daniels came to Raleigh to assist personally in the struggle to ratify.

On August 10 the session convened. The outlook was encouraging but the enemies had been busy and the very next day a "round robin" signed by 63 members of the House was sent to the General Assembly of Tennessee, where a bitter fight on ratification was in progress, which said: "We, the undersigned, members of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of North Carolina, constituting the majority of said body, send greetings and assure you that we will not ratify the Susan B. Anthony amendment interfering with the sovereignty of Tennessee and other States of the Union. We most respectfully request that this measure be not forced upon the people of North Carolina."

On August 13 the Governor, accompanied by Mrs. Bickett, Mrs. Daniels and Mrs. Jerman, appeared in person before the joint assembly in the hall of the House of Representatives, where the gallery was crowded with women, and began his address by saying: "From reports in the public press it seems that sentiment in the General Assembly is decidedly against the ratification of the amendment. With this sentiment I am in deepest sympathy and for the gentlemen who entertain it I cherish the profoundest respect but this does not lessen my obligation to lay before you a photographic copy of my mind on this important subject. It is well known that I have never been impressed with the wisdom of or the necessity for woman suffrage in North Carolina." After a long speech setting forth the arguments in opposition and quoting poetry he said: "But in the words of Grover Cleveland, a condition not a theory confronts us. Woman suffrage is at hand. It is an absolute moral certainty that inside of six months some State will open the door and women will enter the political forum. No great movement in all history has ever gone so near the top and then failed to go over. The very most this General Assembly can do is to delay for six months a movement it is powerless to defeat. I am profoundly convinced that it would be the part of wisdom and grace to accept the inevitable and ratify the amendment."

On the same day Senator Scales introduced the resolution to

ratify, which was referred to the Committee on Constitutional Amendments. Within a quarter of an hour the committee reported favorably by 7 to 1—Senator Cloud. This prompt action was said to be not a tribute to Governor Bickett but to Lieutenant Governor Gardner. It was introduced into the House by minority leader H. S. Williams (Republican) and referred to the Committee on Constitutional Amendments.

Senator Scales, floor leader in the Senate for ratification, and Senator Lindsay Warren, floor leader for the opposition, agreed that the resolution to ratify should come up for discussion August 17. So great was the excitement that by order of the Senate the gallery space was divided, the east wing being assigned to the ratificationists, the west wing to the rejectionists. An impassioned debate continued about five hours, Senator Carr opening for ratification, followed by Senators Sisk, Long of Halifax, Lovell and Glidewell, with Scales closing. The opposition was led by Senator Warren, followed by Senators Beddingfield, Thompson and Conner. When agreement to vote was reached and the prospect for ratification was favorable, Senator Warren suddenly interposed a resolution to defer action until the regular meeting of the Legislature in 1921. Senator Scales had no intimation that this move would be made until it was too late to prevent it and the vote stood 25 ayes, 23 noes. Blame for the defeat was placed to a large extent upon Senator Stacy. Had he remained true, there would have been a tie and the Lieutenant Governor would have voted in favor.

Meanwhile it was generally understood that Representative W. W. Neal had been sent to Tennessee for a conference with the opponents in the Legislature there to arrange for the defeat of ratification by the House in each State. Speaker Seth Walker of the Tennessee House telegraphed Speaker Brummitt: "Have the amendment defeated overwhelmingly in the Lower House. We are proud of our mother State of North Carolina. God grant that she stand true to her glorious tradition and history." All kinds of canards were in circulation and Governor James M. Cox, Democratic candidate for President, had to send a personal telegram denying that he was opposed to the ratification. A

Rejection League of Women had been formed with Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton as chairman, which was very active.

August 16 a resolution to reject was introduced in the House by Representative Grier. After the unexpected action of the Senate interest abated in the House. The question was taken up on the 19th and the resolution to ratify was considered first. Representative Everett led the ratification forces with Representative Gold and others giving strong support. Representatives Crisp and Dawson led the opponents. The vote stood 41 ayes, 71 noes. The rejection resolution was laid on the table.

In her report on ratification Mrs. Jerman made the significant statement that, although individual men in both parties had stood true to their pledges as loyal supporters, yet both parties had repudiated their State platforms, and, therefore, the women were free so far as any feeling of allegiance to either for what it may have done for suffrage was concerned.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. 1897. The first bill for woman suffrage was introduced by Senator James L. Hyatt, Republican, of Yancey county. Referred to Committee on Insane Asylums.

1913. Municipal suffrage bill introduced by David M. Clark of Pitt county. Tabled. Walter Murphy, Speaker of the House, left his chair to talk against it.

1915. Constitutional woman suffrage amendment introduced by Senator F. P. Hobgood, Jr., of Guilford county. Senate vote: 11 for, 37 against. Introduced in the House by Gallatin Roberts of Buncombe county; 39 for, 68 against.

1917. Bill for Presidential electors, county and city officers, introduced by Senator H. B. Stevens of Buncombe county; vote, 20 for, 24 against.

State amendment resolution, introduced by G. Ellis Gardner of Yancey county, an anti-suffragist, was tabled, as desired.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### NORTH DAKOTA.<sup>1</sup>

The Equal Suffrage Association of North Dakota held its annual convention at Devil's Lake July 17, 1901, where it was a prominent feature of the Chautauqua Assembly. The auditorium was hung with huge banners reading, "Equality at the Ballot Box," "Taxation Without Representation is Tyranny," etc. Dr. Cora Smith Eaton addressed a large audience on The Status of Woman Suffrage in our Country. Officers elected were, Mrs. Flora B. Naylor, president; Mrs. Janette Hill Knox, vice-president; Mrs. Mazie Stevens, treasurer; Mrs. Katharine F. King, recording secretary.

From 1901 to 1912 there are no records of an active suffrage organization but individuals and small groups of women in different parts of the State kept alive the suffrage spirit. On Feb. 4, 1912, twenty-four men and women were invited to meet Miss Sylvia Pankhurst of England at the home of Mrs. Mary Darrow Weible in Fargo. After an informal discussion the Votes for Women League of Fargo was organized with Mrs. Clara L. Darrow president. A strong league was organized in Grand Forks by Mrs. R. M. Pollock. On June 13, at the call of the Fargo League, an earnest group of men and women from different parts of the State met at the Public Library and formed a State Votes for Women League. Officers: President, Mrs. Darrow; vice-president at large, Mrs. M. L. Ayers, Dickinson; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Alice Nelson Page, Grand Forks; recording secretary, Mrs. Kate Selby Wilder, Fargo; treasurer, Mrs. Helen de Lendrecie, Fargo; Committee on Permanent Organization, Mrs. Ayers, Mrs. James Collins, Mrs. W. J. Holbrook, N. C. McDonald, W. L. Stockwell; Resolutions, Mrs. Page, Mrs. Wilder, Mrs. W. F. Cushing; Constitution, Miss

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Emma S. Pierce, vice-president of the State Votes for Women League.

Candis Nelson, Mr. McDonald; Promotion, Mrs. C. F. Amidon. Steps were taken to affiliate with the National American Woman Suffrage Association and it was decided to introduce a resolution for the submission of a State suffrage amendment to the voters at the next session of the Legislature. Mrs. de Lendrecie gave headquarters in the de Lendrecie Building at Fargo.

The first convention was held at the Civic Center, Fargo, Oct. 18, 1913. The Promotions Committee reported the circularization of the entire press and the legislators and a number of towns organized. A woman suffrage bill had been passed by the Legislature and would be submitted to the voters on Nov. 4, 1914. With the following State officers the campaign was launched: Mrs. Darrow, president; Mrs. Weible, vice-president; Mrs. Emma S. Pierce, treasurer; Mrs. Francis S. Bolley, congressional chairman; Mrs. Elizabeth Darrow O'Neil, campaign manager.

A plan to divide the State into its judicial districts with district, county and township chairmen was only partially carried out. One hundred leagues were formed with approximately 2,000 members. Wherever there was an efficient worker she was given a free hand to get the votes in her locality in the most effective way. From four to six organizers were in the field continually; seven speakers, including Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, its president, were sent by the National Association and five were furnished by the State. Chautauquas, fairs, theaters and all kinds of meetings were everywhere utilized and there were automobile speaking tours to outlying districts; plate matter was furnished to the press and political party members were circularized. A fund of \$6,000 was raised, \$3,000 of which came from the National Association and other outside sources.

It was a hard and hopeless campaign because of an impossible requirement. When the framers of the constitution for statehood in 1889 refused to include woman suffrage a provision was put in the constitution whereby the Legislature at any time could submit a bill for it at the next general election. If approved by a majority of voters "voting upon the question" it became a Law. How, when or where the words "voting at the election" were substituted for "voting upon the question" no one

seemed to know but they got into the constitution. They meant that the suffrage referendum must poll a majority of all the votes cast at the election and not just on the measure itself. If the ballot was not marked at all it was counted in the negative. The official returns gave the affirmative vote on suffrage 40,209; blanks and noes together 49,348, making a total of 89,557, or 251 more votes than were cast for Governor, who polled the largest number. It was generally conceded that if the unmarked ballots had not been counted against the measure it would have been carried. The entire western part of the State went for suffrage. The chief opponents were the German Russians in Emmons and surrounding counties and a handful of anti-suffragists who came from outside the State.

The same Legislature that sent this bill to the electors also submitted a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution, which would be more secure than a law. This resolution had to pass two Legislatures but it required only a majority at the polls of the votes actually cast on the question. The suffragists felt sure that the Legislature of 1915 would pass for the second time this resolution for an amendment but it refused to do so. They soon sustained a great loss in the death of Mrs. Darrow, the much loved president, on April 23, 1915. She had sacrificed her life in her ceaseless work for woman suffrage. Her husband, Dr. E. M. Darrow, a pioneer physician, two daughters and three sons ardently supported her efforts.

On account of the campaign the convention of 1914 had been postponed. It was held at Valley City in June, 1915, and Mrs. Grace Clendening of Wimbledon was elected president. Undaunted the suffragists made plans to hold together the converts won during the campaign. The organization had been of mushroom growth and they now had to strengthen it.

The annual convention was held at Minot Oct. 10, 1915, and Mrs. Clendening was re-elected. Extensive educational work was done the following year, at Chautauquas by holding "suffrage days," and through booths maintained at the Fargo and Grand Forks fairs, with a wide distribution of literature. The Votes for Women League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union opposed Governor Hanna and Lieutenant Governor

Fraine at the June primaries because they were responsible for the unfair treatment of the suffrage resolution in the Legislature and both were defeated.

The annual convention was held Oct. 13, 1916, at Valley City, the National Association sending as a representative its first vice-president, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Missouri. It was planned to organize the State on the lines of its three Congressional districts, which made a smaller executive board and facilitated its meetings. The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. Clendening; treasurer and press chairman, Mrs. Pierce; national and first congressional district chairman, Mrs. O'Neil; educational and second district chairman, Mrs. Charles Rathman; third district chairman, Mrs. Emma Murray; legislative chairman, Mrs. Weible; publicity chairman, Miss Aldyth Ward. An active campaign was started to influence legislators for a Presidential and Municipal suffrage bill and a constitutional amendment. The National Association sent two organizers to tour the State, arouse interest and raise money. In February, 1917, one-fifth of the newspapers of the State, representing four-fifths of the counties, published suffrage editions, and in May a 60-page suffrage edition of a Labor magazine was edited and 5,000 copies distributed. In April the headquarters were largely used for war work.

The annual convention was held at Bismarck Sept. 25-26, 1917. The Presidential and Municipal suffrage bills having passed both Houses and become law the convention decided to concentrate on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. An emergency executive committee of Fargo women was elected to cooperate from the State headquarters without delay in carrying out instructions from the National Association. The following resolution was adopted: "The North Dakota Votes for Women League, reaffirming its steadfast loyalty and support to our President and our Government, will continue to carry on the patriotic work assigned us by the Government through our National Association, and will redouble our efforts to gain enfranchisement for the women of the United States in order that we may do more effective war work." Mrs. Clendening, who was State president from 1915 to 1920, was now also vice-president



of the State Committee of the Woman's Division of the National Council of Defense.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. From the time the convention for statehood failed to put equal suffrage into the constitution the Women's Christian Temperance Union kept up the agitation for it. In every Legislature a suffrage bill was introduced and its president, Mrs. Elizabeth Preston Anderson, attended each session. Although working separately, Mrs. Anderson and the suffrage legislative committees were always in perfect harmony. In 1911 the Union had a resolution introduced to submit a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution. Mrs. Darrow and Mrs. de Lendrecie of the State Suffrage League lobbied for it. It was lost in the Senate by 23 to 25 votes; referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage in the House, which recommended indefinite postponement and the report was accepted by 54 ayes, 42 noes.

1913. The Legislative Committee consisted of Mrs. Darrow, Mrs. Fannie D. Quain, Mrs. Ella C. Boise and Miss Ward. Two suffrage measures drawn up by Senator R. M. Pollock passed both Houses. The resolution for an amendment to the State constitution, which would have to pass two consecutive Legislatures before submission to the voters, received in the Senate 31 ayes, 19 noes; in the House 79 ayes, 29 noes; 5 absent. A legislative bill, which would go to the voters at the next election, received in the Senate, 27 ayes, 22 noes; 1 absent; in the House, 104 ayes; 1 no. Another bill introduced at this same session, providing that the question be submitted to a vote of the women, was passed in the Senate by 41 to 9 and indefinitely postponed in the House.

1915. Legislative Committee Mrs. Darrow, Mrs. Quain and Mrs. Weible. It is a significant fact that of the nearly 800 bills introduced every one had honest treatment, passed or failed to pass on roll call or was indefinitely postponed by vote, except the one which vitally affected the women. The concurrent resolution for a woman suffrage amendment, which had passed the Legislature of 1913 and had to be ratified by that of 1915, was passed in the Senate on February 13 by 31 ayes, 15 noes, more than two to one, and the so-called "clincher" applied to it which

prevented its reconsideration by less than a two-thirds vote. The House had appeared more favorable than the Senate and it seemed certain that it would pass that body. On February 18, five days after the measure had passed the Senate, Senator Jacobson moved that it be recalled from the House, where it had had its first and second readings and been referred to the Committee on Elections. This motion was carried by 26 to 22. The opponents at once gathered their forces. Judge N. C. Young of Fargo, attorney for the Northern Pacific Railway, and Mrs. Young, president of the State Anti-Suffrage Association, arrived immediately and began lobbying, Judge Young even appearing on the floor of the Senate chamber.<sup>1</sup> The German vote was promised to ambitious politicians and a desired change of the county seat was offered. The Senate not having the necessary two-thirds to kill the resolution refused by a majority vote to take action upon it. It should then have gone automatically back to the House but the president of the Senate, Lieutenant Governor Fraine, withheld it until the Legislature adjourned. The chief opponents during these years were the old Republican "stand-patters," who controlled the political "machine," and Judge Young was one of the most prominent. Success came with its overthrow.

1917. The Legislative Committee consisted of Mrs. Clendenning and Mrs. Weible. On January 14 Senator Oscar Lindstrom introduced a Presidential and Municipal suffrage bill, written by Senator Pollock at Mrs. Anderson's request. It was modelled on the Illinois bill and beginning with July 1 it entitled women to vote for Presidential electors, county surveyors and constables and for all officers of cities, villages and towns excepting police magistrates and city justices of the peace. A concurrent resolution providing for an amendment to the State constitution to give full suffrage to women was also introduced. Both were passed on January 16 by the same vote, 37 ayes, 11 noes in the Senate; 89 ayes, 19 noes in the House, and were

<sup>1</sup>A field worker for a philanthropic organization, who had a room in a hotel in Bismarck, the capital, next to one occupied by the representative of the liquor interests, heard him send a long distance telephone message to Mrs. Young for her and the Judge to come on the first train, as they were needed. She heard another one say: "If the d—n women get the ballot there will be no chance of re-submitting the prohibition amendment."

the first measures signed by Governor Lynn J. Frazier, on the 23rd.

This Legislature and also the one of 1919 adopted a resolution calling upon Congress to submit the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. Four of the five North Dakota members were then in favor of it and in 1918 the hesitating Senator made the delegation unanimous.

The State Referendum Association and the Anti-Suffrage Association made an attempt to secure a petition for a referendum to the voters of the Presidential and Municipal suffrage bill, but although less than 11,000 names were required only a few thousand were filed with the Secretary of State and there was considerable difficulty in securing those. Affidavits were sent to the Suffrage Association proving that many names were obtained by fraud.

1919. The Legislature passed the concurrent resolution providing for an amendment to the constitution giving women full suffrage, which had gone through that of 1917. The vote in the Senate was 43 ayes, 1 no, with 5 absent; in the House 98 ayes, no negative, with 15 absent. It was to be voted on Nov. 2, 1920. Before that date the Federal Amendment had been submitted by Congress and ratified by thirty-seven Legislatures.

RATIFICATION. The Legislature met in special session Dec. 2, 1919, and ratified by the following vote: Senate, 41 ayes, 4 noes with 3 absent; House 102 ayes, 6 noes. Nevertheless the vote on the State amendment had to be taken on Nov. 2, 1920, and it stood: Ayes, 129,628; noes, 68,569. Thousands of women voted at this election.

On April 1, 1920, the State Votes for Women League met and was re-organized as the League of Women Voters, with Mrs. Kate S. Wilder of Fargo chairman.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### OHIO.<sup>1</sup>

The history of woman suffrage in Ohio is a long one, for the second woman's rights convention ever held took place at Salem, in April, 1850, and the work never entirely ceased. Looking back over it since 1900, when the Ohio chapter for Volume IV ended, one is conscious of the wonderful spirit manifested in the State association. Other States did more spectacular work and had larger organizations but none finished its tasks with a stronger spirit of loyalty and love for the work and the workers.

The State Woman Suffrage Association was organized in 1885 and held annual conventions for the next thirty-five years, at which capable officers were elected who were consecrated to their duties. From 1899 to 1920 Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton was president, with the exception of the three years 1908-1911, when the office was filled by Mrs. Pauline Steinem of Toledo. During the first twenty years of the present century but one year, that of 1911, passed without a State convention.<sup>2</sup> For over twenty years the State headquarters were in Warren, the home of Mrs. Upton.

On May 4, 5, 1920, the final convention of the Woman Suffrage Association was held in Columbus and with its work finished the State League of Women Voters was organized, with Miss Amy G. Maher as chairman.

The devotion, the efficiency, the self-sacrifice of the suffrage workers in Ohio will never be known. Their strength lay in their cooperation. To give their names and their work would fill all the space allowed for this chapter but one exception should

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association 1893-1910; president of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association 1899-1908 and 1911-1920.

<sup>2</sup> These conventions were held in the following order: Athens, Springfield, Cleveland, Sandusky, London, Youngstown, Toledo, Warren, Columbus, Elyria, Lima, Columbus, Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, Lima, Dayton, Columbus (last three years).

in justice be made. Elizabeth J. Hauser from her childhood days until the Federal Amendment was ratified gave her life to woman's enfranchisement. Painstaking, fearless, unselfish and able, she labored cheerfully, not caring for praise or credit for the things she accomplished. A good executive, organizer, legislative worker, speaker and writer, she was a power in the counsels of the suffragists. To her more than to any other woman do Ohio women owe a debt of gratitude.<sup>1</sup>

From the first gathering of Ohio suffragists in 1850 until Tennessee spoke the last word in 1920, few years passed when some suffrage measure was not asked for and few Legislatures went out of existence without having considered some legislation referring to women. In 1894 a law gave them the right to vote for members of the boards of education. In 1904 and 1905, the Legislature was asked to submit to the voters an amendment to the State constitution giving full suffrage to women but the resolution was not reported out of the committees. In 1908 it was reported but no vote was taken. In 1910 it was defeated on the floor. This was the experience for years.

Periodically attempts had been made to revise the State constitution of 1851 without success but the Legislature of 1910 provided for submitting to the voters the question of calling a convention, which was carried in the fall of that year. The convention was to be non-partisan. The suffragists interviewed the delegates on putting woman suffrage in the new constitution and the poll was complete when the convention opened. The moment the president was chosen, the suffrage leaders asked for a friendly committee and from that time to the very last moment they were at work. The proposition for a woman suffrage clause was introduced Jan. 22, 1912; a pro-hearing was held February 8; an anti-hearing followed by a public meeting was

<sup>1</sup> The executive officers who finished the work of the State Association were as follows: Honorary president, Mrs. Frances M. Casement, Painesville; president, Mrs. Upton, Warren; first, second and third vice-presidents, Zara du Pont, Cleveland; Dora Sandoe Bachman, Columbus; Mrs. J. C. Wallace, Cincinnati; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Kent Hughes, Lima; recording secretary, Margaret J. Brandenburg, Oxford; treasurer, Zell Hart Deming, Warren; member of the National Executive Committee, Mrs. O. F. Davisson, Dayton. Chairmen: Organization Committee, Elizabeth J. Hauser, Girard; Finance, Miss Annie McCully, Dayton; Industrial, Rose Moriarty, Cleveland; Enrollment, Mrs. C. H. Simonds, Conneaut; member Executive Committee at Large, Mrs. Malcolm McBride, Cleveland.

had February 14 and the following day it was favorably reported out of committee by a vote of 20 to 1.

Interests, vicious and commercial, fought the suffrage amendment from every possible angle but on March 7 the convention adopted it by a vote of 76 to 34. If accepted by the voters it would eliminate the words "white male" from Section 1, Article V, of the present constitution. The enemies secured the submission of a separate amendment eliminating the word "white." This was done to alienate the negro vote from the suffrage amendment and the negroes were told that it was a shame they should be "tied to the women's apron strings."

The new constitution was made by adding amendments to the old one and the suffrage amendment went in with the rest. William B. Kirkpatrick, chairman of the Equal Suffrage Committee of the convention, more than any one was responsible for the acceptance of the amendment. Through the whole convention he fought for it, sacrificing many things near his heart—they could wait, this was the chance for woman suffrage.

The amendment was numbered "23" and at that time this number was considered unlucky. The most illiterate could remember to vote against that "23." The constitution was ready on May 31 and the special election was set for Sept. 3, 1912. Three months of vigorous campaign for the amendment followed. The German-American Alliance and the Personal Liberty League, two associations representing the brewers' interests, fought it in the field as they had done in the convention. It was estimated that the suffragists spent \$40,000 and it was learned that the liquor forces first appropriated \$500,000 and later added \$120,000 to defeat the suffrage amendment. The chief work of the suffragists was done in the cities, although women spoke at picnics, county fairs, family reunions, circuses, beaches, institutes, labor meetings, at country stores, school houses and cross roads. More than fifty workers came into Ohio from all directions to assist, the larger number from the eastern States. They received no financial recompense and gave splendid service. In August an impressive suffrage parade of 5,000 took place in Columbus.

The president of the German-American Alliance at a meeting in Youngstown boasted openly that it defeated the amendment.

It advertised everywhere, by posters and in street cars, and had no voluntary workers. It was evident that huge sums were being spent. The amendment was lost by a majority of 87,455—ayes, 249,420; noes, 336,875. Only 24 out of 88 counties were carried and but one Congressional district, the Eighteenth.

There was never any state-wide anti-suffrage association of women but only small groups in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dayton and Columbus. Most of them were rich, well situated, not familiar with organized reform work and not knowing the viciousness of their associates. The real foe was the associated liquor men, calling themselves at first the Personal Liberty League, later the Home Rule Association, appearing under different names in different campaigns and they had in their employ a few women who were connected with the Anti-Suffrage Association. The amendment was lost in 1912 because of the activity of the liquor interests and the indifference of the so-called good people. More men voted on this question, pro and con, than had ever voted on woman suffrage before in any State.

The amendment eliminating the word "white," left over from ante bellum days, also was defeated and the new constitution retained a clause which had been nullified by the 15th Amendment to the National Constitution forty years before! The initiative and referendum amendment was carried. The State Suffrage Association, therefore, early in 1913, decided to circulate a petition initiating a woman suffrage amendment to the constitution, as there was no hope that the Legislature would submit one. It required the signatures of ten per cent. of the voters at the last election, in this instance 130,000 names. It was drawn by an Ohio member of Congress, received at State headquarters April 15, submitted to the Attorney General and held many weeks. When returned, instructions were carefully followed. On September 15 the first petition heads were received from the printer.

It was a new law and lawyers and laymen were uncertain about it. The question of the validity of the petitions if circulated by women was raised and a ruling was asked for. The Secretary of State decided that women could circulate them and the Attorney General agreed. It was feared by some that the petition head was faulty because it did not contain a repeal clause and after three

weeks of anxious waiting the opinion was given that this was not necessary. Then arose another point, that the names of the committee standing for the petition must be on it. This constant objecting and obstructing led the suffrage leaders, upon advice of their attorney, to withdraw the petition and await the action of the special session of the Legislature. It passed the initiative and referendum safeguarding measure, which the Governor signed Feb. 17, 1914, and all uncertainties seemed over.

Determined to have a perfect copy for the petition head the suffragists had it prepared by the State Legislative Reference Department and the Secretary of State orally approved it. At the headquarters it was noticed that the words, "Be it resolved by the people of Ohio," which the constitution specifically provided must be on petition heads and which had been on the first one, had been omitted. They asked the Secretary of State whether this jeopardized the petition and it was his opinion that it did, although he had approved it. The Attorney General finally gave it official sanction and the first petitions were put out in March, 1914, after one year's continuous effort to get them into circulation. Who but women fighting for their freedom could ever have had the courage to keep on? They had no money to pay circulators and all was volunteer work. Over 2,000 women circulated these petitions. To have more than 130,000 men write their names and addresses on a petition and the circulator see them do it and swear that she did was no light task but it was accomplished. On July 30 petitions bearing 131,271 names were filed with the Secretary of State. A petition was secured in every county, although the law requires them from a majority only, and each was presented by a worker from that county. The sight of scores of men and women with arms laden with petitions marching up to the State House to deposit them brought tears to the eyes of some of the onlookers.

The campaign opened in Toledo, April 14, 15, was hectic. Everything possible was done to bring the amendment to the attention of the voters. Cleveland suffragists put on a beautiful pageant, *A Dream of Freedom*. A pilgrimage was made to the Friends' Meeting House in Salem where the suffrage convention of 1850 was held and the resolutions of those pioneers were



re-adopted by a large, enthusiastic audience. Women followed party speakers, taking their audiences before and after the political meeting. State conventions of all sorts were appealed to and many gave endorsement, those of the Republicans and the Democrats refusing. Groups of workers would visit a county, separate and canvass all the towns and then keep up their courage by returning to the county seat at night and comparing notes. Street meetings and noon meetings for working people were held. Everything which had been tried out in any campaign was done.

From the beginning of 1913 to the election in November, 1914, there was constant work done for the amendment. The total number of votes cast on it was 853,685; against, 518,295; for 335,390; lost by 182,905 votes. There were gains in every county but only 14 were carried, where there had been 24 in 1912.

That the liquor interests and the anti-suffragists worked together was clearly established. The Saturday preceding the election the president of the State Suffrage association saw in her own city of Warren a man distributing literature from door to door and accompanied by a witness she followed him and picked up several packages in different parts of the city. They contained two leaflets, one giving information on how to vote on the Home Rule or "wet" amendment, the other giving instructions how to vote against the suffrage amendment. The latter had a facsimile ballot marked against it and was signed by five women. The *Liberal Advocate* of Oct. 21, 1914, (official organ of the liquor interests), published at Columbus, had a picture and a write-up of Mrs. A. J. George of Brookline, a speaker from the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association, with a headline saying that she would be present at a luncheon of anti-suffragists on the 27th in that city and also speak elsewhere in the State.

After the defeats of 1912 and 1914 the suffragists abandoned the idea of carrying an amendment. The revised constitution provided for "home rule" for cities, which allowed them to adopt their own charters instead of going to the Legislature. Suffragists believed that these charters could provide for woman suffrage in municipal affairs. In 1916 East Cleveland decided to frame a charter and they saw a chance to make a test. This campaign was the work of the Woman Suffrage Party of Greater

Cleveland. On June 6 a city charter was submitted to the voters and adopted including woman suffrage. A suit was brought to test its constitutionality and it was argued in the Supreme Court, one of the lawyers being a woman, Miss Florence E. Allen.<sup>1</sup> By agreement between the court and election officials women voted at the regular municipal election in November. The court upheld its validity April 3, 1917, and the constitutionality of Municipal woman suffrage in charter cities was established.

In the fall of 1917 the women of Lakewood, a city adjoining Cleveland on the west, gave municipal suffrage to its women by charter after a vigorous campaign. Columbus undertook to put this in its charter and a bitter campaign took place. It was the house to house canvass and the courageous work of the Columbus women and State suffrage officers which brought the victory when it was voted on at the election in August, 1917. Sandusky was not successful.

A partial poll of the Legislature on the subject of Presidential suffrage for women in 1915 had shown that it would be futile to attempt it but after endorsements of woman suffrage by the national party conventions in 1916 it was determined to try.

The Legislature of 1917 was Democratic and Representative James A. Reynolds (Cleveland) met the State suffrage workers upon their arrival in Columbus for the opening of the session and informed them that he was going to sponsor their bill. On January 16 Representative Pratt, Republican, of Ashtabula and Mr. Reynolds, Democrat, each introduced a measure for Presidential suffrage. By agreement the Reynolds bill was chosen and he fought the battle for it against great odds. He was the one anti-prohibitionist who worked for it, considering it his duty and his privilege, and, because of his standing and because his party was in power, he was the only one perhaps who could have carried it through. He stood by the suffragists until Tennessee had ratified and the contest was over.

On Jan. 30, 1917, the bill to give women a vote for Presidential electors was reported favorably from the House Committee on Elections, and on February 1 it passed the House by 72 ayes,

<sup>1</sup> Miss Allen was counsel in all court cases of the Ohio suffragists from 1916 to 1920. In 1920 she was elected Judge in the Common Pleas Court of Cuyahoga county (Cleveland), the first woman in the United States to fill such an office.

50 noes, fifty-five per cent. of the Democratic members voting for it and sixty-nine per cent of the Republicans. In the Senate the leader of the "wets" introduced a resolution for the submission of a full suffrage amendment in the hope of sidetracking the Reynolds bill but the latter reached the Senate February 2, before the Holden bill could be considered. The suffragists, wishing to expedite matters, did not ask for a hearing but the "antis" did and at Mr. Reynolds' request the former were present. At this hearing the women leaders of the "antis" and the liquor men occupied seats together on the floor of the Senate. The next morning the bill was reported favorably from the Federal Relations Committee and passed on February 14, by 19 ayes, 17 noes. Immediately the leader of the opposition changed his vote to yes in order to move a reconsideration. This he was not permitted to do because a friend of the measure forced the reconsideration the next day, and as this was lost by a vote of 24 to 10, the bill itself went on record as having received the vote of the "wet" leader and having passed by 20 to 16. Governor James M. Cox signed it Feb. 21.

Very soon the opponents opened headquarters in Columbus and circulated petitions to have the Presidential suffrage bill referred to the voters for repeal. The story of these petitions is a disgraceful one. Four-fifths of the signatures were gathered in saloons, the petitions kept on the back and front bars. Hundreds of names were certified to by men who declared they saw them signed, an impossibility unless they stood by the bar eighteen hours each day for some weeks and watched every signature. Some petitions, according to the dates they bore, were circulated by the same men in different counties on the same day. Some of them had whole pages of signatures written in the same hand and some had names only, no addresses. The suffragists copied some of these petitions after they were filed in Columbus and although the time was short brought suit to prove them fraudulent in six counties. In four the court ordered all but a few names thrown out. In Scioto all the names were rejected and in Cuyahoga county (Cleveland), 7,000 names were thrown out. The petitions in Franklin county (Columbus), Lucas (Toledo) and Montgomery (Dayton) were unquestionably fraudulent but the election boards were hostile to woman suffrage and powerful with the

courts and refused to bring cases. When suffrage leaders attempted to intervene the courts declared they had no jurisdiction.

The suffragists were on duty in Columbus from January to October,—long, weary, exciting months. It was clearly proved in the cases brought that the petitions were fraudulently circulated, signed, attested and certified. In the course of an attempt to bring a case against Franklin county a ruling of the Common Pleas Court was that the Secretary of State should be restrained from counting the signatures from seventeen counties because the Board of Elections had not properly certified them. The Secretary of State telegraphed these boards and they certified again, although there is no constitutional or statutory provision for recertification. Nevertheless when these corrected certifications were made the Judge dissolved the injunction and 17,000 names were restored to the petition. U. S. Senator Warren G. Harding in a Decoration Day speech at Columbus declared himself decidedly opposed to accepting this referendum.

Cases were brought to the Supreme Court via the Court of Appeals, one a general suit demanding that petitions from certain counties be rejected because they were fraudulent and insufficient, the other to mandamus the Secretary of State to give the suffragists a hearing to prove their charges. The first was dismissed, the Supreme Court saying it had no jurisdiction over a case which had not been finished in the court from which the appeal had been taken. They returned to the Court of Appeals and tried one case on the constitutionality of the law of 1915, which gives the Board of Elections and Common Pleas Judges the right to examine the petitions and pass upon their validity, instead of the Secretary of State. The court decided to give no decision as election was so near at hand.

The law made no provision to meet the expenses of petition suits and the suffragists had to bear the cost, no small undertaking. The election boards which were dominated by politicians who had been notorious for their opposition to suffrage, interposed every possible obstacle to the attempt of the suffragists to uncover fraud. In some counties it was impossible to bring cases. Women were absorbed in war work and thousands of them bitterly resented the fact that at such a time their right to

vote should be questioned. The referendum was submitted with the proposal so worded on the ballot that it was extremely difficult to know whether to vote yes or no.

At the election in November, 1917, the majority voted in favor of taking away from women the Presidential suffrage. The vote for retaining it was 422,262; against, 568,382; the law repealed by a majority of 146,120. More votes were polled in 1917 than in 1914. The law was upheld in 15 counties, in 11 of which suffrage had then carried three times.

Ohio suffragists now turned their attention entirely towards national work. It was apparent that while the liquor interests continued their fight, women with a few thousand dollars, working for principle, could never overcome men with hundreds of thousands of dollars working for their own political and financial interests. Intensive organized congressional work was carried on henceforth for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. When the vote on it was taken in the House of Representatives Jan. 10, 1918, eight of Ohio's twenty-two Congressmen voted for it. Three years before, Jan. 12, 1915, only five had voted in favor. In the U. S. Senate, Oct. 1, 1918, Senator Atlee Pomerene voted No; Senator Warren G. Harding paired in favor. On Feb. 10, 1919, Senator Harding voted Yes; Senator Pomerene No.

The Legislature in 1919, Republican by a large majority in both Houses, endorsed the Federal Amendment by a vote of 23 to 10 in the Senate, 79 to 31 in the House. When the vote was taken in the National House of Representatives, May 21, 1919, only two Ohio members voted No, one a Democrat, Warren Gard of Hamilton, one a Republican, A. E. B. Stephens of Cincinnati. When the final vote was taken in the Senate June 4, 1919, Senator Harding voted Yes, Senator Pomerene, No.

**RATIFICATION.** The Legislature was so eager to ratify that it had only recessed instead of adjourning so that it could come together for that purpose whenever the amendment was submitted. Representative Reynolds had again introduced a Presidential suffrage measure, and C. H. Fouts of Morgan county, to carry out the Republican platform, had presented a full suffrage proposal. Both were held back until the fate of the National Amendment should be known. The legislators assembled to

ratify on June 16 and the House vote was 76 ayes, 6 noes. In order that the women might be sure of a vote at the next election the Presidential suffrage bill was immediately passed by a vote of 75 ayes, 5 noes. The House was in an uproar, cheering, laughing and talking. Then a committee came to the suffrage leaders who were now on the floor, always heretofore in the gallery, and escorted them to the Senate through the legislative passage way which had always before been closed to them. The Senate ratified by a vote of 27 ayes, 3 noes. The Presidential bill was read, debated and passed by the Senate late that night by 27 ayes, 3 noes.

Never was there a finer example of cooperation than in this ratification of the Federal Amendment. The adoption of the joint resolution was moved by the Republican floor leader and seconded by the Democratic floor leader. The same spirit characterized the passage of the Presidential suffrage bill. Mr. Reynolds, fearing some prejudice might attach to it if it bore his name, as he was a minority party member, proposed to the Republican leaders that the name of Speaker Kimball be substituted. The Speaker replied: "No, you deserve to have it go through with your name attached." Mr. Reynolds then asked that the name of Mr. Fouts be added because he had introduced a full suffrage measure, and it became the Reynolds-Fouts Bill. Miss Hauser, editor of the *Bulletin*, official organ of the State Suffrage Association, said in it: "We had just witnessed a perfect exhibition of team work and a demonstration of loyalty to a cause and to each other by members of opposing political parties that was heart warming. We had finished the suffrage fight in Ohio as Mrs. Upton had always wanted to finish it, with love, good will and harmony in our own ranks, and, so far as we were able to judge, with nothing but good will from the men with whom we had worked since the present stage of the contest was inaugurated in 1912."

The suffragists believed the fight was over, not so the opponents. They at once secured referendum petitions on both ratification and Presidential suffrage. In 1918 the Home Rule Association (the liquor interests) had initiated and carried at the November election an amendment to the State constitution providing that Federal amendments must be approved by the voters

before the ratification of the Legislature was effective. This was designed primarily to secure a reversal of prohibition in Ohio but also to prevent ratification of the suffrage amendment.<sup>1</sup>

In collecting their petitions the same old tactics were employed. The personnel of the workers was largely the same, with the addition of a State Senator from Cincinnati as general manager. The money to finance the campaign came principally from that city and this time members of the women's Anti-Suffrage Association were contributors. The saloons were now closed and pious instructions were given not to have the petitions circulated by saloon keepers or bar tenders. Nevertheless nearly 600 of them were circulated by men who had been connected with the saloon business, some of them now conducting soft drink establishments, and the signatures were plainly of the most illiterate elements.

The State Suffrage Association persuaded the National American Association to attack the constitutionality of this referendum in the courts and suit was accordingly brought. Eventually it was sustained by the Supreme Court of Ohio and was carried to the U. S. Supreme Court by George Hawk, a young lawyer of Cincinnati. It rendered a decision that the power to ratify a Federal Amendment rested in the Legislature and could not be passed on by the voters.

The Legislature in an adjourned session in 1920 gave women Primary suffrage in an amendment to the Presidential bill, but the final ratification of the Federal Amendment in August made all partial measures unnecessary, as it completely enfranchised women.<sup>2</sup> Thus after a struggle of seventy years those of Ohio received the suffrage at last from the national government, but they were deeply appreciative and grateful to those heroic men of the State who fought their battles through the years.

<sup>1</sup> Several years before the "wets," this time under the name of the Stability League, had initiated an amendment, which, if it had been carried, would have prohibited the submission of the same amendment oftener than once in six years. Thus the suffragists in 1916, 1917 and 1918 were in the courts for months each year.

<sup>2</sup> In the presidential campaign of 1920 Mrs. Upton was appointed vice-chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee, the highest political position ever held by a woman, and she had charge of the activities of women during that campaign. Her last work for woman suffrage was during the strenuous effort to obtain the 36th and final ratification of the Federal Amendment from the Tennessee Legislature in the summer of 1920, when she went to Nashville at the request of the National Republican Committee.—Ed.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### OKLAHOMA.<sup>1</sup>

From the time Oklahoma Territory was opened to settlement in 1889 efforts were made to obtain the franchise for women, first by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and in 1895 the National American Woman Suffrage Association sent organizers and an auxiliary was formed. It held annual conventions and bills were presented to the Legislature but when one had been grossly betrayed in the Senate after passing the House in 1899 no further effort was made for a number of years.<sup>2</sup> Finally in answer to requests sent to the National Association, an organizer, Miss Laura Gregg of Kansas, was sent to the Territory in March, 1904. She was cordially received and spent the next eight months in speaking and organizing suffrage clubs. In December Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, the national president, joined her for a two-weeks' series of conferences in the large places, in each of which a society was formed.

A convention of Oklahoma and Indian Territory delegates was called for December 15-16 in Oklahoma City. Dr. Shaw presided at the first session and delivered an address to a large audience. Over sixty members were added to the city club and from this time it was the most active in the State. Statehood was being agitated and a letter was read from Miss Susan B. Anthony, honorary president of the National Association, which said: "No stone should be left unturned to secure suffrage for the women while Oklahoma is yet a Territory, for if it comes into the Union without this in its constitution it will take a long time and a great deal of hard work to convert over one-half of the men to vote for it."

Letters expressing a strong desire for the franchise were read

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Adella C. Stephens, president of the State Woman Suffrage Association, and Miss Katherine Pierce, chairman of the Ratification Committee.

<sup>2</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV, page 888.



from women in different parts of the Territories. The Twin Territorial Association was organized and a resolution was adopted calling for statehood and saying: "Said statehood shall never enact any law restricting the right of suffrage on account of sex, race, color or previous condition of servitude." Prominent at this convention were Mrs. Kate H. Biggers, Mrs. Julia Woodworth, Mrs. Anna Laskey and Mrs. Jence C. Feuquay. The officers elected were: president, Mrs. Biggers, Indian Territory; first vice-president, Mrs. Woodworth; second, Mrs. Anna M. Bennett; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Laskey; recording secretary, Mrs. Louisa Boylan McCloud; treasurer, Miss Margaret Rees; auditors, Mrs. Rebecca Forney and Mrs. Mary B. Green, all of Oklahoma Territory, and Mrs. Mary C. Harvey of Indian Territory.

The second annual convention was held Oct. 26-28, 1905, at Chickasha, Indian Territory. Mrs. Biggers, Mrs. Woodworth, Miss Rees and Mrs. Green were re-elected. New officers were, Mrs. Minnie Keith Bailey, Mrs. Cleo Ikard Harris, Mrs. Ida Wood Norvell, Mrs. Jessie Livingston Parks and Mrs. Hattie Sherman. Vigorous protest had been made by women throughout the Territories against the bill for statehood which had been presented to Congress, classifying women in the suffrage section with illiterates, minors, felons, insane and feeble-minded. The matter was also taken up by the National Association. [See Chapter V, Volume V.] Later when bills in the Territorial Legislature for a constitutional convention repeated this clause a conference was held with the officers of the W. C. T. U. and hundreds of letters of protest were sent.

As a constitutional convention seemed near at hand Dr. Frances Woods of South Dakota was sent by the National Association to organize in Indian Territory. With the help of Mrs. Woodworth she secured hearings before women's clubs and W. C. T. U.'s, addressed State Labor and Press Associations and was invited to speak to a Farmers' Institute 300 miles away with her expenses paid. Miss Gregg continued the organizing in Oklahoma, addressing an audience of 6,000 at the Grand Army of the Republic encampment and speaking to teachers' institutes, business colleges, country school house meetings and women's clubs. One issue of

the *Messenger*, the U. C. T. U. organ, was devoted to woman suffrage. The membership increased; over 75 papers used suffrage articles and much literature donated by the National Association was circulated. The Oklahoma City Club, Mrs. Adelia C. Stephens, president, was especially active in having the women register for the school elections, in which they could vote for trustees, in order to defeat the school book trust, and 600 did so.

In May Dr. Woods spoke at the annual meeting of the Woman's Relief Corps in Oklahoma City and a resolution was passed favoring woman suffrage. The Grand Army of the Republic, in session at the same time, gave her a place on an evening program at the Opera House, where she addressed a large, enthusiastic audience. Mrs. Biggers attended the annual meeting of the Twin Territories Labor Union, which unanimously adopted a resolution for woman suffrage. In Tulsa on Labor Day the "float" of the suffragists in the big procession won the prize. At Chickasha during the agricultural fair the tent of the suffrage club had the best location on the grounds. Dr. Woods and Mrs. Biggers went to Muskogee to see Robert L. Owen, a prominent lawyer, and enlist his strong influence in favor of a woman suffrage clause in the new constitution. He cordially promised his influence, service and financial assistance and he made his first great suffrage speech in Oklahoma City before the convention took place. Dr. Woods left the last of May and the National Association sent Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer of Pennsylvania in October, 1906, to establish headquarters. When the constitutional convention opened in Guthrie they were transferred there, with Mrs. Biggers and Mrs. Boyer in charge. Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky, a national officer, went to their assistance at her own expense and Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Colorado did some very effective speaking. In February, 1907, a hearing was granted by the Suffrage Committee of the convention. Later Mr. Owen, former Governor Alva Adams of Colorado and Miss Clay addressed the entire convention. Mr. Owen engaged the Opera House for a mass meeting to influence the delegates and paid for printing handsomely the Memorial which the State Suffrage Association presented to the convention.

Mrs. Boyer said. "The woman suffrage measure caused the

most heated debate of the convention. It had been arranged by the political manipulators to apply gag rule and shut off debate as soon as the opposition had exploited itself but on a motion to discuss the suffrage resolution the vote stood 41 noes, 42 ayes, and the delegates favoring it managed to secure the floor and hold it." Peter Hanraty, the principal representative of the labor organizations, which were practically solid for a woman suffrage clause in the constitution, led the debate in its favor. A number of prominent men spoke strongly for it. Some of the opposing speeches were very coarse. On the final vote it was lost by 50 nays to 37 ayes. Notwithstanding all that had been done and said the suffrage clause in the new constitution read: "The qualified electors shall be male citizens of the State and male persons of Indian descent, who are over 21 years of age. . . . Specifically excepted are felons, paupers, lunatics and idiots."

The headquarters were returned to Oklahoma City with Mrs. Boyer and Mrs. Biggers still in charge and Miss Gregg continued her field work, as the suffragists desired to help some of their friends who were candidates. Among them at the election in October, 1907, Bird S. McGuire was elected member of Congress, Mr. Hanraty mine inspector, Charles L. Daugherty labor commissioner, Jesse L. Dunn and M. J. Kane Justices of the Supreme Court and fourteen to the Legislature. Charles W. Haskell, who had been among the bitterest of the opponents in the convention, was elected Governor. When the first Legislature met in December, Mr. Owen was unanimously elected U. S. Senator and never thereafter failed to render assistance to both State and national suffrage for women. Unsolicited Perry A. Ballard introduced a bill in the House at the first session giving the Presidential franchise to women but it never came out of committee.

The suffrage work done in 1908 was principally through the society in Oklahoma City. The State Federation of Labor at its annual convention endorsed woman suffrage and pledged its support to candidates for the Legislature who would submit the question to the voters. The Socialists also gave unqualified support. There was no official recognition by Democrats or Republicans but a considerable per cent. of their legislative candidates declared themselves in favor of this action.

State suffrage headquarters were opened in Guthrie in January, 1909, and Mrs. Boyer took charge. Members from clubs over the State came to assist in lobbying for the amendment and pledges were secured from a majority in both Houses. Miss Kate M. Gordon of New Orleans, corresponding secretary of the National Association, came to make the principal argument at the Senate hearing. One was granted also before the Committee of the Whole. Mrs. N. M. Carter presided and strong appeals were made by Mrs. Boyer, Mrs. M. A. Morrison, Mrs. Feuquay and Mrs. Bailey. A petition of 8,000 names was presented, which had been quickly collected, but it was treated with discourtesy, one member tearing up the sheets from his district and throwing them into the waste basket. The Speaker jestingly referred it to the Committee on Geological Survey. The attendance was so great the hearing had to be adjourned to a larger room. Through every possible device and even conspiracy the measure was lost in the Senate, Governor Haskell using his influence against it.

It was already evident that the amendment could be submitted only through the Initiative and Referendum. This was a new and not well understood law, there was little money in the treasury and the women were tired and discouraged, saying, as Mrs. Woodworth expressed it: "It's of no use, for the whisky ring and the grafters will beat us every time." Nevertheless an undaunted few decided to begin the immense work of securing the initiative petition. Mrs. Biggers was continued as president and Dr. Ruth A. Gay agreed to act as chairman of finance and conduct the petition work from her office in Oklahoma City, with the cooperation of Mrs. Stephens, who went personally into the counties. The National Association again sent Mrs. Boyer, who used her own room for headquarters in order to save money. She said in writing of the summer's campaign:

The women circulated the petition and obtained nearly 38,600 signatures of voters—more than the necessary number. The State was new; there were few trolleys in cities and still fewer interurbans to make the rural communities accessible; the railroads had infrequent and uncertain schedules. That petition was a marvel in attainment and a monument of sacrifice. The headquarters work has never been surpassed in devotion of local suffragists. Do you know of any

other State where the entire campaign was carried on by but two paid workers—a manager and a stenographer? Mrs. Stephens went into the field and Mrs. Biggers remained with the office work and spent her money freely. Dr. Gay sacrificed time from her practice and pressed her father and mother into service so that literature might be addressed to the voters. Mrs. Woodworth, Mrs. Feuquay, Mrs. Burt, Mrs. Mattie Flick, Mrs. Dunham and her daughter Junia and Miss Mary Barber worked day and night in the office or the field.

Altogether \$900 were raised. To this amount Miss Clay contributed \$300; Henry B. and Alice Stone Blackwell (Mass.) \$400 and also lent money. Most of the women worked gratuitously and paid their own expenses. Oklahoma City was canvassed without cost. When the petition was ready for filing a representative committee of women carried it to Guthrie and Secretary of State Cross complimented its excellent arrangement. So quietly had it been secured that the "machine" politicians were astounded and dismayed when it was presented and plans were at once made to attack its validity. Senator Roddie was chosen to protest it on the ground that 5,000 of the signatures were fraudulent but he offered no proof of the charge. Three eminent lawyers, Judge J. B. A. Robertson, Democratic candidate for Governor; Judge T. L. Brown, a Republican, and P. J. Nagel, a Socialist, gave their services to the suffragists. The first argued for the justice of submitting the amendment; the second defended the legality of the petition and the third demanded recognition of the 38,586 voters who had signed it. Secretary of State Cross announced a recess until 2 p. m. At that hour he declared that the petition was "in due form of law and amply sufficient in all things and that the question thereby proposed should be certified to the Governor to the end that the same may be submitted to the electors of the State as is provided by law." Senator Roddie then appealed to the Supreme Court, which in June, 1910, sustained the petition.

Believing that the petition would be upheld the suffragists had opened headquarters in the Lee Huckins Hotel in Oklahoma City February 1. There was hope of a special election for the amendment, in which case it could be carried by a majority of those voting on it. If it went to the regular election it would require

a majority of the highest number of votes cast. It finally went over to the general election. There was no money for salaries and very little for expenses. Mrs. Boyer conducted a very efficient publicity service and was obliged to fill many appointments as a speaker, besides having all the office work in charge, making it necessary for her to toil far into the nights. Mrs. Biggers carried on the work during Mrs. Boyer's absences. Often there was no money for postage and Dr. Gay would go out and beg a few dollars from some friend of the cause.

It being a State campaign year there were many opportunities for work at picnics and tent meetings arranged for the candidates. The Democrats were the dominant party and principal opposers. Among their candidates were few avowed friends or active helpers and some were openly and bitterly opposed. Women who had never made a public speech had to meet their eloquence and sophistry. Mrs. Stephens and Miss Mary Barber were sent into the most hostile part of the State and worked through the heat and dust of almost the entire summer. They spoke from boxes and wagons; in little dark school houses with only one smoky kerosene lamp, making it impossible to read their notes or see the audience; before large, unsympathetic crowds at open air meetings. It was an experience that tested endurance and loyalty almost to the breaking point.

The Socialists were always helpful but they were intensely disliked and sometimes their friendship only made the way more difficult. The labor unions were unusually helpful and never antagonistic. Toward the last of the campaign the secretary of the State Federation of Labor, J. Luther Langston, with Miss Gordon made a two-weeks' speaking tour through the State. The vote was taken Nov. 8, 1910, and was announced as ayes, 88,808; noes, 128,928; lost by 40,120. While the disappointment was intense yet as an education this campaign could not be overestimated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following testimonial was gratefully offered: Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer by her tact and never failing kindness not only won the love of the suffragists of Oklahoma but the respect and confidence of all others who knew her. By her tireless energy and unselfishness she did a work which contributed very largely to the final success that came later. Signed, Kate H. Biggers, president State Suffrage Association; Jence C. Feuquay, first vice-president; Adelia C. Stephens, corresponding secretary; Ruth A. Gay, chairman finance committee.

There was still a desire to keep the organization alive and be ready for the next opportunity. In 1911 Mrs. Biggers declined to stand again for the presidency, after serving seven years, and Dr. Ruth A. Gay, with a full board, was elected at the annual convention, Mrs. Biggers taking the office of treasurer. At the State meeting of 1912 Mrs. Mattie Flick, Miss Jessie Nourse and Mrs. Mattie Cloud were added to the board. Dr. Gay held the presidency until 1913, when Mrs. Cora B. Gotchy was elected. The State association became a member of the Southern Women's Conference. No further effort was made with the Legislature but the Republican party put a woman suffrage plank in its State platform and the Progressive party took steps toward another initiative petition, Mrs. Gotchy assisting, but it did not meet with support. Mrs. Feuquay was selected for president in 1914 and helped a resolution for an amendment introduced in the Legislature by the Socialist Representatives McLemore and Pritchett, which did not come out of committee.

In 1915 Mrs. Adelia C. Stephens was elected president. The vice-president, Miss Mary Crangle, in the northeastern part of the State, and the recording secretary, Mrs. Frances A. Agnew, in the southwestern part, did active personal work to keep up the interest. The Democratic Secretary of State, J. L. Lyon, made strenuous individual effort to start an initiative petition, which was not successful. Suffrage resolutions were introduced by legislators independently in the session of 1915 and the special session of 1916. Luther Harrison and Charles F. Barrett, now Adjutant General, were helpful friends in the Legislature. Mrs. Stephens was continued as president through 1916 and 1917.<sup>1</sup> In 1916 the resolution for a suffrage amendment passed the House by a vote of 62 to 15 but was adversely reported by the Senate Committee.

<sup>1</sup> Other State officers through the years were Mrs. N. M. Carter, Mrs. Julia Dunham, Dr. Edith Barber, Elizabeth Redfield, Mrs. J. R. Harris, Mrs. Narcissa Owen, Mrs. A. K. McKellop, Martha Phillips, Minnie O. Branstetter, Mrs. Roswell Johnson, Lucy G. Struble, Carrie K. Easterly, Kate Stafford, Dora Delay, Ellen McElroy, Edith Wright, Mrs. Lee Lennox, Mary Goddard, Mrs. John Threadgill, Blanche H. Hawley, Mrs. A. S. Heany, Mrs. Clarence Davis, Mrs. Carl Williams, Mrs. C. L. Daugherty, Mrs. John Leahy, Jessie Livingston Parks, Mrs. N. McCarty, Louise Boylan.

District presidents and chairmen of committees: Dora Kirkpatrick, Janet C. Broeck, Elizabeth Burt, Ethel Lewis, Mrs. H. J. Bonnell, Mrs. O. A. Mitscher, Mrs. C. C. Conlan, Effie M. Ralls, E. Irene Yeoman.

Since 1910 Mrs. Woodworth had kept the question of woman suffrage continually before the State Federation of Women's Clubs and in all organizations of women there was an increasing interest in legislation, especially for the benefit of women and children, and they were seeing the necessity of the ballot as a means of attaining it. Meanwhile most of the States west of the Mississippi River had enfranchised their women and for months before the Legislature convened in 1917 letters and telegrams came in announcing that former foes had become friends, many of them offering to help the cause. Woman suffrage was the first subject discussed when the Legislature convened. The resolution to submit an amendment was championed in the Senate by Senators Fred Tucker of Ardmore, John Golobie of Guthrie, Walter Ferguson of Cherokee and many others. In the House among the most earnest supporters were Paul Nesbitt of McAlester and Bert C. Hodges of Okmulgee. The vote in the Senate February 2 was unanimous and in the House March 17 was 75 ayes, 12 noes.

Women over the State watched anxiously the action of the Legislature and many were in attendance. Mrs. Stephens, Mrs. Frank Mulkey of Oklahoma City and Mrs. Robert Ray of Lawton were especially active but the chief credit belongs to Mrs. Frank B. Lucas, legislative representative of the Federation of Women's Clubs, with wide experience in legislative procedure. Mrs. Woodworth and Mrs. Lucas had acted as committee for the State suffrage association, which now merged with the campaign committee.

The campaign was made particularly difficult by the fact that Governor Robert L. Williams, Attorney General S. P. Freeling and the chairman of the State Election Board, W. C. McAlester, all Democrats, were avowed and active anti-suffragists, notwithstanding the party had declared in State convention in favor of the amendment. Encouraged by eastern women an Anti-Suffrage Committee was formed with Mrs. T. H. Sturgeon chairman and Miss Maybelle Stuard press chairman and speaker, both of Oklahoma City. Other women prominent in the movement were Miss Edith Johnson, of the *Daily Oklahoman* and Miss Alice Robertson of Muskogee, who were very active in the



distribution of the usual "anti" literature, attempting to link the suffragists with Germans and with the negro vote. Miss Charlotte Rowe of Yonkers, N. Y., representing the National Anti-Suffrage Association, remained in Oklahoma during most of the campaign but their work was scattered and ineffectual.

The election took place Nov. 8, 1918, and the amendment received a majority of 25,428 of the votes cast on it. It had a majority of 9,791 of the highest number of votes cast at the election, a record that never had been equalled in any State. After the National League of Women Voters was organized at the convention of the National American Suffrage Association in March, 1919, a State League was formed in Oklahoma with Mrs. Phil Brown of Muskogee chairman.

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Report of Mrs. Shuler to the Board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association on the Oklahoma Campaign.

Against the advice of the National Board with conditions adverse as they were in Oklahoma the legislative committee of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and some members of the State suffrage board secured the submission of an amendment to the voters in 1917 and appealed for help to the National Association. It found that the Oklahoma association was not organized as in other States with the club as the unit but was composed of individual memberships and was not an auxiliary of the National Association, not having paid dues for several years. After obtaining the submission there seemed to be a desire on the part of the women to waive all responsibility for the campaign, but they said that if the National Association considered the winning of it a necessity to its program, it should assume the entire financial responsibility.

On Jan. 19, 1918, Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, corresponding secretary and chairman of campaigns and surveys; Mrs. T. T. Cotnam of Arkansas and Mrs. Charles H. Brooks of Kansas, directors of the National American Association, reached Oklahoma City. Several conferences were held with the State board none of whose members could give all their time to the campaign, although two would work for salary and expenses. It was evident

that a Campaign Committee must be formed and new groups interested, to which the board agreed. Forty-five women met at the Lee Huckins Hotel on January 21, adopted a plan for work and agreed to raise a budget of \$25,000, Mrs. Shuler stating that no financial assistance from the National Association could be given until the Board had taken action on her "survey" of conditions. Mrs. John Threadgill was elected chairman of the campaign committee with a salary of \$100 a month and Mrs. Julia Woodworth, the former State secretary, was made executive secretary at a salary of \$15 a week. Mrs. Frank B. Lucas, chairman of finance, agreed to raise the \$25,000 necessary for the campaign with the understanding that she was to have personally 10 per cent. of the money raised. She raised a little over \$2,000 and resigned April 1.

An organization of young women was formed in Oklahoma City and State and city headquarters were opened in the Terminal Arcade. Two organizers, Miss Josephine Miller who remained one week and Miss Gertrude Watkins who remained three weeks, were sent by the National Association. Miss Lola Walker came January 30, Miss Margaret Thompson, a volunteer, and Miss Edna Annette Beveridge in February, all remaining through the campaign.

Mrs. Shuler left April 6 for South Dakota and Michigan, both in amendment campaigns. While in Oklahoma she had visited twenty-seven counties out of the seventy-seven and organization had been effected in thirty-two county seats; also the passage obtained of a resolution by the Democratic and Republican State Committees not only endorsing but promising to work for the amendment. A Campaign Committee had been formed with representatives from seventeen organizations of men and women representing different groups with widely diversified interests. Ten State vice-chairmen had been selected from different sections and eleven chairmen of active committees. Headquarters had been opened in Tulsa and Muskogee and others promised in the larger cities. A canvass had been made of forty-six newspapers showing only five to be absolutely opposed. The State had been divided into ten districts and it was hoped that each might have the services later of an experienced national worker.

On April 17, 18, a meeting of the Executive Council of the National Association was held in Indianapolis. The Board took action on Oklahoma, agreeing to give organizers, press work and literature to the amount of \$13,650, provided the State would put two more trained organizers in the field immediately and raise the rest of the "budget," about \$11,000. Mrs. Threadgill attending this meeting and agreed to the plan.

On May 1 Miss Marjorie Shuler was sent by the National Association to take entire charge of press and political work, and, to quote from Miss Katherine Pierce's report, "to her effective work with the newspapers of the State was due in a great measure the success of the campaign." Three hundred were supplied with weekly bulletins and two-and-a-half pages of plate, and the last week 126,000 copies of a suffrage supplement sent from national headquarters in New York were circulated through the newspapers. As a unit the suffrage organization was used for the 3rd and 4th Liberty Loans, and a statewide Unconditional Surrender Club, in which nearly 100,000 members were enrolled, was organized by Miss Shuler. In the face of these activities the men paid little heed to the charges of pacifism and lack of patriotism made against the suffragists by paid "anti" speakers sent in from outside the State.

May 1 found the Campaign Committee without funds and a meeting held in Oklahoma City early in the month passed the following resolution: "On account of the unusual conditions prevailing at this time which have caused the Oklahoma State Campaign Committee to find itself unable to meet the expenses of the campaign, said committee does hereby dissolve and stands ready to cooperate in any way possible in any plans that may be evolved by the National Board, hoping for its continued aid and support and expressing warmest thanks and most earnest appreciation of the generous aid and assistance already given." This resolution was unanimously carried, the committee dissolved and Mrs. Clarence Henley was made chairman, Mrs. Frank Haskell, vice chairman, Mrs. A. P. Crockett, secretary, Mrs. Blanche Hawley, treasurer, and Mrs. C. B. Ames, chairman of finance of a new one. As the State had not put in the two trained organizers, the

National Board sent Mrs. Mary K. Maule in April and Misses Alice Curtis and Doris Long in June.

One of the requirements by the National Association if financial assistance were given was that States in campaign should secure signatures of women on petitions. At the meeting in January officers of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union agreed to take entire charge of this work but later decided that it might injure the chances for national prohibition. Its president, however, Mrs. Abbie Hillerman of Sapulpa, served as an advisory member of the Campaign Committee and with other members rendered valuable assistance. Under the direction of Miss Curtis 58,687 signatures were obtained.

In the meantime the Oklahoma City organization, which had for officers a group of young women, was dissolved and their headquarters given up. Money was needed to maintain State headquarters, which were an absolute necessity. In June Mrs. Henley, the chairman, sent a financial plan to all county chairmen, asking for a certain sum from each county based on population, wealth, etc. Some county chairmen resigned, which was a discouragement to Mrs. Henley and to the national workers. Early in July Mrs. Henley telegraphed her resignation to the National Board, stating that the campaign must go by default unless it would assume all financial obligation. Mrs. Catt, the national president, wrote urging her not to resign and stating that the National Association would pay salary and expenses of all national organizers then in the field and would send other workers as needed, providing Oklahoma would finance its State headquarters and speakers' bureau and meet the pledge made in April to pay salary and expenses of two workers. Mrs. Henley remained chairman; Mary Parke London and Sally Fanny Gleaton were sent by the board in July; Alma Sasse in August and Isabella Sanders as headquarters secretary on September 1. Mrs. Shuler returned from New York and took over the campaign for the final two months, with headquarters in Oklahoma City.

All of the prominent suffragists in the State were doing war work. . . . There was a depleted treasury. The Campaign Committee was not able to pay for any workers in the field. Money was needed for rent, postage, telegrams, stenographers' salaries,

etc. It became necessary for Mrs. Shuler and the organizers, in addition to the detailed work of the campaign, to assume the financial burden as well. Mrs. Shuler gave her personal check for rent for August, September and October and with the national assistants in the field and by personal appeals raised \$2,433. From January 21 to November 5, 1918, there came into the State Campaign Committee's treasury \$4,993 and of this amount \$2,559 were spent from January to June for salaries of Mrs. Threadgill, the chairman; Mrs. Woodworth, the secretary, and headquarters expenses. These funds were checked out on warrants signed by them and the checks signed by Mrs. Hawley, treasurer. From June to November \$2,433 were raised and checked out on warrants signed by Mrs. Henley and checks signed by Mrs. Hawley for headquarters expenses—not a penny going for salary or expenses of any national worker. The sum of \$79.92 remaining in the treasury at the end was turned over to the Ratification Committee.

The Tulsa suffragists opened headquarters, engaged an executive secretary and financed their own campaign. They also very generously paid nearly \$500 for the suffrage supplement distributed through the State. There were other counties no doubt where money was spent locally, but no record was sent to headquarters. The National Association expended nearly \$20,000 in Oklahoma, the largest sum it had ever put into a State Campaign. By September 1 it was paying salaries and expenses of eleven national workers.<sup>1</sup>

When the epidemic regulations forbade meetings of more than twelve persons, the suffragists resorted to all manner of devices for voiceless speech and 150,000 fliers with the wording of the amendment, directions how to vote and the warning that a "silent

<sup>1</sup> Many ardent suffragists found they could not stand up against the statewide comment that the women should be doing only war work but the cooperation in many counties was splendid and there is not space enough to name those who stood by throughout the struggle. To those already mentioned should be added Judge and Mrs. D. A. McDougal of Sapulpa, Mrs. Robert Ray of Lawton, Mrs. B. W. Slagle of Shawnee, Mrs. Hardee Russell of Paul's Valley, Mrs. Lamar Looney of Hollis, Mrs. Francis Agnew of Altus, Mrs. Eugene B. Lawson of Nowata, Mrs. Annette B. Ahler of Hennessey, Mrs. Olive Snider of Tulsa. Among the men to be specially mentioned are James J. McGraw of Ponca City, member of the National Republican Committee; Tom Wade of Marlow, member of the National Democratic Committee; George L. Bowman of Kingfisher, Alger Melton of Chickasha, Colonel E. M. McPherron of Durant and Bird McGuire of Tulsa.

vote" was a vote against it were distributed by hand and through the mail. Other circularization, posting of towns at a specified date and newspaper publicity were pushed. Much political help was secured. Both Republican and Democratic State conventions passed suffrage resolutions and preceding the Democratic nearly every county convention passed such a resolution.

No work which the women did in the campaign was more effective than their election day appeal. Nearly every polling place had women watchers within and women scouts without. Whenever one party in any place denied women the privilege of watching, they secured appointments as regular watchers for the other party. An amendment to the constitution of Oklahoma has to poll a majority of the highest number of votes cast in the general election. The "silent vote" is the term applied to the votes cast in the election but not on the amendment and which are counted against it. The task of arousing every man to such a degree of interest that he would remember to mark his ballot on the suffrage amendment seemed a hopeless task. Those who know the usual inattention given to any constitutional amendment by the rank and file of voters can estimate how difficult it was to get a *majority of the ballots correctly marked*.

Early in September it was learned that the Elections Board, claiming that the Secretary of State had failed to supply the official wording of the amendment ninety days before election, did not intend to print the suffrage amendment. Through the efforts of Judge W. H. Ledbetter of Oklahoma City, who donated his services, this obstacle was overcome, and then further to increase the difficulties, the board decided to print the suffrage amendment on a separate ballot. In October it was found that soldiers had voted in seven camps but suffrage ballots had not been furnished them and thus hundreds were prevented from voting on the amendment, yet all of these were counted as voting in the negative! The attempt to hold back the returns and to get a new ruling on the meaning of the so-called "silent vote" are matters of history.

On Friday after election it became apparent to the State Elections Board that the suffrage majority was piling up and there was every evidence that the amendment had won. On

Saturday it was reported that a member of the State Elections Board in Oklahoma City had called up some chairmen of county elections boards, asking that they open the sealed returns and send a second report counting from the "stubs," which would include the mutilated and spoiled ballots, so as to increase further the number of the "silent votes." At that time the suffrage headquarters had received returns from 63 out of 77 counties, showing a majority of 21,000 of the votes cast on the amendment, about 10,000 over the "silent vote." The publication of these attested returns prevented any further attempt to get them from "stub" books. When all other resources failed, the anti-suffragists filed a protest against certification by the State Elections Board.

There were really two campaigns in Oklahoma—one to win the ballot and the other to hold it. Mrs. Shuler remained in the State until November 14. On that day the *Oklahoman* printed the statement by Governor Williams that on the face of the returns so far suffrage had won.

Miss Beveridge, who had charge of one of the most difficult sections of the State and had carried it, remained in Oklahoma until December 3, when Governor Williams finally called for the suffrage returns and without certification by the Elections Board, proclaimed it carried. The vote stood 106,909 ayes, 81,481 noes, a majority of 25,428 votes on the amendment and of 9,791 over the total vote cast at the election. This latter requirement had always been counted on to defeat any measure that the party "bosses" did not want carried and the politicians now asked, "But where was the 'silent vote'?" The answer came when a map of the State was shown almost obliterated with tiny red stars and they were told, "Every star represents a suffrage committee working since last January." Organization had reduced the "silent vote" to five per cent. and won the suffrage for the women of Oklahoma. [End of Mrs. Shuler's report.]

RATIFICATION. With the successful closing of the campaign the county chairmen answered the call of Mrs. Shuler to meet in Oklahoma City and formed a Ratification Committee to carry on the work of ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment when it should be submitted to the Legislatures. This committee was

composed of Miss Katherine Pierce of Oklahoma City, chairman; Mrs. A. P. Crockett of the same city, treasurer, and Miss Aloysius Larch-Miller of Shawnee, secretary, with representative women from the State at large as follows: Mrs. Frank Haskell, Tulsa; Mrs. E. E. McPherron, Durant; Mrs. Walter Ferguson, Cherokee; Mrs. Robert J. Ray, Lawton; Mrs. Hardee Russell, Paul's Valley. The county chairmen for the campaign were retained.

No active work was done until after the Conference of Governors in Salt Lake City in the summer of 1919, when the amendment had been submitted. At this conference the new Governor, J. B. A. Robertson, gave as a reason for not calling a special session to ratify, the great expense and the fear of untimely legislation but he consented to call one if these could be avoided. In September Miss Larch-Miller, assisted by Miss Marjorie Shuler, sent by the National Association, asked the legislators to sign a pledge that they would attend a special session, serve without pay, consider no other legislation and vote for ratification. Pledges were signed by a majority of both Houses and presented to the Governor who made no answer. Several weeks later he addressed the State Federation of Women's Clubs and again offered the same excuses.

In January, 1920, the Democratic Central Committee called county conventions of women to select delegates to a State convention of women to be held prior to the regular State convention. Many of these county conventions passed a resolution requesting the Governor to call a special session and it was also adopted at the State convention of about 1,500 women. A number of the regular county conventions of men and women passed it. Miss Larch-Miller attended the convention of her county, although she had been confined to her room for several days with influenza. She spoke strongly for the resolution and was opposed by the Attorney General, S. P. Freeling, one of the ablest orators in the State, but her enthusiasm and eloquence carried the day and it was adopted. The exertion proved too much for her frail body and the next night pneumonia developed and she gave her young life as the supreme sacrifice for the cause she loved.

The Democratic State convention met at Muskogee February 5 and Senator Robert L. Owen's candidacy for President of the



United States had developed to such an extent that he was its dominating figure. He insisted on a special session to ratify the amendment. Governor Robertson stated to the convention that because of its interest in Senator Owen's candidacy he would call the session and he did so for February 23. President Wilson sent the following telegram on the 25th to the Speaker of the House: "May I not take the liberty of expressing my earnest hope that Oklahoma will joint the other suffrage States in ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment, thus demonstrating anew its sense of justice and retaining its place as a leader in democracy?"

Mrs. Rufus M. Gibbs and Mrs. Mabel G. Millard, presidents of the Maryland and Iowa Anti-Suffrage Associations, sent urgent telegrams to defeat ratification, which were read to both Houses. Attorney General Freeling made a strong State's rights argument against it but the resolution was finally passed on February 27 by a vote of 84 to 12 in the House and the next day in the Senate by 25 to 13. Senators Fred Tucker of Ardmore and J. Elmer Thomas of Lawton sponsored it in the Senate and Paul Nesbitt of McAlester and Bert C. Hodges of Okmulgee in the House. Governor Robertson signed it February 28. Attorney General Freeling immediately started a petition to refer this action to the voters. The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that there could be no referendum of Federal Amendments ended this final effort.

The Ratification Committee, with a feeling of gratitude to the National Suffrage Association for the generous assistance that had been given to Oklahoma affiliated the State with this body and it was represented at the next national convention by a delegation of eight.

In 1920 Mrs. Lamar Looney was elected to the State Senate; Miss Bessie McColque to the House and Miss Alice Robertson to the Lower House of Congress.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### OREGON.<sup>1</sup>

The advent of 1901 found the suffrage cause in Oregon almost becalmed upon a sea of indifference. With an ultra conservative population, defeats in five previous campaigns, the existence of bitter prejudices and an utter lack of cooperation among the suffragists themselves, the outlook was almost hopeless, except for the one outstanding fact that each failure had carried the women a little nearer their goal. An inactive State organization had been maintained for years and in 1901-1904 the officers were: President, Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway; vice-president-at-large, Dr. Annice Jeffreys; vice-president, Mrs. Ada Cornish Hertsche; corresponding secretary, Miss Frances Gotshall; recording secretary, Mrs. W. H. Games; treasurer, Mrs. Henry Waldo Coe. No regular conventions were held.

Mrs. Duniway, the mother of suffrage in Oregon, always advocated the "still hunt," preferring to centralize and individualize the effort through prominent men and women rather than through a large and general organization. Shortly before her death in 1915, speaking of her work she said: "Occasionally I would gather a few women together in a suffrage society but on the whole I did not find my time thus spent at all profitable. Some traveling lecturer would often come along and after speaking before the little local band of a dozen members would receive the contents of the treasury, leaving the society to ravel out for lack of funds. These experiences led me to give up organizing suffrage societies, as I had learned that lecturing, writing serial stories and editorials and correspondence afforded a more rational means of spreading the light. . . . The only time for general, active organization is after a few devoted workers have succeeded

<sup>1</sup>The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Sarah A. Evans, president of the State Federation of Clubs ten years; on the Child Labor Commission eighteen years and market inspector for Portland sixteen years.

in using the press for getting the movement squarely before the voters in the shape of a proposed State suffrage amendment."

This will answer very largely the many criticisms that came from the National Association and from equal suffrage States over the apathy of Oregon women from 1900 to 1904. What the result might have been, with the State and national growth of suffrage sentiment, had there been a strong, active organization is problematic, but Oregon might have had the proud distinction of being first instead of last of the Pacific Coast States to liberate her women politically. In 1905 the following officers were elected: Honorary president, Mrs. Duniway; president, Mrs. Coe; vice-president, Dr. Jeffreys Myers; secretary, Dr. Luema G. Johnson; treasurer, Mrs. Abbie C. French; auditors, Dr. Mary Thompson, Mrs. Martha Dalton and Mrs. Frederick Aggett.

The Legislature had many times submitted the amendment but its repeated failures had discouraged the most ardent supporters in that body. The gains in the various campaigns were not sufficient, they argued, to warrant the expense of resubmission in the near future. This reason was freely and courageously given from the Chair of the Senate by one of the staunchest friends suffrage ever had in the State, the Hon. C. W. Fulton, when he voted "no" on re-submission in the Legislature of 1899, and the defeat of 1900 intensified this feeling.

Hope revived when the Initiative and Referendum Act was adopted by the voters in 1902. The District Judges decided against its constitutionality and an appeal was carried to the State Supreme Court by Attorney Ralph Duniway, whose able argument resulted in a reversal and the establishment of the legality of the new law. This decision was rendered Dec. 22, 1903, and on Jan. 2, 1904, a suffrage petition was issued. This required the signatures of 8 per cent. of the legal voters of the State based on the highest number of votes cast at the election of 1902, in round numbers 7,200 names, and compelled the submission of the amendment. In less than three weeks 7,900 had been obtained but as only half of them had been verified and classified before the limited time expired the work was of no avail.

During the following two years another force had been contri-

buting indirectly to the suffrage cause through the preparations for the National Exposition which was to celebrate in Portland the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In 1904 the Hon. Jefferson Myers, president of the Exposition Commission, with his wife, Dr. Annice Jeffreys, attended the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at Washington, D. C., and so eloquently presented the claims of Oregon that its unanimous decision was to hold its next meeting in Portland. Stimulated by this prospect the Legislature of 1905 yielded to pressure and submitted the amendment to be voted on in November, 1906.

It was a proud day for Oregon when the national convention was called to order on June 21, 1905, by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, national president, in the First Congregational Church. The honorary president, Miss Susan B. Anthony, then 85 years old, favored every session with her gracious presence. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the vice-president; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, the recording secretary, with her father, Henry B. Blackwell; Miss Kate Gordon, corresponding secretary, and Miss Laura Clay, auditor, were present and with Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, Misses Gail Laughlin, Mary and Lucy Anthony, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Mrs. Maud Wood Park and other well known women were heard during the convention. [See Chapter V, Volume V.]

Very significant of the changing sentiment toward women was the unveiling of the Sacajawea statue, in the exposition grounds, which had been arranged for the time when these visitors could assist the committee in the ceremonies. Miss Anthony in the opening address paid a glowing tribute to this Indian woman and exhorted the women of Oregon to lead the way to women's liberty. Dr. Shaw highly complimented those who had made this recognition of a woman's services to her country possible and hailed it as the dawning of a new day for the cause of woman. Brief words along these lines were spoken by Mrs. Catt and others. The picture will never fade from the memory of those who saw Miss Anthony and Dr. Shaw standing on the platform with the sun lighting up their silver hair like an aureole and their faces radiant with hope, as "The Star Spangled Banner"

sung by an Indian boy raised a tumult of applause while the flag floated away revealing the idealized mother and babe.<sup>1</sup>

The national suffrage convention gave to the cause in Oregon a new birth. Some of the most prominent men in the State appeared on its platform and urged another campaign and political leaders in private conference with its officers assured them that the time was ripe for success. Encouraged by this assurance and in response to the strong appeal of the leaders among the women of the State, the National Association pledged its support. The suffragists for the most part were now fully convinced that if the amendment was to be carried in 1906 there must be state-wide, systematic organization and in answer to their request the National Board sent to assist them two of its best organizers, Miss Mary N. Chase and Miss Gail Laughlin. By the end of 1905 forty-two clubs had been formed in Portland and committees outside. Newspapers were giving full reports of meetings and the *Portland Journal* was publishing each Sunday articles on suffrage by Mrs. Sarah A. Evans, editor of the woman's page. At a State convention held in Portland on November 8 the attendance was so great it was necessary to adjourn to a larger hall. Mayor Harry Lane welcomed the convention and took an unequivocal position in favor of woman suffrage. Statesmanlike addresses were made by Miss Laughlin and Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky. A special Campaign Committee had been organized to cooperate with the State and national workers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sacajawea was a young Indian woman who accompanied her husband on the Lewis and Clark Expedition from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast, the only woman in the party. She had been a captive from an Idaho tribe of the Shoshones and was the only person who could speak the language of the Indians that would be met on the way or who had ever been over the route to be traveled. With her baby in her arms she was the unerring guide through the almost impenetrable mountain passes and on several occasions saved not only the equipment and documents but the lives of the party. In recognition of this service the women of Oregon formed the Sacajawea Association, with the following officers: Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, president; Mrs. C. M. Cartwright, first vice-president; Mrs. M. A. Dalton, second; Mrs. J. B. Montgomery, third; Mrs. Sarah A. Evans, secretary; Mrs. A. H. Breymann, treasurer. This association secured subscriptions and erected a beautiful bronze statue on the exposition grounds, which later was transferred to a prominent place in the city park.

<sup>2</sup> Campaign Committee: Mrs. Henry Waldo Coe, chairman, president of the Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. Duniway, honorary president; Dr. Annice Jeffreys Myers, its vice-president and auditor of the National Association; Mrs. Sarah A. Evans, president State Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Lucia F. Additon, president Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Mrs. C. M. Cartwright, State Pioneers' Association; Mrs. Clara Waldo, State Grange; Dr. Luema G. Johnson, State Labor Organization; Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, Sacajawea Association.

The great leader of women, Susan B. Anthony, had passed away in March, 1906, her thoughts on the Oregon campaign to the very last, and, carrying out her wishes, the following group of women came at once to assist the women of the State: Dr. Shaw, Miss Clay, Miss Blackwell and Miss Gordon, national officers; her sister and niece, Miss Mary and Miss Lucy Anthony; Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer of Pennsylvania, Miss Laura Gregg of Kansas, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Colorado. Miss Laughlin was already there. Added to the able Oregon workers a more efficient body of women never had charge of a suffrage campaign. Centrally located headquarters were at once opened in Portland, which soon became the Mecca for the suffragists from all over the State. The above trained campaigners submitted a plan to the State board and committee, which was adopted. Women who had been named as county chairmen previous to 1905 by Mrs. Duniway were used when possible as a nucleus for a county organization. Many young women who took a leading part in later campaigns got their first inspiration.

One large room at headquarters was set aside in which to prepare literature for mailing and there daily went a stream of Portland women, often swelled by women from out of the city, who worked diligently from morning till night and many of them every day. These noon hours became the social events of the campaign and many business women acquired the habit of dropping in to help a bit with the work and to enjoy the delightful companionship of the women they found there. Mrs. Coe, the State president, was out of the city several months, returning only a few weeks before the election.

Among the women outside of Portland who put their shoulders to the wheel were Mrs. Clara Waldo, Marion county; Mrs. Emma Galloway, Yamhill; Dr. Anna B. Reed, Linn; Mrs. Elizabeth Lord, Wasco; Professor Helen Crawford, Benton; Mrs. Henry Sangstacken, Coos; Mrs. Imogene Bath, Washington; Mrs. Rosemary Schenck, Lincoln; Mrs. Minnie Washburn, Lane, and Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, Clackamas.

Miss Clay, Mrs. Bradford and Miss Gregg supervised the work of State organization, going into large and small places and extending it into the remotest corners. Mrs. Boyer took up the

publicity, in which she had had long experience. Miss Gordon had charge of parlor meetings in the cities and larger towns, reaching hundreds who could not have been induced to attend public rallies. Miss Laughlin appealed powerfully to the labor and fraternal organizations and conducted a series of meetings in their halls, at industrial plants and on the streets. Miss Blackwell, assisted by the Misses Mary and Lucy Anthony, remained at the headquarters and supervised the sending out of literature. Dr. Shaw, while keeping her finger on the pulse of all the work, was speaking to great crowds constantly.

The impetus given the cause by the national convention the previous summer and the activity of the national workers in the present campaign aroused the corrupt influences in politics and the upper and lower classes of anti-suffragists as never before and they jointly employed Ferdinand Reed, an experienced politician, at a high salary, as manager of a skilfully organized effort to defeat the amendment.

The Brewers' and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of Oregon sent out from Portland May 21 to the retail liquor dealers and druggists the following secret circular, printed on its official paper, headed with the names of thirteen breweries and nineteen wholesale liquor houses:

Dear Sir:—Two laws are to be voted on at the election June 4, which are of vital importance to every liquor merchant in Oregon without exception. The first is woman suffrage. The second is the amendment to the local option law. The members of this association have worked hard for a long time on both these matters . . . but, being few in number, they can not by themselves pass the local option amendment or defeat woman suffrage. That part of the work is up to the retailers. We write this letter earnestly to ask you to help.

It will take 50,000 votes to defeat woman suffrage. It will take 50,000 votes to pass the amendment to the local option law. There are 2,000 retailers in Oregon. That means that every retailer must himself bring in 25 votes on election day. Every retailer can get 25 votes. Besides his employees he has his grocer, his butcher, his landlord, his laundryman and every person he does business with. If every man in the business will do this we will win.

We enclose 25 ballot tickets, showing how these two laws will appear on the ballot and how to vote. If you will personally take 25 friendly voters to the polls on election day and give each one a ticket showing how to vote, please mail this postal card back to us at once.

You need not sign the card. Every card has a number and we will know who sent it in. Let us all pull together and let us all work. Let us each get 25 votes.

The election took place June 4, 1906, and resulted in an adverse majority of 10,173 in a vote of about 84,000. Besides the money raised in Oregon the National Suffrage Association expended on this campaign \$18,075. Of this amount \$3,768 were used in the preliminary work of 1905. All of the eastern workers except the organizers contributed their services and several defrayed their own expenses.

The women decided to go immediately into another campaign. The Legislative Assembly of 1907 refused to submit the amendment and the State Association again circulated an initiative petition to have it submitted. Miss Clay contributed \$300 toward the expense of it; Mr. and Miss Blackwell also contributed liberally and the requisite number of names was secured. Mrs. Duniway in reporting this campaign said: "It was more like that of 1900, as only Oregon women took part and no large meetings were held." There were a few less votes in favor of the amendment in 1908 than in 1906 and 11,739 more against it.

The State Association filed a petition for another initiative measure immediately after this defeat. It was quite a different proposition, however, as it read: "No citizen who is a taxpayer shall be denied the right to vote on account of sex." Both men and women, many of them the staunchest suffragists, openly opposed it and it was bitterly fought by labor and fraternal organizations. No campaign was attempted except from the State president's office and there was general satisfaction when it was defeated in 1910 by a majority of 22,600.

A reorganization of the State work in 1906 after the election had resulted in Mrs. Duniway's again resuming the presidency with the following board: Vice-president-at-large, Mrs. Elizabeth Lord; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth Craig; recording secretary, Miss Emma Buckman; financial secretary, Mrs. A. Bonham; treasurer, Mrs. W. E. Potter; auditors, Mrs. Frederick Eggert and Mrs. Martha Dalton; honorary president, Mrs. Coe. This board practically remained intact until 1912. In the two disastrous campaigns of 1908 and 1910, against the



protest of many, the "still hunt" method was employed and no state-wide organization was attempted. With indomitable courage the board again circulated an initiative petition and had the amendment for full suffrage put on the 1912 ballot. Although it was unnecessary for the Legislature to vote for its submission it did so in order to give it more weight.

The women of the State now grew restive and began to agitate for organization for the coming campaign. During 1910 and 1911 Washington and California had enfranchised their women and Oregon remained the only "black" State on the Pacific Coast. This was a matter of great humiliation to the women who had worked for suffrage at least a score of years, as well as to the progressive young women who were beginning to fill the thinning ranks of the pioneer workers.

In December, 1911, Dr. Shaw, the national president, wrote a very strong letter to some of the women severely criticizing their apathy and lack of preparation for this campaign. This was brought to the attention of the State president, who later wrote: "Although urged from many sides and by some of the ablest women of the State to begin a campaign for 1912 in the summer of 1911, I withstood all such requests." A division of opinion arose among the women of Portland regarding the wisdom of delay and Dr. Shaw's letter was submitted to the Woman's Club, an organization which up to this time had taken no active part in work for suffrage. Now a motion prevailed to enter into the campaign and authorize the president, Mrs. A. King Wilson, to appoint a committee for this purpose. The personnel of the committee was: Mrs. Frederick Eggert, Mrs. William Fear, Mrs. George McMillan, Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy, Mrs. Grace Watt Ross, Mrs. Sarah A. Evans, chairman; Mrs. William Strandborg, secretary. This committee waited on the State president and submitted a plan whereby all the various groups of women which were forming might be co-ordinated and operate from one headquarters, the committee offering to assume all financial expense for them. The plan was not approved by her and the committee and all other groups were compelled to work independently of the State organization.

The Portland Woman's Club Committee opened headquarters

in January, 1912, occupying two rooms in a centrally located office building for the entire ten months of the campaign. Dr. Shaw, through the generosity of a friend, contributed \$200 a month toward their maintenance. Mrs. Strandborg, a newspaper woman of large experience, sent every two weeks a short, spicy letter to 210 papers throughout the State. Many appreciative notices were given by the press.

Almost simultaneously with the opening of headquarters by this committee a number of independent societies were formed for propaganda, which sent out organizers and by summer there were no counties and but few towns or hamlets without a suffrage society. With the assistance of Miss Anita Whitney of California and Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley of New York the women of Oregon University organized a large college suffrage club; the State Agricultural College did the same and these were rapidly emulated by the smaller colleges and schools. The State Federation of Labor endorsed it and sent organizers into the field as did many fraternal associations.

The first concerted effort made by the State Association was at Salem Feb. 16, 1912, in the Hall of Representatives by permission of Secretary of State Ben Olcott. A large number of suffragists were present. The speakers were Governor Oswald West; Mrs. Olive English Enright; Mrs. Greeley and Miss Whitney. Mrs. Duniway became seriously ill immediately after this meeting and the work of the association fell upon Mrs. Coe, who courageously assumed the responsibility. In the secretary, Miss Buckman, she had an able assistant, and also in Mrs. L. W. Therkelsen, Mrs. H. R. Reynolds, Dr. Marie D. Equi and Dr. Victoria Hampton, close friends of Mrs. Duniway. On March 8 Mrs. Coe called a meeting at the headquarters in the Selling Building in Portland, two rooms having been generously donated by the Hon. Ben Selling to be jointly used by the State association and the College League. The State work was definitely launched by the appointment of the following committees: Finance, Mrs. J. A. Fouilhoux, Mrs. Elliott Corbet, Dr. Florence Manion; literature, Mrs. Louise Trullinger, Mrs. A. E. Clark, Miss Emma Wold, Miss Blanche Wren; ways and means, Dr. Florence Brown Cassiday, Mrs. Caroline Hepburn, Mrs. C. B. Woodruff.

In June the General Federation of Women's Clubs met in San Francisco and many of the prominent women in attendance arranged to return via Oregon, the New York special train stopping over for one day. It was met twelve miles out and escorted to Portland and met at the depot by a brass band.

In the afternoon a meeting was held in the Taylor Street Methodist Church with many unable to obtain admittance. Miss Mary Garrett Hay of New York; Mrs. H. C. Warren of New Jersey; Mrs. Desha Breckinridge of Kentucky; Miss Helen Varick Boswell and Miss Mary Wood of New York, and Professor Frances Squire Potter of Minnesota University, were among the speakers. The last four remained for several days and spoke at the great Gladstone Chautauqua. One of the most noteworthy incidents of the campaign was a debate here between Mrs. Breckinridge and the Rev. Clarence True Wilson, secretary of the Committee of Temperance and Morals for the Methodist Church. The reverend gentleman was the white hope of the anti-suffragists. His exalted calling and his official position as a prohibitionist, camouflaged the relation between the two extremes of society that were working against the amendment—the liquor people and a group of society women supplemented by a group of prominent men. He had sent the challenge to the Woman's Club Committee and Mrs. Breckinridge took up the gauntlet. Three thousand people saw him, completely routed, retire from the platform while Mrs. Breckinridge and "the cause" got a tremendous ovation. Mr. Wilson and William D. Wheelwright were the only two men who took the platform against the amendment. The women "antis" were led by Mrs. A. E. Rockey, Mrs. Ralph Wilber, Mrs. Robert Lewis and the Misses Etta and May Failing.

The committee maintained a speakers' bureau and sent out thousands of pieces of literature. Among the first to enter the campaign was a Men's Equal Suffrage Club, organized and promoted by W. M. Davis, a prominent attorney of Portland, which soon became an active state-wide organization. Mr. Davis was the legal adviser of all the women's organizations.

Mrs. Solomon Hirsch, an early worker and one of the most liberal financial supporters of the campaign, went directly into

the camp of the enemy and organized a group of society women in the Portland Equal Suffrage League. No one feature stands out more conspicuously for results than a "tea" she gave for Sir Forbes-Robertson in her palatial home, to which she invited about two hundred guests, most of whom were radical anti-suffragists, but many of them went away converts after hearing the presentation of the subject by the guest of honor. Mrs. Hirsch also brought the Rev. Charles A. Aked of San Francisco.

Dr. Coe was the first president of the Portland College League and when she had to assume the duties of the State president, Miss Emma Wold filled her place. The largest suffrage meeting up to that time was under the auspices of this league at Oaks Amusement Park, where Mrs. Sara Bard Field (Ergott) and C. E. S. Wood, a brilliant orator, addressed more than 10,000 people. Mrs. A. C. Newill established the Cooperative Civic League, which did active work with the State association. Dr. Lovejoy organized Every Body's League late in the campaign but succeeded in gathering hundreds of unattached men and women into the ranks of the workers. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union added its mighty strength and did valiant service under the able leadership of Mrs. Lucia Faxton Additon, Mrs. M. L. T. Hidden and Mrs. Ada Wallace Unruh.

On Nov. 5, 1912, the equal suffrage amendment was carried by a majority of 4,161, not by any one person or by any one organization, for no individual or single organization could have compassed the work required to put the State "over the top" with even this meagre majority in a total vote of 118,369. When the heights were reached, however, all were ready to lay the laurels at the feet of Abigail Scott Duniway, Martha A. Dalton, Charlotte M. Cartwright and Dr. Mary Thompson, the pioneers who had borne the heat and burden of the early days. Governor West paid Mrs. Duniway the compliment of inviting her to write the proclamation of woman suffrage and jointly with him to sign it, and John Coffey, the county clerk, carried the registration book to her sick room so that she might be the first woman in Oregon to register.

At the close of this arduous campaign the women folded their hands for a quiet rest until the cry for help came from other

States. It was a most difficult task to gather up the broken threads of so many organizations and again rouse them to enthusiasm. Dr. Lovejoy, however, at the earnest request of Dr. Shaw, sent out a general call for a conference in March, 1915. At this meeting the State Suffrage Alliance was formed with Mrs. William Ogburn as first president. Those who followed her in the office were: Mrs. Thomas Burk, Mrs. Kelley Rees, Mrs. Elliott Corbett and Mrs. C. B. Simmons. It gave its assistance to the unenfranchised States and was ready to respond to any call from the national president.

**RATIFICATION.** The Alliance was largely instrumental in having a special session of the Legislature called to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. This was done by unanimous vote in the House January 12 and in the Senate January 13, 1920, and Governor Oswald West affixed his signature on the 14th. The resolution was introduced in the lower House by Mrs. Alexander Thompson, a member.

On March 6, 1920, at a called meeting the women organized a League of Women Voters and Mrs. Charles E. Curry was elected chairman.

The Oregon chapter on suffrage was closed on Aug. 28, 1920. At noon of that day, while nearly 300 women stood at attention around the banquet table at the Benson Hotel in Portland, every bell and whistle in the city sounded forth the glad refrain of liberty and righteousness, universal suffrage for women, proclaimed by Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby. The Mayor of Portland, George L. Baker, was there to rejoice with them. Old women who had stood in the battle-front for years were there to tell of the hard struggles they had passed through for the franchise and young women were there to promise that they would keep the faith and honor the inheritance that had come to them. The jubilee closed with the singing of a Hymn of Thanksgiving written for this meeting by Mrs. Helen Ekin Starrrett, the only woman living who had attended the first and last conventions of the National Suffrage Association—1869-1920.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### PENNSYLVANIA.<sup>1</sup>

Pennsylvania was a pioneer State in the movement for woman suffrage. One of the first "woman's rights" conventions in history took place in 1852 in West Chester under the auspices of the Friends, or Quakers, and Philadelphia was the home of Lucretia Mott, who joined with Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1848 in calling the first "woman's rights" meeting ever held. The State Woman Suffrage Association was formed in this city in December, 1869, a few months after the founding of the National Association, and did not cease its work until the final victory in 1920.

Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg of Philadelphia was reelected to the presidency in 1901 for the tenth consecutive term and was reelected annually six times thereafter, retiring in 1908 because the work then required long journeys from home. Auxiliaries had been organized in 11 counties before the convention held in Philadelphia, Nov. 26, 1901. Suffrage activities had been confined to southeastern Pennsylvania but now three extreme western counties and two central ones had organizations and offered a promising field. For the first time plans were made for extended canvassing for members. To the courageous women of that period who carried on steadfastly under severe handicaps and with little encouragement may be attributed much of the inspiration of the suffragists of later years. Miss Jane Campbell of Germantown, poet, author and orator, president for many years of the large, active Philadelphia County Society, was responsible in a great degree for the enthusiasm and spirit which sustained the pioneers.

The convention of 1902 took place in Philadelphia November

<sup>1</sup>The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Harriet L. Hubbs, executive secretary of the State Woman Suffrage Association 1916-1919 and thenceforth of the State League of Women Voters and active member of Legislative Committees for both organizations.

7. A report on the canvassing of one ward of Philadelphia, the 10th, showed 55 per cent. of the women in favor. Leaflets were sent to 2,184 schools during the year and a prize offered for the best essay on woman suffrage by a pupil. On December 5 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends organized an Equal Rights Association.

A report on the canvass of the 15th ward, undertaken by the county society, the largest and most active auxiliary, was given at the annual convention held in Philadelphia, Nov. 7, 1903, and showed that of the 4,839 women interviewed nearly one-half were favorable, less than a third opposed and the rest were indifferent. This year the State Grange and the city Labor Union endorsed woman suffrage. A banquet in honor of Miss Susan B. Anthony and the other national officers took place at the New Century Club, the guests including Mayor Samuel Ashbridge and his wife. His progressiveness contrasts strongly with the fact that sixteen years later the suffragists were unable to persuade Mayor Thomas B. Smith to welcome their Fiftieth Annual Convention to the city.

Easton was the place of the convention, Nov. 3-5, 1904, where it was reported that the result of sending fraternal delegates to thirty-seven State gatherings was the adoption of woman suffrage resolutions by nineteen. The convention of 1905 was held in Philadelphia, November 14, and all auxiliaries reported large gains in membership. This year suffragists had ably assisted the City Party in a reform campaign and advanced their own cause. Kennett Square entertained the convention Nov. 6-8, 1906. An increase of 1,182 in membership had been made during the year. In 1907 the State convention was held in the western part of the State, taking place in Pittsburgh, November 6-8. A resolution was proposed for the first time to ask the political parties to put woman suffrage planks in their State platforms by Miss Charlotte Jones but it was voted down as impracticable. The State Grange, Letter Carriers' Association and State Woman's Christian Temperance Union adopted suffrage resolutions during the year. A junior suffrage auxiliary of 400 Pittsburgh girls and boys was represented.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery succeeded Mrs. Blankenburg as

president at the convention held in Norristown Nov. 4-6, 1908. The proposed program of the National American Association to secure an enormous petition calling upon Congress to submit a woman suffrage amendment was undertaken cheerfully, although it was a heavy task for a small group of workers with no headquarters and limited finances. The State convention took place at Newton Nov. 22-24, 1909, and Mrs. Avery was re-elected president. The Equal Franchise Society, representing a group of prominent women of Philadelphia, had been organized in the spring as an auxiliary of the State association and the increase of work caused by advance throughout the State made the establishment of headquarters imperative. A committee was appointed to arrange for State and county headquarters in Philadelphia and a sum sufficient to sustain them for three years was pledged.

The convention of 1910 was held in Harrisburg and Mrs. Ellen H. E. Price of Philadelphia assumed the presidency. This year was organized the Equal Franchise Federation of Western Pennsylvania, later changed to Federation of Pittsburgh, its leaders destined to play a very important part in suffrage annals. Julian Kennedy was the first president, one of the very few men who served as president of a woman suffrage organization. The State Federation of Labor not only adopted resolutions endorsing woman suffrage but pledging itself to select men for offices who were committed to a belief in it. The political district plan was adopted for future work, in accordance with the recommendation of the National Association. The headquarters were opened at 208 Hale Building, Philadelphia, October 7. Street meetings were inaugurated in that city the next summer and the speakers were received with amazing cordiality. Mrs. Price was re-elected president at the convention which opened in the Mayor's reception room, City Hall, Philadelphia, Nov. 23, 1911, Mayor John E. Reyburn granting this courtesy.

Owing to the necessity of giving the work state-wide scope the convention held in Philadelphia Nov. 26, 27, 1912, recommended moving the State headquarters to Harrisburg and this change was effected in December. In March a Men's League for Woman Suffrage had been organized with Judge Dimmer



Beeber of Philadelphia as president and more than 100 prominent members enrolled. Fourteen new organizations were formed during the year but the larger part of the State was still unorganized. The national suffrage convention preceded the State convention and gave an impetus to the movement. An evening mass meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House made the record of the largest and most enthusiastic suffrage meeting ever held in this city. [See Chapter XII, Volume V.] The association now had 7,211 members. Mrs. Frank M. Roessing of Pittsburgh was elected president and this young, practical woman was principally responsible for changing the character of the work from purely propagandistic lines to recognized business standards.

The annual convention met in Pittsburgh, Oct. 28-30, 1913, the president's term of office was lengthened to two years and Mrs. Roessing was reelected. The State Grange and the Federation of Labor reaffirmed their suffrage resolutions and the International Brotherhood of Firemen went on record in favor. A proposition to submit the question of woman suffrage to the voters had been favorably passed on by the Legislature and waited action by a second.

Great strides were made in 1914. A press department conducted along professional lines supplied all the papers of the State with live suffrage news and there were suffrage editions of several papers. Miss Hannah J. Patterson of Pittsburgh had charge of organizing the Woman Suffrage Party along political lines out of the State association, and to Mrs. Roessing and her belongs especial credit for the strong, workable organization which was built up so carefully in preparation for the campaign year. The State convention was held in Scranton, November 19-24. There was every indication that the next Legislature would submit a constitutional amendment and the Executive Board asked for a campaign fund of \$100,000, of which \$30,000 were pledged at the convention. Mrs. William Thaw, Jr., of Pittsburgh offered \$10,000 if the fund reached \$50,000 by April 1. With this splendid foundation the State was ready to take up the actual work of the campaign in 1915. Mrs. Charles Wister Ruschenberger of Strafford announced that she would

have a replica cast of the Liberty Bell to be known as the "woman's liberty bell." Later Dr. Mary M. Wolfe of Lewisburg was elected chairman of the Finance Committee and the \$50,000 were raised on time.

The Legislature of 1915 submitted an amendment to be voted on at the regular election November 2. Mrs. Roessing was president of the State Association and Miss Patterson was chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party, whose plan provided for organization by political districts, recognizing every political division from that of the State unit down to the precinct and township. The State was divided into nine districts but as very few women could give sufficient time to head a division comprising from seven to ten counties, only four were supervised by chairmen—Mrs. Anna M. Orme, Mrs. E. E. Kiernan, Mrs. Maxwell K. Chapman and Miss Mary J. Norcross.

Allegheny county had four experienced organizers, Philadelphia four, Montgomery three, Bucks two, Chester, Washington, Luzerne and McKean each one. Eighteen other organizers worked under the supervision of Miss Patterson.<sup>1</sup> They visited every one of the 67 counties during the year, formed new organizations, stimulated those already established, conducted booths at county fairs, addressed women's clubs, teachers' institutes, Chautauquas, picnics, farmers' institutes, men's organizations, political, church, college and factory meetings. During the last three months of the campaign they conducted county tours and held open air meetings daily. They formed central organizations in 64 counties under competent chairmen. Cameron and Pike were the only counties where there were no societies but in Cameron there were active workers. In the other eleven counties central organizations were not formed but legislative districts and boroughs were organized, each with a capable chairman.<sup>2</sup>

To Miss Clarissa A. Moffitt, its secretary, belongs much credit for the able management of the Speakers' Bureau. During the

<sup>1</sup> These organizers were: Mrs. Evelyn Binz, Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon, Mrs. Ada Mundorff, Mrs. Alice Moore Dunbar, Misses Lillian Howard, Emma MacAlarney, Ladson Hall, Helen Army, Grace Ballard, Mary Calhoun, Louise Hall, Leona Huntzinger, Doris Long, Adella Potter, Eudora Ramsey, Jeanette Rankin, Ethel Rankin and Mary Sleichter.

<sup>2</sup> The list of the nearly seventy chairmen is unavoidably omitted for want of space.

campaign year 56 counties were supplied, involving the services of 64 speakers; 14 were men, 33 were Pennsylvanians, 14 contributed services and expenses and 27 asked expenses only. The bureau made a study of the characteristics of each county in industry, agriculture, character of population and politics. Speakers were then offered who would be acceptable to the community as well as to the particular meeting. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, national president, gave 28 lectures and from every county reports came that hundreds of converts were made.

The manager of the publicity department, Charles T. Heaslip, was an expert not only in the art of journalism but also in the art of publicity. This department ultimately required the full time of three special writers. Semi-monthly a two column plate service was sent to 260 papers from February and from October 1 it was weekly, the list of papers having grown to 346. Allegheny county, in which Pittsburgh is located, conducted the most efficient county campaign. Its headquarters practically duplicated the State headquarters at Harrisburg with secretaries and organizers and it was the only one which employed its own publicity agent. A weekly news bulletin was issued to 500 papers and the regular service was supplemented by special stories. Much work was done in advance of meetings. From July to November a weekly cartoon service was undertaken, a new feature in suffrage campaign work. According to the newspaper men it comprised the best cartoons ever used in any campaign in the State and the money spent for them brought greater returns than that for any other feature. The cartoonists were C. Batchelor, Charles H. Winner and Walter A. Sinclair.

In special features the publicity department avoided sensationalism. Suffrage Flower Gardens, Good Roads Day, the Justice Bell and Supplication Day comprised practically the entire list. Attractive yellow boxes containing seeds for the old-fashioned yellow flowers were offered for sale by the State association and the flower gardens furnished a picturesque form of propaganda and long continued publicity. In Pennsylvania a day in the spring is set aside by the department of highways when all residents along country roads are asked to contribute their services for their improvement. The local suffrage organizations provided coffee

and sandwiches for the laborers and got in their propaganda. On Supplication Day, the last Sunday before election, ministers were asked to preach suffrage sermons. Mrs. Ruschenberger's Bell was the best and main publicity feature and undeniably secured many thousands of votes. It visited all the counties, traveling 3,935 miles on a special truck. Hundreds of appeals by as many speakers were made from this as a stand and it was received in the rural communities with almost as much reverence and ceremony as would have been accorded the original bell. The collections and the receipts from the sale of novelties moulded in the likeness of the bell helped materially to defray the heavy expense of operating the truck, paying the speakers' expenses and providing literature.

Space for the display of advertising cards was purchased in 5,748 street cars for August, September and October. Special suffrage editions of newspapers in all parts of the State, copy and cuts for which were prepared by the State Publicity Department, contributed considerably to propaganda and finance. Throughout the State the general lines of activity were the same—meetings of all kinds, parades, hearings before organizations to secure endorsements, booths at county fairs, exhibitions, canvassing, circularization and auto tours. The degree of success in each locality depended upon the kind and amount of work. Millions of fliers, leaflets and booklets original to Pennsylvania were issued in English, Italian, German, Polish and Hebrew and no effort or expense was spared to secure converts through the written word. During the last month of the campaign the county organizations circularized their voters twice—once with speeches of Representatives Mondell of Wyoming and Keating of Colorado in Congress and once with a personal letter written to the voter and signed by the county chairman or a suffragist in his own community. Four days before election 330,000 of these letters went to the voters.

Although a bill for woman watchers at the polls failed to pass the Legislature and the suffragists were thus denied the protection which every political party is permitted, yet in many counties the assistance of the regularly appointed watchers was secured. The Washington party and Socialist watchers were universally helpful and in many cases the Democratic and Republican watchers

gave assistance. The suffrage organizations were urged to place women workers at every polling precinct. Many men favorable to suffrage advised against this plan but the result of the election showed that nothing won as many votes at the last minute as the appeal of the women at the polls. Of the 33 counties which were carried 21 had women working at the polls; of the 36 which lost only six had women there. Of the 33 counties 17 had headquarters.

Eight of the 33 counties which gave a majority are chiefly industrial; eight are equally industrial and rural and seventeen are chiefly rural. Luzerne, Lackawanna and Westmoreland are the third, fourth and fifth counties in point of population and they won by majorities of 3,139, 2,654 and 1,140. In all of them the labor vote is heavy, as mining is the chief industry. Allegheny was the first county of its size to be carried in the history of suffrage. Fayette county, the home of Republican State Chairman Crow, who never wavered in his opposition, was carried by 1,400. Every ward in Uniontown, the county seat and his home, gave a majority for the amendment. Mrs. Robert E. Umbel was county chairman. The eight Dutch counties lost by majorities ranging from 2,000 to 7,000. Rockbound conservatism had much to do with this result. Schuylkill county, where an adverse vote from 10,000 to 15,000 was predicted, lost by only 1,000. Miss Helen Beddall, the chairman, conducted a persistent campaign of education for two years.

Philadelphia had the most difficult problem to face with its large vote and political corruption. Its difficulties were increased by the duplication of suffrage organizations working independently. An added complication was the prejudice created by the efforts of the "militant" suffrage organization, then called the Congressional Union, to organize, this being the only center in the State in which they had secured a foothold. The large women's clubs of Philadelphia took no part in the constructive work of the campaign. Wilmer Atkinson of this city, editor and owner of the *Farm Journal*, was president of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage and gave unstintingly of his strength and means to secure victory. The vote in Philadelphia was 122,519 noes, 77,240 ayes; adverse majority, 45,279. The total vote was

826,382; in favor, 385,348; opposed, 441,034; lost by 55,686 votes, only 10,407 more than the majority in Philadelphia. The amendment received nearly 47 per cent. of the total vote cast on it.

Prior to election day all the political parties in the State had endorsed woman suffrage per se, except the Republican and that party had declared in favor of a referendum to the voters. The great weakness of the campaign was lack of money. The total State fund was \$78,698, of which Allegheny county contributed 50 per cent. Many of the counties spent considerable sums in addition, Allegheny county's special "budget" being \$25,000. If the association had had an additional \$25,000 the lacking 3 per cent. of the voters could have been secured and the campaign would have ended in a victory.

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The State convention was held in Philadelphia Nov. 30, 1915. As amendments to the State constitution can be submitted only once in five years, the delegates reconsecrated themselves to a new campaign at the end of that time. At a conference held in Harrisburg in the spring of 1916 47 counties were represented and an inspiring address was made by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, now national president. An intercounty rally at Somerset in July was attended by 500 suffragists from ten counties and a State suffrage flag was adopted. The annual convention was held in Williamsport, November 21-24, and the delegates were unanimous in their desire to continue preparations for another campaign. Mrs. George B. Orlay was elected president.

As Philadelphia is the center of population in the State, the financial center, has the largest number of newspapers and is more accessible than Harrisburg, State headquarters were moved to that city June 1, 1917. Upon the entrance of the United States into the World War the association without a day's delay offered the services of its members and the facilities of its organization to the Government. State officers, county chairmen and suffragists in the ranks served on the Council of National Defense, on Liberty Loan Committees, in the various "drives" and wherever needed. Mrs. John O. Miller, State vice-president, was appointed by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo a member of the National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee and also served as State Chairman.

Pennsylvania contributed \$20,573 to the Women's Oversea Hospitals, maintained by the National Suffrage Association, \$11,397 of which were raised in Pittsburgh at an outdoor fête of which Mrs. Leonard G. Wood was chairman. The State convention was held in this city November 20-22 and Mrs. Miller was elected president. In the hope that the U. S. Senate would submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment the convention for 1918 was delayed from month to month and finally was held in Philadelphia April 9, 10, 1919. Mrs. Miller was re-elected. On November 10, 11, the amendment having been submitted, the 51st and last State convention was held in Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup> The historic Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association was disbanded and the League of Women Citizens was organized, to become the League of Women Voters when the women of Pennsylvania were enfranchised. This name was adopted Nov. 18, 1920, and Mrs. Miller was elected chairman for two years.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. After a lapse of 26 years a second attempt was made in 1911 under Mrs. Anna M. Orme, as legislative chairman, to secure a resolution to refer to the voters a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution. The Joint Committee of the Judiciary, to which it was referred, after giving a hearing to the suffragists, sent it to a special commission which had been appointed to revise the election laws.

1912. Miss Lida Stokes Adams was legislative chairman when this commission gave an all day hearing March 22 at City Hall, Philadelphia, but took no action. This hearing was preceded by a mass meeting on the 20th in Witherspoon Hall. An effort was made to get an endorsement from the State political conven-

<sup>1</sup> Several of the presidents of the association were at first vice-presidents; others were Mrs. Mary B. Luckie, Mrs. Anna M. Orme, Mrs. William I. Hull, Dr. Ruth A. Deeter, Miss Lida Stokes Adams, Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Mrs. Maxwell K. Chapman, Mrs. Robert Mills Beach, Mrs. H. Neely Fleming, Miss Maud Bassett Gotham, Dr. M. Carey Thomas, Mrs. Lewis L. Smith, Mrs. Edward E. Kiernan, Mrs. James P. Rogers, Mrs. Edwin Linton; secretaries: Mrs. Helen M. James, Miss Lybretta Rice, Miss Jane Campbell, Mrs. Mary R. Newell, Mrs. Mary C. Morgan, Miss Katharine Collison, Miss Caroline Katzenstein, Miss Mary Norcross, Miss Helen L. McFarland, Miss Helen C. Clark, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot; treasurers: Mrs. Margaret B. Stone, Mrs. Luckie, Miss Matilda Orr Hays, Mrs. Robert K. Young, Mrs. Robert Mills Beach, Miss Martha G. Thomas; auditors: Mrs. Ellen H. Thomas, Mrs. Mary F. Kenderdine, Mrs. Minora F. Phillis, Miss N. M. Crumpton, Mrs. Reba Artsdalen, Mrs. Robert Coard, Miss Ellen L. Thomas, Mrs. H. Wilfred DuPuy; directors: Mrs. Edward E. Kiernan, Miss Henrietta Baldy Lyon, Mrs. Emma H. McCandless, Mrs. E. S. H. McCauley, Mrs. Richard S. Quigley, Mrs. George A. Piersol, Mrs. Clifton A. Verner, Mrs. Daniel F. Ancona.

tions. Miss Mary E. Bakewell of the Western Equal Franchise Federation appeared before the Republican convention May 1; Mrs. Mabel Cronise Jones, Miss Adams and Miss Bakewell addressed the Democratic convention May 7, and both gave approval. The Keystone and Prohibition party conventions also heard suffrage speakers and adopted favorable resolutions. For the first time all of the 880 candidates for the Legislature were interviewed by a letter as to submitting the question to the voters and 283 gave affirmative answers.

1913. This year the referendum measure passed after a bitter contest. Twice when the resolution came up in the Senate the motion to postpone was avoided on a tie vote by Lieutenant Governor Reynolds, the first time in thirteen years that the president of the Senate had voted on any question. On the final vote the majority of one was only secured by the labor leader, Steve McDonald of Lackawanna county, who forced its Senator, Walter McNichols, to represent his constituents. Senators Edwin M. Herbst, Edward E. Beidleman (later Lieutenant Governor) and James P. McNichol maintained the strongest opposition. Miss Adams, the legislative chairman, and Mrs. Roessing, the State president, did the greater part of the work at Harrisburg. The association was indebted to Representative Frank G. Rockwell and Senator A. W. Powell for their skill in handling this measure. The vote in the Lower House, February 5 was 131 ayes, 70 noes.

1915. A proposed amendment to the constitution must be passed by two Legislatures. Mrs. Roessing and Miss Hannah J. Patterson, organization chairman, carried on the lobby work in 1915 and it passed the House on February 9 by 130 ayes, 71 noes. In the Senate on March 15 a great gain was registered, as 37 Senators voted aye and only 11 voted no. The amendment was defeated at the election in November.

1916. The passage of an Enabling Act by the Legislature of 1917 being the first step toward a referendum in 1921, the work of the State Suffrage Association in 1916 was concentrated as never before on the legislative candidates. Practically every one was interviewed personally or by letter and before the November election reports on 40 of the 50 Senators and all but ten of the 207



members of the House had been made. Senator Boies Penrose was visited in Washington by Mrs. George B. Orlady and Mrs. John O. Miller, president and vice-president of the State Suffrage Association. He said he would help and authorized these officers to quote him in the public press. On October 9 the Republican State Committee meeting in Philadelphia refused a hearing to the Suffrage Board and took no action, despite the favorable assurances of Senator Penrose and of State Senator William E. Crow, its chairman. On December 28 Governor Martin G. Brumbaugh promised Mrs. Miller to secure the passage of the desired Enabling Act.

1917. Mrs. Miller led the work when the Legislature convened in January, 1917, and Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Mrs. Lewis L. Smith and Mrs. Harriet L. Hubbs were members of the Legislative Committee. County chairmen of the suffrage association brought continuous pressure on their legislators; 270 powerful labor organizations in the State signed petitions with their official seal and a petition with the names of 56,000 individual men and women was unrolled on the floor of the House. Every legislator received a special petition signed by 445 of the most prominent men in the State, a copy of Dr. Shaw's biography, the *Story of a Pioneer*, and weekly copies of the *Woman's Journal*. Mrs. Funk had an interview with Senator Penrose at Washington with one of the most prominent members of the Republican party present. The Enabling Act was introduced in the House early in January but at the request of Senator Penrose the vote was delayed from time to time and finally took place April 17. The preceding day 121 men were listed as favorable, 104 being the required constitutional majority. When the vote was taken only 101 answered "aye."

Forty-eight hours before the vote the liquor lobby, represented by Neil Bonner, David Hardy, James P. Mulvihill and George W. Boyd, made a concentrated effort to defeat the measure. It was understood that 150 men were employed for this purpose and that the pressure brought upon the legislators was tremendous. Although other lobbyists had been denied the privilege of going on the floor of the House Mr. Boyd was always permitted to do so and he announced to Mrs. Funk a few minutes before the vote was taken that he had the bill defeated by six votes. Speaker

Richard J. Baldwin moved a verification of the roll immediately in order that no man voting in the affirmative could change his vote and ask for a reconsideration. A bill granting Presidential suffrage to women was introduced in the House May 28 but never reported from committee. From 1913 to 1917, Robert K. Young, State Treasurer, rendered inestimable assistance by the closest cooperation with the Legislative Committees.

1918. Plans were at once made for continuing the effort. In 1918 the organization carried out a most efficient plan of interviewing every legislative candidate before the primaries on two questions: (1) Will you vote to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment? (2) Will you vote to submit to the voters an amendment to the constitution enfranchising the women of this State? After the November election 80 members of the House of Representatives for 1919 were favorably pledged in writing on both questions and 40 had given verbal pledges—16 more than the constitutional majority required. From the Senate 13 written and 18 verbal pledges had been secured, 5 more than necessary. There was practically no organized opposition to the referendum and probably many of the men who pledged themselves to vote for ratification felt that the Federal Amendment would not pass Congress. The gubernatorial candidates also had been followed up carefully. William C. Sproul and J. Denny O'Neil, of the rival Republican factions, both said in interviews and through the public press that they were ready to work for any measure which would ensure suffrage to Pennsylvania women. Judge Eugene C. Bonniwell, the Democratic candidate, did not answer any inquiries.

1919. Upon the defeat of the Federal Amendment in the U. S. Senate February 10, Governor Sproul, who had given many proofs of his friendship, was consulted regarding the advisability of introducing Presidential suffrage or a referendum or both. At first he recommended both but 24 hours later word came that the former could not be passed but the "organization" would sponsor a referendum. A resolution for this was introduced and after a public hearing, at which anti-suffrage women from New Jersey and New York spoke at length, the House passed it on April 22 by 128 ayes, 66 noes. In the Senate on May 26 the vote

stood 41 ayes, 7 noes. Mrs. William Ward, Jr., of Chester, vice-chairman of the Legislative Committee, managed a large part of the work for it.

RATIFICATION. The Legislative Committee held its organization intact awaiting the submission of the Federal Amendment, which took place June 4, 1919. Although this committee was in Harrisburg continuously from January 6 to June 24 and knew the personnel of the Legislature better than any others except some of the political leaders, members of the National Woman's Party came to Harrisburg early in June, the first time they had ever been seen there, and tried to create the impression that they inaugurated the work on ratification. A delegation from the State Suffrage Association visited Senator Penrose in Washington on June 5. Although he was paired against the amendment he was asked to offer no opposition to ratification. He was non-committal but the committee felt that Republican opposition had been removed.

On June 8 the Legislative Committee began an intensive campaign. Mrs. Gifford Pinchot telephoned or telegraphed Chairman Hays and all the members of the National Republican Committee; also all Republican Governors and other prominent Republicans, asking them to communicate with Governor Sproul, Senator Penrose and State Chairman Crow urging ratification as a Republican measure. All editors of influential Republican papers east of the Mississippi River received the same appeal. The Governor advised that the resolution should not be introduced in the Senate until Chairman Crow had decided to get behind it. On June 16 the latter told Mrs. Miller that the road was clear and it would come to a vote June 19. The vote stood 31 ayes, 6 noes. The House voted on June 24, giving 153 ayes, 44 noes.

Immediately after the vote in the House the work of the State association was recognized when Representative Robert L. Wallace, a friend in many Legislatures, moved to give its president the privilege of addressing the House from the Speaker's rostrum. This was the first time it ever was granted to any man or woman. Governor Sproul also gave a special reception to the officers of the association and the 500 women who had journeyed to Harrisburg for the ratification. For a number of years, the State Association

Opposed to Woman Suffrage had been represented at all sessions of the Legislature by Mrs. Horace Brock, the president, Mrs. John B. Heron and Miss Eliza Armstrong of Pittsburgh, but to Miss Armstrong, a woman of seventy, it had been left to fight the last battle on ratification and fifty legislators supported her efforts to the end.

The example of the big Republican State of Pennsylvania unquestionably aided in securing like action in a large number of other Republican States. Its prompt action may be attributed primarily to Governor Sproul's sincere interest but due credit must be given to all the brave women who toiled for more than half a century to keep the torch burning and to the leaders in the last years, especially Mrs. John O. Miller, the president. The newspapers, from the editorial departments to the youngest reporters, were always of the greatest assistance and it was highly appreciated.

[LAWS. A complete digest of the laws relating especially to women and children accompanied this chapter, comprising about 3,600 words and including the laws for women in the industries, child labor, jurisdiction of the Juvenile Courts, property rights of wives, guardianship of children, divorce, mothers' pensions and others. It is a distinct loss that the decision had to be made to omit the laws from all State chapters for lack of space.]

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### RHODE ISLAND.<sup>1</sup>

The opening of the 20th Century found the Old Guard of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association still in the van. Some of those who were charter members when the organization was formed in 1868 were in active service, enriching the work by their wide experience in the past and clear vision for the future. Mrs. Ardelia Cooke Dewing, a woman of unusual ability, had taken the presidency at the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chace in 1899 and continued in the office until 1905. The association never failed to hold an annual convention in the autumn in Providence, where reside about half the population of the State. In 1901, the usual propaganda was conducted by public and parlor meetings, the circulation of literature and the May banquet, for years a regular social function. A special impetus was given this year by the presence of Miss Susan B. Anthony at the convention. The following morning she addressed the students of the Woman's College of Brown University.

On June 2, 1902, the endorsement of the State Central Trades and Labor Unions was secured. Harry Parsons Cross, a leading lawyer, gave two courses of lectures on the Legal Status of Women and Parent and Child in Common Law. This year the organization met with a great loss in the removal from Rhode Island of the Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, who had served the society from its inception, officially and unofficially, with signal devotion. Henry B. Blackwell gave a notable address at the annual meeting. To him, Lucy Stone and Alice Stone Blackwell the State association was indebted for invaluable services on many important occasions.

In 1903, at the annual meeting a letter was read from Mayor

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, president of the State Woman Suffrage Association 1909-1914, and honorary president until its work was finished in 1920.

D. L. D. Granger of Providence, heartily endorsing woman suffrage. Mrs. Charlotte B. Wilbour and the Rev. Mrs. Spencer were made honorary presidents of the association. In 1904 and thereafter a prize of \$25 from the Elizabeth Buffum Chace legacy was given for the best essay on woman suffrage written by a student of the Woman's College. Mrs. Dewing declined re-election in 1905 and Mrs. Jeannette S. French was chosen president, serving two years. Events of the year were two lectures by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Suffrage Association. In 1906 Mrs. Mary F. W. Homer was elected corresponding secretary and her wide experience in suffrage work in Massachusetts was a valued contribution at a time when re-enforcements were greatly needed.

In 1907 Mrs. Rowena P. B. Tingley was elected president. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, in her 88th year, gave a remarkable address in April. The association secured an endorsement of woman suffrage and equal pay for equal work by the United Textile Workers of America, who met in Providence. Mrs. George D. Gladding, daughter of Mrs. Dewing, was appointed chairman of the Committee on College Work and initiated the movement for the College Equal Suffrage League by securing Mrs. Maud Wood Park to address a meeting of college women at the home of Mrs. Dewing and also to speak at the Woman's College. The league was organized December 11.

In 1908 Mrs. Tingley was re-elected president but because of ill health the duties of the office devolved largely upon Mrs. Gladding, first vice-president. The 40th anniversary of the association was celebrated December 11 in Churchill House, the women's club house, named for one of the distinguished suffrage pioneers, Mrs. Elizabeth Kittridge Churchill. Mrs. Tingley, Arnold B. Chace, Mr. Blackwell and the Rev. Mrs. Spencer, the speakers on this occasion, had been present when the association was formed and they added to the pleasure of the meeting with personal reminiscences. Miss Florence Garvin, president of the College Equal Suffrage League, spoke of the debt of the young women to the pioneer suffragists. The State association enrolled thousands of names for the National Association's petition to Congress in behalf of the Federal Amendment and used its

influence to obtain for it the support of the Rhode Island members of Congress.

In 1909 at the annual meeting Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, who had recently come to the State, was elected president. This year was marked by distinctive propaganda through the efforts of Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont of New York. The lectures given at Marble Palace, her home in Newport, by Dr. Shaw and Professor Charles Zueblin interested a new and influential class and gave a substantial impetus to suffrage work throughout the State. Increasing calls to discuss the question before clubs, granges, church societies and other organizations were an encouraging sign of a popular awakening to its importance.

In 1910 a debate on woman suffrage between Brown University and Williams College was won by the former in the affirmative. Mrs. Anne M. Jewett, who had served acceptably as recording secretary for ten years, resigned. Miss Mary M. Angell was elected at the annual meeting and gave a like term of years of devoted service. Mrs. Dewing was made honorary president. In 1911 a lecture on Woman's Ballot by Professor Henry S. Nash of Harvard University, well known as a lecturer, before the Providence Biblical Institute, greatly strengthened the cause among conservative people. Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst gave a lecture under the auspices of the State association and the College League. This year the first anti-suffrage society was organized by a group of wealthy and prominent women, among whom were Mrs. Charles Warren Lippitt, Mrs. Rowland Hazard, Miss Louise Hoppin, Mrs. Herbert Maine and Mrs. Henry T. Fowler. Miss Yates and Mrs. Lippitt were invited to hold a debate before the Jewish Women's Council.

In January, 1912, the College League and the State association opened headquarters in Butler Exchange at Providence and engaged Miss Louise Hall as organizer. President M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr College spoke under the auspices of the State Collegiate Alumnae on the Need of Woman's Ballot and made a strong impression on this conservative university city. From May the College League assumed the office duties and the State association carried on the field work. This year a booth was secured at the Food Fair of the Retail Grocers' Association,

where thousands of new members were enrolled, tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed and much publicity work was done. The "suffrage map" was in evidence, showing the many States that had been won, an irrefutable argument against the emanations of the anti-suffrage booth. At no other time and place could so many classes of persons be reached. The arduous work involved was carried on by Miss Alice F. Porter, Miss Nettie E. Bauer, Mrs. George E. Dunbar, Miss Enid Peirce, Miss Althea L. Hall, Miss Margaretha Dwight, Mrs. Caroline Dowell, Miss Ethel Parks and a score more of like unselfish workers.<sup>1</sup> At the annual meeting in October Mrs. Homer, who had been the efficient corresponding secretary for six years, declined re-election and Mrs. Sara L. Fittz was elected to the office, which position she retained until the end. She served also as chairman of the Publicity Committee and was always in demand as a speaker. Miss Hall went to assist in the Ohio campaign, accompanied by Mrs. Camilla Von Klenze, president of the College League. In April Dr. Shaw addressed a large audience at Infantry Hall. In the summer suffrage headquarters were established on Franklin Street, Newport, mainly through the energy of Mrs. Belmont, a member of the Newport League, and meetings were held here every afternoon during this and other seasons.

In 1913 the work of the year opened with a lecture by Miss Mary Johnston, the novelist, on Woman in Politics and one by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt on the White Slave Traffic. Mrs. Catt also addressed a meeting in the interests of the Woman Suffrage Party, which had been organized under the leadership of Mrs. Sara M. Algeo. The State association and the College League being dues-paying organizations there was an open field for the non-dues-paying Suffrage Party formed along political lines. Nearly all the members of the older associations joined it and at the same time continued to maintain their own lines of propaganda. Miss Yates, the State president, was invited by the municipal government to deliver the Fourth of July address at

<sup>1</sup> The presidents of the State Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Mrs. Susan Hammond Barney, Mrs. Emeline Burlingame Cheney, Mrs. Mary A. Babcock, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, Mrs. Jennie L. W. Rooke and Mrs. Ethelyn Roberts have all been active workers for woman suffrage.



City Hall, Providence. Dr. Valeria H. Parker addressed the annual convention on Women as Civil Guardians.

In 1914 a series of lectures on the Modern Woman of Various Countries was given by the State association which called out large audiences. The three organizations united in a celebration of "suffrage week" in May, closing with a meeting in the Casino at Roger Williams Park with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise as the principal speaker. Miss Yates, after serving five years, was obliged on account of other demands on her time to decline reelection and was made honorary president. No president being elected at the annual meeting, Agnes M. (Mrs. Barton P.) Jenks was chosen later by the Executive Committee to fill the vacancy and afterwards was elected and held the office until May, 1918. In December representatives of the three organizations met and formed a Cooperative Council to secure economy of effort and increased efficiency. The work of the College League had been of distinctive value in Providence, the seat of Brown University with its Woman's College. During the years of its independent existence it had been well served by its presidents, Miss Garvin, Mrs. Von Klenze, Mrs. Algeo and Miss Helen Emerson. It presented speakers of national reputation; published special leaflets, notably *What Rhode Island Women Ought to Know*; conducted study clubs and gave generous cooperation in the undertakings of the other organizations.

During the winter of 1915 a special series of lectures was given for the council on political and economic subjects by professors of the University. The joint endeavors of the three organizations this winter proving successful they amalgamated under the name of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association and the annual meeting was changed from fall to spring. Most of the officers of the State association were retained. Others were Miss Emerson and Mrs. Carl Barus, vice-presidents; Mrs. John A. Cross, treasurer; Mrs. Barton A. Ballou, Mrs. Gerald A. Cooper and Mrs. Gilbert C. Carpenter, auditors; Mrs. Dunbar and Mrs. Helen Dougherty, chairman and secretary of the Woman Suffrage Party. In accordance with the plan of the National Association, the State's members of Congress, U. S. Senators LeBaron B. Colt and Henry F. Lippitt; Representatives

Walter R. Stiness, George F. O'Shaughnessy and Ambrose Kennedy, were interviewed on the Federal Amendment with encouraging results. Weekly suffrage teas were established at headquarters during the winter, followed by addresses on current topics. The association was especially indebted to Mrs. Ballou, Mrs. Edward M. Harris and Miss Sarah J. Eddy for the hospitality of their homes that combined on many occasions social pleasure with excellent opportunity to present the suffrage cause.

On February 17, 1916, a luncheon and conference at the Narragansett Hotel were held in honor of Mrs. Catt, now national president. A mass meeting was held in March in Sayles Hall, where Mrs. Glendower Evans of Boston and Professor Louis J. Johnston of Harvard spoke in the interest of the Federal Amendment. In April a "suffrage shop" was opened in Providence in charge of Miss Mary B. Anthony, which proved an active center of propaganda. Rhode Island was represented in the suffrage parades during the national political conventions in Chicago and St. Louis in 1916 by Miss Yates. On election night in November a public reception was held at suffrage headquarters, where a private wire had been installed to give the returns and large numbers were present.

In 1917 Miss Yates conducted a suffrage school weekly at headquarters during February and March. The major activities of the year were given to legislative work. The granting of Presidential suffrage to women by the Legislature was celebrated at the annual meeting, at which Governor R. Livingston Beekman, representatives of the political parties of the State and Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, national corresponding secretary, were the principal speakers. An invitation was accepted from Thomas W. Bicknell, one of the staunchest suffragists, to unite with the Citizens' Historical Association, of which he was president, in a joint celebration of the Declaration of Independence by Rhode Island on May 4, 1776, and the passage of the Presidential suffrage bill in April, 1917, and Miss Yates was chosen as speaker for the State association. Miss Elizabeth M. Barr was elected treasurer in 1917 and served until 1920. Miss Barr's predecessors were Miss Mary K. Wood, Mrs. Jewett, Mrs. Ballou, Mrs. Helen N. B. Janes, Mrs. Porter, Mrs. Cross, and Mrs. George W. Parks.

During the winter of 1918, a civics course was conducted by Miss Anthony covering local and national government, Mayor Joseph H. Gainer of Providence and other city officers speaking in the course. Miss Anthony was elected State president at the annual meeting in June and brought to the office experience in public work and wide social influence that were of special value in the closing years of the association. Mrs. Jenks was made honorary president. On December 11 the 50th anniversary of the association was celebrated. An interesting historical review of the first meeting was given by Arnold Buffum Chace, who had acted as secretary on that occasion and whose mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chace, was president of the association for thirty years. The Rev. Mrs. Spencer, also a charter member, recounted the early struggles of the pioneers. Miss Yates and Mrs. Jenks gave interesting accounts of the early and later work. Mrs. Catt and Miss Blackwell were guests of honor and brought inspiring messages. This year both the Democratic and Republican parties put suffrage planks in their State platforms and sent resolutions to Congress urging the Rhode Island Senators to support the Federal Amendment.

The suffragists responded to every demand of the Government for war service. Mrs. Walter A. Peck, honorary vice-president, was State chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Liberty Loan. Miss Emerson, first vice-president, served in France with the Bryn Mawr unit. Miss Bauer, second vice-president, was a member of the executive board of the Red Cross. Miss Fittz, corresponding secretary, and Miss Yates, honorary president, received government certificates as speakers with the "four-minute men."

In 1919 Miss Frances E. Lucas, chairman of the Civics Committee, gave a course of lectures on social and political problems, which were largely attended. Miss Avis Hawkins, chairman on schools, perfected an organization throughout the State to advance the interests of both pupils and teachers. On May 27 the Woman's College and the State Association commemorated the centenary of the birth of Julia Ward Howe, in Pembroke Hall of the college. At the annual meeting on June 4 Miss Anthony was re-elected president. Mrs. Raymond Brown, national vice-

president, gave an interesting address. The occasion was made memorable by the passing of the resolution for the Federal Amendment by the U. S. Senate while the convention was in session. The entire Rhode Island delegation in both Houses of Congress voted in favor, the only eastern State except Maine to have this record. In October Miss Anthony called a meeting of the presidents of all the women's organizations of the State in the interests of social betterment, which resulted in the foundation of the Civics Cooperative Council, and Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker was engaged to give a course of lectures on Citizenship.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY.

In the fall of 1915 Mrs. Sara M. Algeo re-organized the Woman Suffrage Party as an independent body and began a vigorous campaign for civic betterment and political education. Miss Mary E. McDowell of Chicago and Miss Margaret Foley of Boston addressed large audiences. Its policy was to invite the fullest cooperation of colored women and a meeting was held at which Mrs. Robert M. LaFollette spoke to a large audience of both colored and white women on their common need of full citizenship.

In 1916 the endorsement of the State conference of Congregational Churches was secured. A civic forum was organized in Providence, holding Sunday afternoon meetings in a theater. Among the eminent speakers were Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Thomas Mott Osborne, Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Mary Antin and Mrs. Nellie McClung of Canada. The same line of work was followed elsewhere in the State. A suffrage class was established at the Young Men's Christian Association. Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky gave ten days of helpful service.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to those already mentioned, the following have been officers or members of the State Executive Committees: Mrs. Ellen M. Calder, Mrs. Elizabeth Ormsbee, Mrs. Fanny Purdy Palmer, Mrs. Ora A. Angell, Mrs. Sarah M. Aldrich, Mrs. Betsy A. Stearns, Miss Mary K. Conington, Mrs. Annie B. Jackson, Mrs. Catherine G. Wilbur, Mrs. Clara F. Delaney, Mrs. Myra Phinney, Miss S. Arvilla Jewett, Mrs. Amy E. Harris, Miss Katherine H. Austin, Mrs. Josephine Fry, Miss Eleanor B. Green, Mrs. Margaret C. Edgren, Mrs. Victor Frazee, Mrs. Anna B. Kroener, Miss Abby P. Gardiner, Mrs. William H. Adams, Mrs. Nathaniel Greene, Mrs. Job Manchester, Mrs. William A. H. Comstock, Miss Mabel Orgelman, Mrs. Edwin C. Smith, Mrs. Ava C. Minsher, Mrs. Fred S. Fenner, Mrs. Clarence Fuller, Mrs. Frank A. Jackson, Miss Sarah E. Doyle, Mrs. Alfred M. Coats, Miss Ellen G. Hunt and Mrs. Charles Remington.

To these should be added a list of men to whom the workers are deeply indebted.

In 1917 Mrs. LeBaron B. Colt of Bristol was appointed committee chairman of the Women's Oversea Hospitals conducted by the National Suffrage Association and with the assistance of Mrs. Algeo and the party \$3,000 were raised. After the passage of the Presidential suffrage bill in 1917 the party specialized in training for citizenship and conducted a campaign in naturalization in conjunction with the Americanization Committee of the National Association. In the fall under the direction of Mrs. Frederick H. Bagley of Boston, its chairman, efforts were made to secure from the Legislature an Americanization bill providing compulsory education for immigrants and also for a director of Americanization on the Board of Education, which was passed in 1919. Mrs. Agnes M. Bacon was appointed by the Governor.

In 1919 Mrs. Algeo compiled and published *Suggestions to the Women Voters of Rhode Island*, of which thousands of copies were circulated. July 1, being the first day of registration for the elections of the following year, she organized a state-wide campaign for the registration of women for using the presidential vote. It was celebrated in Providence by an imposing ceremony on the steps of the City Hall at noon, and in the evening by a banquet, at which Mrs. Charles H. Brooks of Kansas, national chairman of the League of Women Voters, and Mrs. Charles Tiffany of New York were the principal speakers. This year Miss Leila P. Andrews was elected president of the Woman Suffrage Party and Mrs. Algeo president of the Providence League of Women Voters.

**LEGISLATIVE ACTION.** After the defeat of a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution in 1887 and the refusal of the Legislatures afterwards to submit it again the association decided to follow the advice of Henry B. Blackwell and try to obtain a vote for presidential electors, which could be granted by a law. The proposition, first made in 1892, met with practically no support among the legislators and finally further attempts to secure it were discontinued for years. At the annual meeting of 1902 an address by Mr. Blackwell resulted in a resumption of efforts to secure this law and in 1903 a petition to the Legislature, signed by influential men and women, accom-

panied a bill introduced in the Senate. A hearing was given but it was not reported from committee.

In 1904 the bill was presented in the House and Senate and reported favorably but defeated in both branches.

In 1905 there was increased activity to secure favorable action on the bill. A little paper called *The Woman Citizen* was issued as a campaign document and a copy of it placed on the desk of every legislator.<sup>1</sup> The *Remonstrance*, a small paper published by the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association followed, protesting against it. The merits of the bill were presented at a well attended hearing but no action was taken on it.

In 1906 a Senate hearing was given on the bill, addressed by Mr. Blackwell. It was reported without recommendation and ably debated. Senator Walter R. Stiness made a strong speech in its support and it passed by 29 ayes, 7 noes. In the House the bill was referred to the Committee on Special Legislation. Long petitions from prominent voters were presented asking that it be reported but General Charles R. Brayton, the Republican "boss" who for years controlled the Legislature, seeing the strong sentiment in its favor would not permit it to come to a vote. He admitted that he feared it would help the Democratic party.

In 1907 the battle for the bill was renewed and among the petitioners was Governor James H. Higgins. At two largely attended hearings nearly every person gave a rising vote in favor. Mrs. Charles Warren Lippitt and Mrs. Edward Johnson protested against women's being allowed to vote for President and Rowland Hazard supported them. The bill was defeated, though not by them but by political opposition.

In 1909 Mr. Blackwell appeared for the last time as the advocate of the measure. Like a seer he pleaded for it, the significance and potency of which he grasped far in advance of his contemporaries. Miss Yates was appointed his successor as the National Association's chairman of Presidential suffrage, which position he had filled for many years.

In 1911 the Presidential suffrage bill was introduced in the Senate and referred to the Committee on Special Legislation,

<sup>1</sup> The *Woman Citizen* was edited and published for ten years by Mrs. Jeannette French, and was a valuable contribution to the movement for woman suffrage.

that limbo of lost causes. The suffragists rallied for a hearing and succeeded in getting it reported without recommendation. When taken from the calendar the Senators seemed to realize for the first time that they were dealing with a live issue. One of them demanded to know why that bill was permitted to waste their valuable time and threw it on the floor and stamped on it, saying: "I will kill woman suffrage." It was then buried by a vote of 29 noes and 3 ayes. The suffragists passed out from the obsequies with full faith in the resurrection.

In 1913 a commission was appointed to revise the State constitution and an appeal to it was made for a woman suffrage clause. A hearing was given; influential men supported the association; the women "antis" made a touching plea to be spared from the burden of the ballot, but the constitution was not revised. This year the Legislature of Illinois passed a bill for Presidential suffrage, which attracted wide attention. The Rhode Island association continued to present one every year. Sometimes zealous friends would introduce a resolution for a constitutional amendment but it was not endorsed by the State association as it would require a three-fifths majority of the voters.

In 1915 Governor R. Livingston Beeckman recommended Presidential suffrage for women in his message and the use of the hall of the House of Representatives in the new State House was for the first time granted for a hearing. Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, State president, secured Senator John D. Works of California and Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming to speak on the practical effects of woman suffrage in their States. Mrs. A. J. George came from Brookline, Mass., to voice the fears of the "antis." Notwithstanding the hearing surpassed in attendance and interest any that session the bill was indefinitely postponed by a House vote of 61 ayes and 31 noes. An active lobby was maintained and every available influence brought to bear to get the bill on the Senate calendar but it was killed in committee.

Between the close of this Legislature and the opening of the one of 1917 unforeseen events caused a marked change in the attitude of Rhode Island politicians. Its delegates to the Democratic and Republican national conventions in 1916 had recognized the party expediency which compelled a plank in the national plat-

forms in favor of woman suffrage and voted for it. At the Republican State convention in September U. S. Senator LeBaron B. Colt, who had been non-committal on the question, came out with a decisive pronouncement in its favor. The Republicans saw the handwriting on the wall. They recognized that the votes of western women had re-elected President Wilson. For the first time since the Republican party was organized, a Democratic U. S. Senator was elected. Both parties were on the alert for any issue that might bring re-inforcements.

Once more Presidential suffrage was the objective and Governor Beekman repeated his endorsement. The bill was introduced in the Senate Feb. 8, 1917. The association's Legislative Committee worked without ceasing. The suffragists throughout the State were well organized and loyally backed the committee. Petitions, letters and telegrams showered the legislators. The endorsement of the Republican State Committee was secured. Meanwhile the Legislatures in half a dozen States granted Presidential suffrage. The time had come for Rhode Island. On April 11 the bill passed the Senate by 32 ayes, 3 noes. There was an organized attempt to defeat it in the House by one for a referendum to the voters but by the efforts of Richard W. Jennings and Daniel E. Geary, Republican and Democratic floor leaders, it was defeated. On April 17, after four hours' debate in the presence of hundreds of women, the bill passed by 71 ayes, 20 noes. This was the fifteenth time it had been before the Legislature. On April 18 it was signed by the Governor.

**RATIFICATION.** As soon as the Federal Amendment was submitted by Congress June 4, 1919, the suffrage organizations began to ask for a special session of the Legislature for ratification but it was deemed best by Governor Beekman for various reasons to wait until the regular session in January, 1920. Several days before it met the chairman of the Republican State Committee, Joseph P. Burlingame, made the announcement that by a suspension of the rules and contrary to every precedent ratification would be accomplished on the first day. The longed-for day, January 6, dawned clear and cold. Women thronged the Capitol and filled the galleries of the House, except the section which was occupied by the Governor's party, who had come to witness the



final scene in a fifty years' drama. After summoning the Senate to meet with the House in Grand Committee, the Governor read his annual message in which he recommended immediate ratification of the amendment, "as an act of justice long delayed." The resolution was at once presented and the floor leaders of both parties, William R. Fortin of Pawtucket, Republican, and William S. Flynn of Providence, Democrat, spoke in favor. It was passed on roll call by 89 ayes, 3 noes—Speaker Arthur P. Sumner of Providence, William H. Thayer of Bristol and Albert R. Zurlinden of Lincoln. A rush was made by the audience across the corridors to the Senate Chamber, where action was even more rapid. Lieutenant Governor Emery J. San Souci, a friend of woman suffrage, was in the chair and within a few moments, with no speeches, the resolution was passed by viva voce vote with but one dissenting voice, that of John H. McCabe of Burrillville. The following day it was signed by Governor Beeckman, not that this was necessary but he wished to give it his approval.

The great event was celebrated in the evening by a brilliant banquet given by the Providence League of Women Voters at which the work of the pioneers was especially featured. A handsome dinner given by the Woman Suffrage Party took place at which the Governor and other public officials spoke on the great victory. Miss Jeannette Rankin, the first woman member of Congress, was a speaker.<sup>1</sup>

On May 17, 1920, the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association concluded its work and merged into the State League of Women Voters, Miss Mary B. Anthony, chairman. Then a procession of women marched through the streets of Providence carrying the records of the organization for fifty years, which were deposited in the archives of the State House with impressive ceremony.

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Among the nerve centers of suffrage activity in Rhode Island the Newport County Woman Suffrage League had a definite place from its founding in 1908, by Miss Cora Mitchell, its first president. The League's work was at first largely carried on by an active group of philanthropic women of Bristol Ferry, Miss

<sup>1</sup> At the next Democratic State convention Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates received the nomination for Lieutenant Governor amid great enthusiasm. She was termed "a student of sociology, missionary leader, prophet and dreamer, whose dreams have come true."—Ed.

Mitchell's friends and neighbors, among whom were Miss Sarah J. Eddy, Mrs. John Eldredge and Mrs. Barton Ballou. Gradually the suffrage agitation spread over the entire island, which includes the three townships of Portsmouth, Middletown and Newport. In Middletown the league's work was ably carried on by Mrs. Eugene Sturtevant and her daughters. All rendered priceless service to what was then an unpopular and unfashionable cause.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe was present at the first meeting and as long as she lived took great interest in its work. This interest was inherited by her daughters, Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott and Mrs. Florence Howe Hall. The summer meetings were sometimes held at Oak Glen, Portsmouth, Mrs. Howe's country home, and here on soft June afternoons the veteran suffrage workers and the young neophytes destined to carry on their work rejoiced in coming together. On one occasion a young stranger was noticed in the audience who followed the proceedings with breathless interest. Soon afterwards Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse of New York began her fine service for suffrage, which was continued until the victory was won in that State.

Many of the most distinguished speakers ever heard in Newport came under the auspices of this league. Among the active workers were Mrs. Walter Wright, secretary and treasurer; Miss Elizabeth Peckham, Mrs. Oscar Miller, Mrs. Bertram Storrs and many others, and among the faithful members Admiral and Mrs. Sims rendered "aid and comfort" beyond belief in those days when it took some courage in fashionable Newport to "come out" for woman suffrage!

[The long and interesting account of this league must be omitted because space can be given only to national and State organizations.]

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### SOUTH CAROLINA.<sup>1</sup>

For a number of years there had been a suffrage association in South Carolina with Mrs. Virginia Durant Young, editor of the *Fairfax Enterprise*, president. Evidence of advance in public sentiment was shown when in April, 1900, by invitation, Mrs. Young addressed 5,000 people at Rivers Bridges Memorial Association; in June when Mrs. Malvina A. Waring made the commencement address at Limestone College and again when Mrs. Young responded to a toast at the banquet of the State Press Association. That same year there was lively effort to decide which one of twenty women candidates should be elected State librarian. Miss Lucy Barron was elected and a large number of women engrossing clerks were appointed to share her work.

In 1902 during the Exposition a woman suffrage convention was held in Charleston through the courtesy of the chairman of Promotion and Publicity, Major J. C. Hemphill. Although opposed to woman suffrage he induced the officials in charge to grant the use of the German Artillery Hall for two nights and one meeting was held in the exposition grounds, where Henry B. and Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. Mamie Folsom Wynn, Miss Koch, Miss Helen Morris Lewis, Miss Claudia G. Tharin, Mrs. T. M. Prentiss and Mrs. Young made addresses. A reception was given in the Woman's Building. In May, 1903, Mrs. Young made a suffrage speech at the meeting of the State Press Association at Georgetown. With her death in 1906 the organization lapsed but there was a small group of suffragists in Columbia with Dr. Jane Bruce Guignard president.

It was not until May 15, 1914, when Miss Lavinia Engle, one of the organizers sent by the National American Woman Suffrage

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. W. C. Cathcart, member of the State Board of Public Welfare and chairman of the Legislative Committee of the State Equal Suffrage League for six years.

Association, called together a representative group of clubwomen, that the State Equal Suffrage League was organized in the Kennedy Library at Spartanburg. Mrs. M. T. Coleman of Abbeville, retiring president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, was elected president; Mrs. John Gary Evans, Spartanburg, first and Mrs. J. L. Coker, Hartsville, second, vice-president; Mrs. Henry Martin, Columbia, secretary; Mrs. F. T. Kicklin, Chester, treasurer. Dr. Rosa H. Gannt, Spartanburg, was appointed legislative chairman. Three organized leagues—Columbia, Charleston and Spartanburg—with a membership of about 450, joined at this time. In twenty months the number of local leagues increased to eight and the membership to 1,514.

Three speakers were brought to the State during the winter of 1915, Mrs. Lila Meade Valentine, president of the Virginia League; Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, president of the Kentucky Association, and Miss Kate M. Gordon of Louisiana. The league supplied literature for school and club debates and distributed it at many county fairs. On October 17 a State convention was held in Columbia. Mrs. Coleman and Dr. Gannt resigned; Mrs. Harriet P. Lynch, Cheraw, was elected president and Mrs. W. C. Cathcart of Columbia was appointed legislative chairman. This year for the first time suffrage was represented in a parade of women, which took place during the State Fair with a suffrage float in the evening display.

In 1916 the annual convention met in Charlestown. During the year Mrs. Lynch had stressed organization and chairmen had been appointed in sixteen counties to work along political lines, the unit of organization being the wards in cities and townships in counties. A plank in the Democratic platform to refer a woman suffrage amendment to the voters was secured at the State convention in the spring and State and national candidates were canvassed as to their views on woman suffrage.

When the convention of 1917 was held in Columbia in October there were twenty-five leagues in the State with a membership of about 3,000. The Federal Suffrage Amendment, the Prohibition Amendment, Food Administration as outlined by Mr. Hoover and a Minimum Wage for Women were endorsed. Protests were made against any attempt to lower educational standards or to

weaken the laws safeguarding women and children. The Legislative Committee reported that before the Legislature convened its members had been completely canvassed as to their views on woman suffrage; these were classified and only a few were tagged impossible. A "suffrage school" was held in Columbia in December under the auspices of the National Association with one hundred pupils. During the year woman suffrage had been endorsed by the State Federation of Labor, Federation of Women's Clubs and Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

In May, 1918, Mrs. Cathcart was appointed by U. S. Senator Tillman as associate committeewoman on the Democratic National Committee. When the State Democratic convention was held in Columbia that month the committeewoman and the committee decided that this was the opportunity for the Democratic party to substantiate its pledge. Senator Neils Christensen was asked to introduce a resolution requesting the party to permit women to vote in the Democratic Primaries in August, provided the 36th State had ratified the Federal Amendment. The resolution was debated in committee and rejected by a vote of 18 to 14. The convention adopted the unfavorable report by a vote of 249 to 58. The women were not only rejected but through the spokesman for the opposing faction, U. S. Senator Christie Benet of Columbia, they were dubbed as paid progagandists. This the women denied through the press and called on him to prove his accusation, which was never done. The State suffrage convention was held in October and Mrs. Lynch and Mrs. Cathcart were re-elected. At this convention the league declared itself in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment as a war measure.

The State convention of 1919 was held in Columbia in January, Mrs. Julian B. Salley of Aiken presiding. Resolutions on the death of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, also resolutions endorsing the Treaty of Peace and the League of Nations were read by Mrs. Cathcart and adopted. Mrs. Lynch, whose resignation was accepted, was made honorary president, and at the meeting of the executive committee in Columbia in July Mrs. Salley was elected president. During the year work was immensely strengthened by the contribution of the National Association of 10,000 pieces of literature and of Miss Lola Trax, who in five months organized

forty counties for the petition work for ratification. The National's expenditures were over \$1,700.

The State convention of 1920 met in Columbia in January at the Jefferson Hotel and was welcomed by Governor Robert A. Cooper, who said he was convinced that women would soon vote. U. S. Senator Pollock of Cheraw made a rousing speech in favor of the Federal Amendment. Mrs. Salley reviewed the year's work, telling of the distribution of 10,000 copies of Senator Pollock's speech in Congress; of the new course of citizenship in the State University and of the growth of the organization. The legislative report of the past five years was read by the chairman, Mrs. Cathcart. Mrs. Munsell, chairman of the American Citizenship Committee, reported a ten-day course of citizenship at Winthrop Summer School; a summer class at the University of South Carolina; one at Coker College, Hartsville, conducted by Mrs. J. L. Coker, and a course at Converse College, Spartanburg. Mrs. Cathcart, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, read the following: "The State Equal Suffrage League tenders appreciation and thanks to the members of the General Assembly of South Carolina, who have fostered the cause . . . among them Joseph E. McCullough, Greenville; A. E. Horton, Spartanburg; James A. Hoyt, Speaker of the House; Senators J. L. Sherard, Anderson; Neils Christensen, Beaufort; Allan Johnston, Newberry; Legrande Walker, Georgetown; T. C. Duncan, Union, and Representative Shelor, Oconee. We commend William P. Pollock who spoke and voted in the U. S. Senate for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, for his loyalty to his convictions and his belief in true democracy." At the afternoon session Miss Marjorie Shuler, who had been sent by the National Association for press and publicity work for one month, was one of the principal speakers. Delegates were elected for the meeting to be called to merge the Equal Suffrage League into the League of Women Voters. This meeting was held June 20 at Craven Hall, Columbia, the league was formed and Mrs. Munsell was elected chairman.

**LEGISLATIVE ACTION.** In 1902 Mrs. Virginia D. Young, then president of the suffrage association, brought personal influence to bear on the Governor, Senators and Representa-

tives for a hearing on woman suffrage. On January 28 Senator Aldrich and Representative Izler introduced simultaneously two bills, one asking for Presidential suffrage for taxpaying women; the other for suffrage in Municipal elections. A hearing was held before a joint session January 31, with the galleries crowded, where, in Mrs. Young's own words, "I was received with the usual chivalric attention and asked if I would ascend to the Speaker's chair. 'By no means. I wish to speak from the floor,' I answered. This privilege was accorded me and for the first time a woman spoke in the House of Representatives."

1914. From 1902 there is no record of action on the part of the General Assembly to grant suffrage to women until Jan. 23, 1914, when a bill was introduced in the House by Mr. McMillan and referred to the Judiciary Committee, by which it was unfavorably reported the next day and rejected without a record vote, after little if any discussion. It had been introduced in the Senate by Mr. Carlisle on the 15th and referred to the Judiciary Committee, which reported it without recommendation February 25, and the next day it was laid on the table without discussion or a record vote.

1915. Early in the session a resolution was introduced asking for the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution. In connection an invitation was extended by Speaker James A. Hoyt of Columbia to Mrs. Valentine, president of the Virginia Suffrage League, to address the House and she spoke most convincingly. It was said that if a vote had been taken that night the resolution would have been adopted. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee, which granted a hearing. The speakers were the Rev. Kirkman G. Finlay, Professor Lewis Parke Chamberlayne, Mrs. Coleman, Mrs. Lynch, Miss Eudora Ramsey, Dr. Gannt and Mrs. Valentine. The resolution was reported out of the committee unfavorably, with a minority report, and it was thought best not to push for a vote.

1916. The resolution for an amendment was introduced in the House by Judge McCullough of Greenville and received a vote of 51 ayes; 61 noes.

1917. The amendment resolution was introduced by Senator J. L. Sherard and Representative A. E. Horton. After an excit-

ing debate lasting for three days the Senate bill came to a vote, receiving 25 ayes; 19 noes. In the House the bill was reported and placed early on the calendar for the next year.

1918. Mr. Horton, House leader, was requested by the league to withdraw the resolution and state that as President Wilson had declared himself in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and had requested members of Congress to vote for its submission the league would concentrate on this amendment. After the vote in favor by the U. S. House of Representatives letters and telegrams were sent by leagues and individuals all over the State requesting the Senators to vote for it. Both voted against it but with the election of William P. Pollock the suffragists were encouraged. The amendment was submitted to the Legislatures June 4, 1919.

RATIFICATION. On January 14, 1920, Senator Neils Christensen introduced a joint resolution to ratify the proposed Federal Suffrage Amendment, which was referred to the Judiciary Committee. On the 23rd it was reported unfavorably; on motion of Senator Christensen the report was laid on the table; on the 28th the resolution went to a vote and received 32 noes, four ayes—Christensen, Duncan, Shelor and Walker. In the House on January 21 Representatives Bradford and Hart introduced a concurrent resolution to reject the proposed amendment; on the 22nd a motion to refer it to the Judiciary Committee was defeated by a vote of 85 to 26. The debate on the resolution to reject extended into the afternoon and the vote resulted in 93 ayes, 20 noes. Even members who were opposed to ratification made strong speeches for justice and denounced this unprecedented action of voting for a measure before it had been referred to a committee or placed on the calendar.



## CHAPTER XL.

### SOUTH DAKOTA.<sup>1</sup>

Here beginneth the last chapter of the history of woman suffrage in South Dakota. At the time this is written (1920) women have the same rights, privileges and duties politically as men except that they do not serve on juries but the law will undoubtedly be amended to permit them to do so if there is any demand for it. For many years the suffrage work was conducted by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, its officers acting for the suffrage societies and its legislative committees doing the lobbying. The activities of the two organizations are so interwoven until 1909 that the history of the W. C. T. U. is practically the history of woman suffrage. The suffrage association was inactive after the last defeat in 1898 until 1901. In that year a State Political Equality Association was organized with Mrs. Alice M. A. Pickler of Faulkton president and Mrs. Philena Everett Johnson of Highmore vice-president. She was the mother of Royal C. Johnson, now in Congress.

A State amendment for full suffrage was not again submitted until 1909 and in the interim there was a lull in active work although local clubs were formed as the nucleus of a larger organization. The suffrage lobby, usually the same as the W. C. T. U. lobby, appeared at each session of the Legislature. When a suffrage resolution was introduced it either died in committee or was reported out unfavorably and failed to pass. Always when the question was brought before either House there was a spirited debate and the suffragists then continued their campaign through literature and other means.

In October, 1902, Mrs. Pickler called a conference at Watertown which decided to take advantage of the initiative and referendum, that the State had adopted in 1897. Not realizing

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Ruth B. Hipple, member of the Legislative Committee of the State Woman Suffrage Association and editor of the *South Dakota Messenger*.

that it did not apply to constitutional amendments, the suffragists in 1903 at great expense and effort secured the signatures of the requisite number of voters to a petition asking that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the voters. Secretary of State O. C. Berg was criticized for refusing to receive it for transmission to the Legislature but he could not legally do so, as the initiative applied only to Laws. He was not opposed to woman suffrage and in later years his wife worked for it and his son conducted a newspaper which gave it able support.

Still under the leadership of Mrs. Pickler, the years 1904 and 1905 passed with the usual routine work and in 1906 another petition was begun which had nothing to do with the initiative and referendum but was merely a petition of women as citizens to the Legislature asking that the question be submitted to a vote at the next general election. This work was carried on all summer by a house to house canvass throughout the State and later at the State Fair, with the result that when it convened the women were able to stage a spectacular event by having pages carry up the aisle of the Lower House a list of names thirty-six yards in length. The resolution was introduced and passed the Senate but failed in the House by ten votes.

During all this time Mrs. Anna R. Simmons of Faulkton was president of the State W. C. T. U. and Mrs. Pickler and she did excellent team work, enlisting the aid of many other splendid women. A complete list of them it is unfortunately impossible to secure but many mentioned in Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage continued their services. The years 1907-8 were spent in propaganda work and raising funds and when the Legislature convened in January, 1909, the suffrage and W. C. T. U. lobby was on hand to ask once more for the submission of the question to the voters. Two resolutions for partial suffrage were introduced in the Senate in addition to the one for the amendment. One would confer the vote on property-owning women only and the other would permit women to vote on the liquor question, the State being under local option. Whether they were presented by friends or were a "half loaf" offered by enemies is not known at this late date. They were probably the former, because a vote on the liquor question by

women was the last thing the principal opponents wanted and such an amendment if adopted would have speedily put South Dakota in the "dry" column for all time. The resolution to send to the voters an amendment for full suffrage passed both Houses and was signed by Governor Robert S. Vessey. His favorable attitude was a great help to the women, as it had been in former years when he was in the State Senate.

From 1909 the W. C. T. U. continued its suffrage work under its franchise department and the State Suffrage Association was a separate organization. In June, 1909, a suffrage convention was held at Aberdeen and Mrs. Lydia B. Johnson of Fort Pierre was elected president of the State Political Equality League, a new constitution adopted, officers chosen and an invitation extended to all women's organizations to send delegates to a convention at Sioux Falls in the autumn, when plans for the coming campaign would be perfected. This convention met November 6 and from that time until the election in November, 1910, an active campaign was conducted. The amendment was defeated, receiving 35,290 ayes, 57,709 noes, but the workers felt that gains had been made and were more determined than ever not to cease their efforts.

After the election of 1910 Mrs. Johnson called a State convention at Huron and Mrs. John L. Pyle of that city was elected president and continued to serve until the Federal Suffrage Amendment was adopted in 1920. The question was not again brought to the attention of the Legislature until 1913. During the summer of 1911 Mrs. Pyle called a conference at Huron. It seemed advisable to change the method of procedure and the name of the organization, which became the Universal Franchise League. An incident of this conference—amusing now but very serious then—was the earnest discussion of the newly introduced slogan, "Votes for Women," brought over from England. Several precious hours were spent considering whether this was dignified and whether women would not be considered "unladylike" if they adopted it. There was much protest also over being called "suffragettes" when they were really "suffragists," the former being the English for "militants." At this meeting the State was divided into four dis-

tricts for campaign purposes. Mrs. May Billinghurst of Pierre was chairman for the northeast; Miss Susie Bird of Belle Fourche for the northwest; Mrs. Edith M. Fitch of Hurley for the southeast and the Rev. Katherine Powell of Custer for the southwest, to organize branch leagues in their districts.

Their stories of trying to organize, especially in the western, thinly populated sections of the State would make an interesting volume. Miss Bird, with a horse and buggy, drove hundreds of miles, sometimes forty from one house to the next. There were almost no railroad facilities after leaving the Black Hills district but armed with suffrage literature she drove her trusty steed from place to place, spreading the gospel of suffrage at school houses, private homes or wherever the opportunity presented and organizing little groups.

In July, 1912, Mrs. Pyle called a convention at Huron, where the decision was made to ask the Legislature of 1913 to submit a full suffrage amendment. Officers were re-elected, Mrs. Nina Pettigrew of Belle Fourche took charge of the northwest district in place of Miss Bird, who had resigned, and the president was directed to select her Legislative Committee. It consisted of the Rev. Katherine Powell, Mrs. Billinghurst, Mrs. Ruth B. Hipple of Pierre, Miss Bird for the State Franchise League and Mrs. Simmons of Faulkton; the State president, Mrs. Ruby Jackson of Ipswich, and Miss Rose Bower of Rapid City for the W. C. T. U.

In January, 1913, Mrs. Pyle and her lieutenants met at Pierre, the capital, prepared for action. The hard work, the deep devotion to the cause of the men and women of preceding years had begun to bear fruit and instead of finding a lone member here and there in favor of woman suffrage, now there were many. Hitherto it had been solely a woman's campaign, aided by only a few loyal men who dared brave the ridicule of their brothers. The years of education had begun to change public opinion and the president felt that the time for women to be buttonholing unwilling men in the lobbies in an apologetic manner was past. She called a conference of leading men from both Houses to meet with the Legislative Committee in the office of Attorney General Royal C. Johnson. This call met

with a hearty response and plans were made which proved so effective that the amendment resolution was the first measure to pass the Legislature, almost before the opponents knew the suffragists were on the ground. The poll had been so quietly and carefully taken that the committee knew its exact strength in both Houses almost before the resolution was on the calendar. Governor Frank M. Byrne gave his valuable assistance, as he had done when a member of the Senate in preceding years. Mrs. Byrne also was an excellent ally.

The members of the Legislature always referred to this legislative work as "the campaign of Committee Room 2," as this room beside the elevator in the House side of the Capitol had been placed at the disposal of the suffragists. Their committee quietly stayed there while members were summoned one by one, interviewed and pledged if possible. Unsuspecting members, supposing they were summoned by some State official, would come and then would consider it such a good joke that they would say nothing and wait for their neighbor to get caught, so that nearly the entire membership was interviewed before the men began to compare notes.

Among many amusing incidents was the following: The suffrage question could always be depended upon to fill the galleries and call forth floods of oratory. When it was up for discussion at this time Senator James Mather of Brown county rose and announced in no uncertain terms that he was unalterably opposed; he did not believe in woman suffrage; it would afford him great satisfaction, indeed he craved the opportunity, to be recorded as voting against it. The roll-call started alphabetically and it went Aye-Aye-Aye down to M. When the name Mather was called the Senator, looking decidedly embarrassed, asked to be excused from voting. Protests came from all sides. Senator Norbeck (afterwards Governor) in stentorian tones demanded that since the Senator had craved the opportunity to record his opinion he should do it now. Senator Mather meekly cast the only dissenting vote and never was returned to the Legislature. In the Lower House the vote was 70 ayes, 30 noes.

The campaign of 1914 received most important and highly valued assistance from Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of

the National American Suffrage Association; Miss Jane Addams, its vice-president; Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, Mrs. Ella S. Stewart and Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson, all of Chicago, and from many others. One of the best educational forces was the *South Dakota Messenger*, a weekly paper controlled and edited by the State organization. It had a wide circulation and was able to reach into the farthest corners of the State. Other papers clipped freely from its editorial and news columns. On November 3 the amendment received 39,605 ayes and 51,519 noes, lost by nearly 12,000. For the fifth time the men of South Dakota had denied their women the right of representation in the government.

The suffrage leaders were not in the least daunted or discouraged and a convention was very soon called at Huron to decide whether or not resubmission should be asked of the Legislature the next year and the unanimous decision was that it should be. The district plan was abandoned and county organization adopted. A "budget" was prepared and each county assessed according to its population, which plan was generally successful.

In January, 1915, the Legislative Committee, this time composed of Mrs. Pyle, Mrs. Etta Estey Boyce of Sioux Falls and Mrs. Paul Rewman of Deadwood, assisted by a number of Pierre suffragists for the Universal Franchise League and Dr. Mary Noyes Farr of Pierre and Miss Rose Bower for the W. C. T. U., once more climbed the steps of the Capitol to ask for another referendum. Once more the request was granted—in the Senate by 29 to 15, in the House by 57 to 40—during the first two weeks of the session. A reception was given by the committee and Pierre suffragists to the members of the Legislature, the State officers and the ladies of their families in the ballroom of the St. George Hotel, said to have been a social event second only to the inaugural ball. Later in the session a bill to give women a vote for presidential electors, county and municipal officers, which could be granted by the Legislature itself, received 59 ayes and 40 noes in the House; 18 ayes and 24 noes in the Senate.

During the summer of 1916 for the first time the women

"antis" deemed it necessary to do active work. They established headquarters at the capital with a manager in charge and made an open campaign. To answer their old stock argument, "Women do not want the vote," a state-wide plan of petitions by the women of each county was adopted and every one where the work was well done showed a good majority in favor. On November 7 when the first election returns came from those counties that usually indicate the result of the whole State, the Associated Press sent the news broadcast that South Dakota had been carried for woman suffrage by a large majority, but again it was the same old story, principally the foreigners, especially the Germans, had once more denied to American women the privilege which they, themselves, had acquired so easily. The returns showed 53,432 in the affirmative; 58,350 in the negative, an opposing majority of less than 5,000.

Each campaign had shown a growth in favorable sentiment and there seemed every reason to believe that another one would be successful. The National Association agreed with the State in this opinion and were ready to cooperate, so it seemed best to ask the session of 1917 to give one more opportunity. The Legislature was well trained by this time and willingly passed the resolution, the Senate by 31 ayes, 12 noes; the House by 66 ayes, 27 noes. After it had adjourned and before definite plans for a campaign were completed the country was plunged into the World War and misgivings arose in the minds of the executive board as to the wisdom of an undertaking which would make demands on the time of the women. After much prayerful deliberation the unanimous decision was reached that since this war was being fought for the establishment of world democracy and this question was undoubtedly one of democracy, there must be no turning back, but that the campaign must be managed in such a way as to require the services of as few women as possible. No further effort was made to organize county leagues but a committee of three was elected in each county to look after its interests except in those already well organized. Not much was done this year beyond laying a foundation for the necessary work of the next year.

In January, 1918, Governor Peter Norbeck called a special

session of the Legislature to consider important State affairs, one being to change the clause in the constitution relating to citizenship. Its framers, to render settlement of a new, undeveloped country attractive, made the requirement such that a foreigner might become a qualified elector after having merely declared his intention of becoming a citizen, without having sworn allegiance to the United States. Thousands of aliens had taken out their first papers, filed on government land, proved up and established their homes, failed to complete their naturalization and yet were fully qualified to vote. This had long been considered a menace to the government and suffragists knew that it was principally to this class of voters that they owed their many defeats. The war developed great disloyalty among this class and the Governor announced that the situation was intolerable and the requirements for citizenship must be changed. In order to do this it was necessary to amend the section of the constitution which stated the qualifications of a voter and which was the same section that it was sought to amend for woman suffrage by striking out the word "male." It was finally decided that the only way was to have the two matters submitted as one amendment. The word "male" was stricken out and full naturalization and a five years' residence were required before the privilege of voting should be granted and this was substituted for the original suffrage amendment.

In the course of a report made to the national executive board Mrs. McMahan, one of its organizers, said:

There was a conference in the headquarters at Huron and Mrs. Pyle faced the situation and took up the burden. The National Suffrage Association had sent two field workers—Miss Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon and Mrs. Albert McMahan. To the latter was given charge of the organization department and together the two women set to work with the State officers to district the State and organize in each county a campaign committee. Eventually there was an organizer for every six districts, each comprising from twelve to fourteen huge counties. Each worker as she came into the State had to be carefully instructed in everything that touched upon the constitutional provisions for voting, the status of the alien, the reason for putting the citizenship clause into the suffrage amendment, the effect its passage would have upon the aliens, etc., because these questions were constantly met. Much new literature had to be prepared and all the posters changed to fit new conditions.



What won the State? Persistent, intensive, quiet work. We had few meetings of our own but we used those of every one else, from women's aid societies to Rotary clubs, political rallies and Fourth of July celebrations. We did not plan parades, but wherever patriotic sentiment expressed itself through a parade we were in it. We circularized the voters in groups again and again—lawyers, business men, farmers, etc., with literature adapted to each group. We circulated a petition and 95 per cent. of the women to whom it was presented signed it. We sent every organizer we could command into delinquent counties, having the cooperation of the local women. In the evening street meetings were held. The workers left literature in every home and posters placarded on every wall space. They left suffrage stories with the newspapers and the spoken word in the ear of all who would listen and they left the morale of the local workers at high water mark. The signed petitions were printed and mailed to the voters in each county with our final circularization. Ninety-eight per cent. of the newspapers were favorable and in spite of paper shortage and the demand for war publicity they never failed the women. In addition to news stories, editorials, etc., they universally used the plate material which the National Association furnished. As much as any other one thing perhaps, this plate material helped to win the campaign. All political parties endorsed the amendment, Republicans and Democrats making it a part of their platforms.

In June Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, corresponding secretary of the National Association, came to South Dakota and with Mrs. S. V. Ghrist, vice-president of the State League, and Mrs. McMahan, a school of methods was held in the principal towns. The women were taught how to organize and were grounded in the new aspects of the campaign. Mrs. Catt was ill and could not come, which was the greatest blow the campaign had; however Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, national recording secretary, took her place very acceptably.

Among the organizers Mrs. McMahan mentioned Mrs. R. E. H. Stevens, Miss Stella Crosley, Miss Gertrude Watkins, Miss Josephine Miller, Miss Liba Peshokova and Miss Ida Stadie and said: "But this efficient, faithful little band could not have won the campaign alone. South Dakota State women will perhaps never realize how much they owe to Mrs. John L. Pyle, president, who gave herself absolutely to the winning of their political freedom. She was at her desk from early in the morning until 11 o'clock and later at night. Nothing was allowed to stand in the way of her complete service. The best there was in her she gave to the cause and she has the gratitude of those for whom and with whom she worked. Ably seconding her efforts were Mrs. Ghrist, vice-president; Mrs. Frank Meyer,

office secretary; Mrs. Rewman and Miss Alice Lorraine Daly in the finance department; Mrs. Lewis L. Leavitt, chairman of the Minnehaha committee; Miss Harriet Grant of Huron and Mrs. R. H. Lewis of Mitchell. The whole structure rested on the county workers. There was never a Fair that was not covered nor a Teachers' nor a Farmers' Institute nor a political meeting. Everywhere that voters gathered, there they were."

It may be presumed that those who would be disfranchised until they had completed their naturalization would cast their votes against the amendment but these were more than counteracted by American citizens, who, even if they did not believe in woman suffrage, would vote for the amendment because of this part of it. The election took place Nov. 6, 1918, and the amendment received 49,318 ayes and 28,934 noes; carried by 20,384. The following figures show the progress made from campaign to campaign: Opposing majority in 1910, 22,419; in 1914, 11,914; in 1916, 4,934.

The women of South Dakota are deeply grateful to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which always helped generously with organizers, speakers and money. It contributed \$7,500 to this campaign. Various States were loyal and helpful and have the fullest appreciation and gratitude.

**RATIFICATION.** The final scene in the drama of woman suffrage was staged on December 4, 1919, at 12:40 a. m., when the members of the Legislature, coming to Pierre at their own expense and at great inconvenience, in the middle of winter, unanimously ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Many States were having special sessions for this purpose but Governor Norbeck, who would have to call one in January, did not wish to do so before then. He agreed, however, that if a majority of the members would come to Pierre at their own expense in order to ratify the amendment, he would call a session for that purpose.

This State has a new law which requires that in December of the year preceding an election there shall be "proposal meetings" held at the capital to propose candidates for nomination at the March primaries, each party holding a separate meeting. This year there were to be also three party conventions at the

same time and practically all the politicians would be at the capital. Mrs. Pyle and her board asked the Governor to call the session for that time, for many of the members would be in attendance as delegates from their counties. Accordingly, after receiving the assurance that a majority of them were willing to come to Pierre at their own expense, he issued a call for December 3 at 7 o'clock in the evening. It was dead of winter and distances are long. The call was issued after 3 o'clock on Saturday and the session was to be the next Tuesday. Telephone and telegraph wires were kept humming for the next thirty-six hours and the men came from all directions. One man rushed home to Huron from Minneapolis, called to his wife to send his "grip" after him and just caught the train for Pierre. Another used up three automobiles getting to the train from his home many miles from the railroad, as the snow made the roads almost impassable.

The question arose how to put the resolution through the two Houses in the least possible time. It was finally done by introducing the resolutions in both Houses and giving them their first and second readings on the evening of December 3. They were then referred to the proper committees and the Legislature adjourned until the next legislative day. The earliest possible moment of the next day was one minute after midnight and this was the hour when it convened. The final passage took place at 12:44 a. m. on the 4th by unanimous vote. This was the first time that a South Dakota Legislature ever convened in the middle of the night but the members were anxious to get home as soon as possible and the trains leave in both directions about 2 a. m.

## CHAPTER XLI.

### TENNESSEE. PART I.<sup>1</sup>

The history of the suffrage movement in Tennessee filled only five pages of the volume preceding this one, which ended with 1900, and such as there was had been due principally to that dauntless pioneer, Mrs. Lide A. Meriwether of Memphis, to whom this chapter is reverently and gratefully dedicated. The first suffrage society was formed in Memphis in May, 1889, and none of its founders is now living except Mrs. J. D. Allen of this city. In April, 1894, a society was formed at Nashville at the home of Mrs. H. C. Gardner by Miss Amelia Territt, Mrs. Bettie Donelson and a few others but it had no connection with the one at Memphis. Its members were earnest and capable but it did not long survive. Through the efforts of the National Association a State organization was effected in 1897, the year of the Centennial Exposition in Nashville, and there was a convention in April, 1900, attended by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, national president. There had been no State convention for five years when in 1906, through the initiative of Miss Belle Kearney of Mississippi a meeting was called in Memphis of which Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky sends the following account taken from her scrapbook:

The conference of Southern Women Suffragists was held in Memphis December 19, 20, the opening session in the morning at the Peabody Hotel; the afternoon session at the residence of Mrs. J. O. Crawford and the other sessions at the hotel. Miss Clay was elected chairman; Mrs. Nannie Curtiss of Texas, secretary. The meeting included representatives from many of the southern States and letters were received from "Dorothy Dix," Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick and Mrs. Sophy Wright of New Orleans; Mrs. Mary Bentley Thomas of Baltimore; Mrs. Josephine K. Henry of Versailles, Ky.; Mrs. Eliza Strong Tracey of Houston; Mrs. Mary B. Clay and Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. John M. Kenny, an officer of the State Equal Suffrage Association from 1914 until the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in 1920.

James Bennett of Richmond, Ky., and Mrs. Key, president of the North Texas Girls' College. Discussions on aspects of the suffrage question were led by Miss Kearney, Miss Clay, Mrs. Meriwether and Mrs. Jennie H. Sibley of Georgia. The conference was resolved into a committee of the whole to formulate plans for concerted legislative work in the southern States. A thousand copies of the resolutions were printed. At this time the State Equal Suffrage Association was re-organized, with Mrs. Meriwether honorary president; Mrs. J. D. Allen, president; Mrs. L. F. Selden, corresponding secretary and treasurer; Mrs. M. M. Betts, recording secretary; Mrs. S. S. Deem, chairman of problems affecting women or children.

Mrs. Allen served continuously until 1912. In 1908 the State Federation of Labor not only endorsed woman suffrage but agreed to petition members of the Legislature and Congress to work for it and they loyally kept their pledge. This same year suffrage literature was first distributed at the State Federation of Women's Clubs and Dr. Shaw, then president of the National Association, spoke in Memphis.

In 1910 the first suffrage State petition work was begun in Memphis and its Nineteenth Century Club and the Newman Circle of Knoxville held parlor meetings and discussions. Knoxville formed a local league; the women's clubs began to awaken and the State Federation appointed its first legislative committee, with the object of having the laws unfavorable to women changed. In 1911 thousands of pieces of literature were distributed, press articles sent out and a resolution to amend the State constitution by striking out the word "male" was first presented to the Legislature. The movement did not gain much impetus until the Nashville League was organized in the fall of this year and Chattanooga and Morrison soon followed. On Jan. 10-12, 1912, the association with its five virile infant leagues met in Nashville and plans for state-wide organization began. Miss Sarah Barnwell Elliott, an eminent writer, was unanimously chosen president. In October, 1913, the State convention met in Morristown and eight leagues answered the roll call.

The work in the Legislature naturally always fell heavily upon the Nashville League and from 1913 to 1919 the lobby was composed principally of its members. The first real effort to break down the prejudice of the legislators was in 1913, when Miss Elliott and Mrs. Guilford Dudley asked for an audience

for Miss Laura Clay, president of the Kentucky association, and Miss Mary Johnston of Virginia, the novelist. This was granted and Miss Elliott was the first woman to address the Legislature, although no bill was before it.

At a called meeting of the Executive Board, at Memphis in May, 1914, the resignation of Miss Elliott was regretfully accepted and Mrs. L. Crozier French succeeded her. At the State convention held October 29, 30 in Knoxville a division occurred and some of the delegates, refusing to be headed by Mrs. French, elected as president Mrs. James M. McCormack, who was first vice-president. Mrs. French was unanimously elected by a part of the original association, which had obtained a charter October 13, incorporating the name Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association. This association continued to be a dominating force in suffrage activities. Mrs. French resigned the presidency April 1, 1915, and her unexpired term was filled by the vice-president-at-large, Mrs. John M. Kenny of Nashville. The holding of the annual convention of the National Association in Nashville Nov. 12-17, 1914, was the turning point in the history of suffrage in Tennessee because of its far-reaching educational propaganda and because Nashville was the political center of the State.

Mrs. Dudley was elected president at the State convention held at Jackson in October, 1915. She went to east, west and middle Tennessee, visiting in the first year of her administration nineteen towns, many of them twice, and assisting the Campaign Committee in organizing fourteen. She made addresses in twenty-two different cities. Toward the end of the year Miss Sue S. White, of Jackson, the recording secretary, a court stenographer and business woman, gave a month to organizing the headquarters staff and making plans to carry forward the work in a businesslike way.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Catt was making a strong effort to have the various States follow the same policy at the same time and thereby each could contribute to the national victory. With the view of

<sup>1</sup> Through the combined efforts of the joint chairmen of the campaign Committee, Mrs. Kenny and Mrs. Milton, and the association of which Mrs. Dudley was President, a conference was called to formulate a plan of amalgamation of the two State associations. This was finally accomplished in March, 1918, when Mrs. Leslie Warner of Nashville was unanimously chosen as the amalgamation president.

securing woman suffrage planks in both Democratic and Republican national platforms, each association was asked to secure endorsement from its political State conventions. Early in January, 1916, Mrs. Dudley and Mrs. Kenny went before the executive committees of both parties, asking for a plank in the platforms and also that delegates be instructed to vote for a suffrage plank in the national platform this year. In May Mrs. Dudley spoke before the platform committees and the conventions of both endorsed woman suffrage. Former Governor Ben Hooper, Mr. and Mrs. James S. Beasley, the Hon. H. Clay Evans and Harry Anderson were of much assistance with the Republicans and Governor Tom C. Rye and U. S. Senator Kenneth D. McKellar secured the resolution from the Democrats.

Tennessee sent seven women to the Republican national convention in Chicago, who marched in the famous parade through wind and rain to the convention hall, Mrs. Dudley carrying the State suffrage banner. Eleven women went to the Democratic national convention in St. Louis, where they stood bravely in the "golden lane" through which the delegates marched to the convention. Mrs. Dudley was chosen to address the Tennessee delegation and it was a proud moment for the women of the State when they voted solidly for the suffrage plank. In October farewell banquets to congressmen on the eve of their departure for Washington, to influence their votes for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, were given in Knoxville, Nashville and Memphis. The State Federation of Women's Clubs endorsed woman suffrage this year by a large majority, under the leadership of Mrs. George Fort Milton of Chattanooga and Mrs. D. T. Kimbrough of Nashville. Other endorsements were those of the Southern Federation of Labor (unanimous), obtained through the efforts of Mrs. Walter Jackson of Murfreesboro; the Tennessee Women's Press and Authors' Club, through Miss Libbie Morrow; the State conventions of the Beemen, the Nurserymen and the Horticulturists, at the request of Mrs. Kimbrough.

Mrs. Dudley soon came to be known nationally. She spoke on the Federal Amendment at the luncheon of four hundred given to the incoming members at the Congress Hotel in Washington; addressed congressional committee hearings, and in De-

ember she joined the "lobby" at the national suffrage headquarters in Washington to interview southern Senators and Representatives. The State convention was held in Nashville, Jan. 30, 31, 1917. Mrs. Dudley was unanimously re-elected and served until her election to the board of the National Association in December. At this convention Mrs. Kenny was elected chairman of publicity and under her direction special suffrage editions of newspapers were published in the principal towns and cities and copies mailed to every voter. The plate matter sent out by the national press committee was widely distributed.

Mrs. Leslie Warner was elected president in 1918, and at the State convention held in Nashville in June, 1919, Mrs. George Fort Milton succeeded her. During her seven years of suffrage activity Mrs. Milton had rendered valuable service in various official positions. It was while this convention was in session that the news came of the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by Congress and there was a demonstration of joy. In the evening a brilliant public banquet took place at the Tulane Hotel. The convention extended its official board to include a chairman from each congressional district, for the ratification campaign. Three weeks later the board held a meeting at Lookout Mountain, formulated plans for organizing the districts politically and pledged the largest amount of money for State work in the history of the association.

**LEGISLATIVE WORK.** In 1915 Mrs. L. Crozier French, State president, appointed Mrs. Guilford Dudley, president of the Nashville League, legislative chairman to sponsor a resolution for a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution. The members of the lobby committee were Mrs. Kenny, Mrs. Kimbrough, Mrs. W. G. Spencer, Mrs. Reau E. Folk, Mrs. Ittie K. Reno, Mrs. Victoria James Roach and Mrs. A. Y. Scott. To amend the constitution it is necessary to obtain a majority in the first Legislature and a two-thirds majority in the succeeding one before the question is submitted to the voters. In January when the House committee met to report on the amendment it was opposed almost to a man. Mrs. Dudley with all her committee back of her made an eloquent appeal for justice and fair play, urging them at least to permit the House to vote on the



measure. When she finished not a man raised his voice against it. The House adjourned to permit Mrs. Dudley and Mrs. Scott to speak to the members and the final roll call registered only fourteen noes. It passed the Senate with only three dissenting votes. The leagues all over the State had brought strong pressure to bear upon their representatives. In 1917 it was replaced by the Presidential suffrage bill.

On May 17 a conference was held at Tullahoma, where the Campaign Committee was formed. Two joint-chairmen headed the executive committee, Mrs. Kenny and Mrs. Henry J. Kelso of Knoxville, with Mrs. Scott vice-chairman. On the resignation of Mrs. Kelso, Mrs. Milton was elected in her place.<sup>1</sup> Miss Elizabeth Breen, executive secretary, gave untiring and efficient service. Headquarters were opened in Nashville. This Campaign Committee was the trail-blazer. Although in operation only seven months it organized thirty-two leagues; enrolled 9,600 names; printed and distributed 75,000 pieces of literature and expended on organization work over \$4,000. State-wide publicity was gained; the workers received valuable training in organizing and public speaking and it was a harmonizing force.

It was difficult to enlist Tennessee suffragists in street speaking, not that they had not the courage of their faith but they feared to violate the conservative traditions of their southland. After seeing its wonderful effect during the national suffrage convention in Atlantic City in 1916 a few of the bold-hearted summoned courage and the first attempt was made in Jackson and Memphis in 1917 by Mrs. Kimbrough, Mrs. Kenny, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Reno and Miss White. At the State Fair in Nashville in 1918 the Campaign Committee took charge of the open air meetings, these women speaking eight or ten times each day, and they were rewarded by the great number of enrollment cards signed by those who received the message favorably.

In 1917 the legislative campaign was conducted under the friendly administration of a Democratic Governor, Tom C. Rye, and under the direction of Mrs. Dudley, State president, and

<sup>1</sup> The other congressional district chairmen were Mrs. Ferd. E. Powell, Johnson City; Miss Sara Ruth Fraser, Chattanooga; Mrs. Sam Young, Dixon Springs; Mrs. Walter Jackson, Murfreesboro; Mrs. Kimbrough, Nashville; Mrs. Ben Childers, Pulaski; Miss Sue S. White, Mrs. Jas. B. Ezzell, Newsom Station; Mrs. M. M. Betts, Memphis.

Mrs. Ezzell, legislative chairman. Before direct plans had been made, advices came from the National Association to concentrate on a Presidential and Municipal suffrage bill similar to that passed in Illinois in 1913. This was agreed upon and General G. T. Fitzhugh of Memphis drew up the bill. His services were of great value to suffrage interests because both as a citizen and a member of the bar he was held in the highest esteem. From this time until the State Supreme Court decision of 1919 removed the last barrier to this bill he was a valued friend and adviser, and was associate counsel in the last legal battle on ratification from the Chancery to the Supreme Court—all without financial remuneration.

This Presidential and Municipal suffrage bill was one of the first introduced, sponsored in the House by Speaker Clyde Shropshire and in the Senate by C. W. Rocks of Humboldt, and its progress was watched with great interest. Petitions were sent to the members from all parts of the State. The Memphis and Nashville members were solid for it from the beginning with one exception—Senator John M. Thompson, a violent “anti” from Nashville. Both suffragists and “antis” were invited to speak before the House Judiciary Committee and both accepted, but after two postponements through courtesy the “antis” did not put in an appearance and the suffragists alone were heard. General Fitzhugh came to speak for the bill. There had been much discussion as to its validity without the insertion of a poll tax clause and it was in jeopardy. An appeal was made to a friend whose legal advice and services the suffragists had always had for the asking—General Charles T. Cates, Jr., Attorney General, who came from his home in Knoxville to construe for the committee some of the perplexing phases and the committee unanimously recommended the bill.

When it came to a vote in the House women from all sections of the State were present. Among the most untiring workers were George Fort Milton, editor of the *Chattanooga News*, and Mrs. Milton; Miss Margaret Ervin of Chattanooga; Mrs. Isaac Reese, Mrs. Harry Anderson and Mrs. Scott of Memphis; Miss White, Mrs. Kimbrough and Mrs. Kenny. Many members of the Nashville League served at frequent criti-

cal times. The vote in the House was 59 ayes, 25 noes, on Jan. 19, 1917, Lee's birthday, an anniversary celebrated throughout the South, and it was fittingly referred to by some of the members as an appropriate occasion for Southern men to give justice to women. Following its passage the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, who was in Nashville, was invited to address the Legislature and spoke strongly in favor of it. Mrs. Bryan accompanied him and at a luncheon given in her honor at the Hermitage Hotel, attended by members of the Legislature and over two hundred guests, she made an eloquent plea for suffrage and Mr. Bryan spoke again.

While this bill was pending in the Senate the newspapers throughout the State were giving much more publicity to woman suffrage than they had ever done before. Many of the county papers favored it and published matter sent them. The *Labor World* gave continuous support. Some of the best suffragists were newspaper women and they gave freely of their time and talents. The excellent service of Mrs. W. A. Overall is recalled; though not a "professional" her clear, logical articles impressed impartial readers. Of the large daily papers the Knoxville *Sentinel* and the *Commercial Appeal* and *News Scimitar* of Memphis were favorable. The Jackson *Daily Sun* and the Nashville *Banner* were opposed. The Chattanooga *News* was an ardent advocate, while the Chattanooga *Times*, under the control of the New York *Times*, was strongly opposed. The Nashville *Tennessean* was regarded as the official organ of the suffragists. Its owner, former U. S. Senator Luke Lea, while in the Senate in 1913 had been one of three southern Senators to vote for the Federal Amendment. Throughout the campaign he was ready at all times to help in every way possible, ignoring his personal political interests. This was true of U. S. Senator McKellar and Governor Rye.

When the first canvass of the Senate was made the sentiment was about as follows: For the bill 11; unalterably opposed, 7; uncertain, 15. The classification "uncertain" was most appropriate, for fifteen more uncertain men were never encountered. When assured that the measure could safely be brought to vote it would be discovered that changes had occurred over night

which would mean defeat. The "antis" worked through a hastily organized local society at Nashville, which was inspired by Judge John J. Vertrees, a prominent lawyer of that city. A Charles McLean of Iowa, who had been used by the opponents in other State suffrage campaigns, made two or three visits to Nashville during the session. The State suffrage convention in this city a few days before the bill came to a vote in the Senate was the largest ever held and many delegates remained for the vote.

The bill was introduced by Senator C. W. Rooks, who with Senator John C. Houk led the fight for it. It was lost on February 3 by 21 noes, 12 ayes. A motion to reconsider by Senator A. E. Hill carried it over until the Legislature reconvened on March 7. The generosity of Mrs. Scott, vice-chairman of the Campaign Committee, who gave \$500, enabled the State association to employ four organizers and the National Association paid the salaries of three more. New organizations were formed and remote towns, which had scarcely ever heard of suffrage, were visited. A telegram from President Wilson urging the Senate to pass the bill was received at the March session but was not read in that body until the day after it was defeated.<sup>1</sup> The motion for reconsideration was laid on the table the first day by 18 ayes, 10 noes.

Incessant work in behalf of the bill was carried on in the districts of hostile or doubtful Senators from September until January, 1919, when the Legislature met and the bill for Presidential and Municipal suffrage was again introduced. It was a hard fight for many weeks made by Mrs. Warner and her committee, with daily, continuous work at the Capitol and "back log" work through the State, where she had the constant help of her board. Mrs. A. G. Buckner, as legislative chairman, worked unceasingly, as did Mrs. Margaret Ervin Ford, Mrs. Reno and Miss Matilda Porter, the lobby committee, assisted by Miss Josephine Miller, a national organizer. Mrs. Dudley came after the national suffrage convention in March.

<sup>1</sup> "W. R. Crabtree, President of the Senate: May I not express my earnest hope that the Senate of Tennessee will reconsider the vote by which it rejected the legislation extending the suffrage to women? Our party is so distinctly pledged to its passage that it seems to me the moral obligation is complete.—Woodrow Wilson."

Attorney L. D. Miller of Chattanooga introduced the bill in the House and conducted the fight for it. It passed the third and final reading April 3 by 52 ayes, 32 noes. Speaker Seth M. Walker of Wilson county became a convert and eloquent advocate, leaving his desk to plead for it. [See Ratification.]

After the bill had been cleverly put to sleep by the President of the Senate, Andrew Todd, by referring it to the hostile Judiciary Committee, Senator E. N. Haston, who was its sponsor, secured enough votes to overrule his action and put it in the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which reported in favor. The enemies were led by Senator J. Parks Worley. The hardest fight that ever took place in the Senate was waged, and the outcome was not certain until Judge Douglas Wikle of Williamson county cast the deciding vote in favor, making the result on April 16, ayes, 17; noes, 14, a bare majority. At 10:30 the following morning Governor Roberts affixed his signature to the Act conferring upon women the right to vote for electors of President and Vice-President of the United States and in the Municipal elections throughout the State. More than half a million women were thus far enfranchised.

Conspicuous and persistent among the enemies of the bill outside of the Legislature were U. S. Senator John K. Shields and Judge Vertrees. The latter, claiming to represent "others" filed a writ of injunction in the Chancery Court to test the validity of the law. Attorney General Frank M. Thompson and other able lawyers defended this suit, which was hotly contested, and this court, by Chancellor James B. Newman, in June declared the law unconstitutional. The case was appealed to the State Supreme Court, which in July, 1919, reversed this decision and declared the law valid.

When the Supreme Court rendered this decision the regular biennial registration was only ten days off and it was at the hottest period of the summer, when many women and most of the suffrage officials were out of town, but the registration was large in all the cities. In Nashville about 7,500 registered; in Knoxville about 7,000, and the type of those who presented

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Frances Fort Brown of Nashville left a bequest of \$3,000 to the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its board of officers appropriated enough of it to pay the expenses of this suit.

themselves everywhere was of the highest and best. Contrary to all predictions the negro women did not flock to the polls. They voted but in comparatively few numbers and the records show that only the better educated were interested. Their vote proved to be anything but the "bugaboo" politicians had tried to show that it would be and in some instances it was a contributing factor to good government. In Nashville they registered about 2,500 and voted almost their full quota. They organized under the direction of the suffrage association, had their own city and ward chairmen and worked with an intelligence, loyalty and dignity that made new friends for their race and for woman suffrage. There was not a single adverse criticism of them from any ward. They kept faith with the white women even when some of their men sold out the night before election to a notorious political rounder. They proved that they were trying to keep step with the march of progress and with a little patience, trust and vision the universal tie of motherhood and sisterhood can and will overcome the prejudice against them as voters.

An immense amount of work was done by Tennessee women for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. After interviewing their members of Congress and using every possible influence on them in their home districts, hundreds of letters and telegrams were sent to them in Washington whenever they were to vote on it from 1915 to 1919. Mrs. Dudley, as a member of the national board, spent months in Washington and was sent to various southern States where skilled work was necessary. There was a gradually increasing vote in favor by Tennessee members until when the last one was taken in June, 1919, only three Representatives, Moon, Hull and Garrett, voted against it. Senator Shields voted in opposition and Senator McKellar in favor.

[With this chapter was sent a complete history of the woman suffrage movement in Memphis, Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga and smaller cities, which accounts for the phenomenally rapid advance in Tennessee. Unfortunately these chapters can give space only to the general work of the State associations.]

TENNESSEE. PART II.<sup>1</sup>

Tennessee's pioneer period was from 1885-1911, for during those years the educational and organization work carried on by a few intrepid women was as difficult as was the same work in other parts of the United States thirty or more years before that time. Woman suffrage was in the stage of ridicule and abuse and with a few exceptions the press of the State was opposed and lost no opportunity to disparage it.

The State Equal Suffrage Association was reorganized in Memphis in 1906 and there was increasing activity each year afterwards. In 1907 the suffragists held a convention and reported their membership trebled. They secured a suffrage article in the *News Scimitar* through the courtesy of Mike Connolly, its editor. In 1908 Dr. Shaw spoke at the Goodwin Hall in Memphis under the auspices of the State association and a return engagement was secured by the Lyceum Course the following winter. The third annual convention was held Dec. 15, 1909, in Memphis at the home of the State president, Mrs. J. D. Allen, and the officers were re-elected. It was reported that a petition had been sent to Congress for a Federal Amendment and more than 400 letters written, one to President Taft asking him to declare for woman suffrage and local work had been done. Mrs. E. S. Conser, assisted by Mrs. Allen and the suffrage club, prevailed upon the Memphis University Law Department to open its doors to women and Mrs. Conser became its first woman student. Mrs. Allen attended the national convention at Seattle, Washington. Mrs. Ittie K. Reno delivered the first woman suffrage address in Nashville, at the Centennial Club, and the first one in Chattanooga was given by Miss Margaret Ervin at the university where she was a student.

In 1910 a league was organized in Knoxville by Mrs. L. Crozier French, who became its president. In the summer a suffrage debate, affirmative taken by Mrs. Ford, was held in the Methodist church at Kingston, the first time the question was discussed in that part of the State and people came from

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Margaret Ervin Ford, president of the State Equal Suffrage Association.

neighboring towns. Miss Catherine J. Wester, a Kingston suffragist, had a six weeks' newspaper debate in the *Chattanooga Times*. A booth was maintained at the Appalachian Exposition, and 590 names of visitors from Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi were registered in the suffrage booth at the Tri-State fair in September at Memphis.

The fourth State convention was held at Memphis in the Business Men's Club Feb. 18, 1911, and the president, Mrs. Allen, reported suffrage trips to Little Rock, Ark., and Jackson, Miss. Addresses were given by Attorney Robert Beattie and by H. P. Hanson, vice-president of the Southern Conference on Child and Woman Labor, who brought word that the Memphis Typographical Union was on record for woman suffrage. Mrs. Beattie was elected vice-president and Dr. Madge Patton Stephens secretary. The Nashville club was organized September 28, with Mrs. Guilford Dudley president; one at Morristown November 3, with Mrs. Hannah Price Hardy president; one at Chattanooga December 9, with Mrs. E. W. Penticost president.

By 1912 a new era had dawned with five of the largest cities organized and affiliated with the State association. It held its annual convention at Nashville January 10-11. Governor Ben W. Hooper addressed it and stated that he was "on the fence" as to the suffrage question. Mrs. Allen was elected honorary president and Miss Sarah Barnwell Elliott president. Miss Elliott spent two months of this year speaking in the State and she also spoke in Birmingham, in New York and the Mississippi Valley Conference in Chicago. In December a suffrage club was organized in Jackson with Mrs. C. B. Bell president. J. W. Brister, State Superintendent of Schools, gave a suffrage address at Nashville.

The State convention was held again at the Hermitage Hotel in Nashville, Jan. 6, 7, 1913. The principal speakers were ex-Governor John I. Cox, U. S. Senator Luke Lea, Misses Laura Clay of Kentucky and Mary Johnston of Virginia. Mrs. Virginia Clay Clopton, as president, sent greetings from the Huntsville, Ala., league, reorganized after a lapse of thirty years with the same president. The main discussion was whether to introduce a suffrage bill in the Legislature. Mrs. Margaret Ervin



Ford urged it, saying that, though it had small chance, it was well to accustom the Legislature to the idea. The matter was placed in the hands of Miss Elliott, Mrs. French, Mrs. Dudley and Mrs. Scott, who recommended that no bill should be introduced. Mrs. Allen and Miss Elliott were re-elected and Mrs. James M. McCormack was made vice-president-at-large; Miss Clay and Miss Johnston spoke on the 10th at a large meeting in Chattanooga and Miss Clay the following Sunday in the Universalist church. On April 7 Miss Elliott and Mrs. Dudley marched in Washington in a parade to the Capitol to interview the Tennessee representatives in Congress on the Federal Amendment. This year Miss Jeannette Rankin of Montana, an organizer for the National Association, came to assist. By October the State membership was 942 and fifteen newspapers were reached regularly with suffrage matter. Booths were conducted at many of the county fairs and a "suffrage day" was given at the Memphis Tri-State fair, when the outside speakers were Miss Clay and Miss Kate Gordon of Louisiana. The *News Scimitar* issued a suffrage edition.

A second convention met in Morristown, October 21, 22. Miss Sue S. White was elected secretary, Mrs. Hardy State organizer and the other officers continued. At the national convention in Washington in November Miss Wester and Mrs. Ford represented Tennessee on the "committee of one hundred," which, led by Mrs. Medill McCormick, chairman of the National Congressional Committee, called upon President Wilson to enlist his assistance. That year and each succeeding year letters, telegrams and petitions were sent to the President and to the Tennessee Representatives in Congress urging their support of the Federal Amendment. One petition from Chattanooga bore a thousand signatures.

By 1914 the six largest cities in the State were organized and the majority of the clubs celebrated National Suffrage Day, May 2, with parades and open air meetings to the amazement and interest of the people. The Chattanooga parade, with a brass band, ended at the Court House where the steps of that building were aglow with yellow bunting. Mrs. Wesley Martin Stoner of Washington, D. C., was the principal speaker and

Mrs. Ford, the local president, read the following resolution: "We, citizens of Chattanooga, voice our demand that women citizens of the United States be accorded the full right of citizenship." The silence was breathless as the sound of the "ayes" died away and not a voice was raised to say "no." Other speakers were Mayor Jesse M. Littleton, L. P. Barnes, Attorney J. J. Lynch, the Reverends Charles H. Myers, L. R. Robinson and Dr. Daniel E. Bushnell. The State Federation of Women's Clubs in convention at Pulaski voted down a suffrage resolution, though the president, Mrs. George W. Denney, favored it.

From March to May 13 there was a spirited controversy as to whether the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association should meet in Chattanooga, which city had invited it, or in Nashville, which had not. Miss Elliott, who was ill, resigned and Mrs. McCormack took charge of the State work. Chattanooga won the convention on the first vote of the State board but after balloting by the clubs through telegrams for several weeks and much misunderstanding it met in Nashville the next November. The annual convention was held in Knoxville October 28-30, when there was a separation of the State forces, Mrs. Crozier French and her following leaving the convention, taking three clubs with them and organizing the "Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association Incorporated," with Mrs. French president. Mrs. McCormack was elected president of the original Equal Suffrage Association, of which this chapter is the history.

The Southern States Suffrage Conference, Miss Kate M. Gordon, president, met in Chattanooga, November 10-11, just before the national convention. A special suffrage edition of the *News*, with Mrs. Frances Fort Brown editor-in-chief, was issued and the conference was a great success. Many prominent women from outside the State attended and all except Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont of New York and Miss Christabel Pankhurst of England, who was with her, went on to the national convention at Nashville. Here a special edition of the *Tennessean* was issued, many street meetings were held and suffrage arguments filled the air. Both State delegations were seated.

By the end of the year only four cities with a population of

five thousand or over were still unorganized. In December Miss Mary Pleasant Jones organized the Nashville Business Women's League with a large membership. Organization was continued during 1915. Through the courtesy of Judge Samuel C. Brown, the Circuit Court at Benton was suspended for an hour to hear the speeches of Miss Wester, Miss Sarah Ruth Frazier and Mrs. Ford and a club was then organized with 100 members. Mrs. Ford organized the Business Woman's Suffrage Club of Chattanooga with 160 charter members. A Men's Suffrage Club was formed there, the first in the State, R. B. Cook, George Fort Milton and J. B. F. Lowery, officers.

This year the suffragists assisted a vigorous campaign to secure a majority vote for holding a convention to prepare a new constitution, opened headquarters in the different cities and worked day and night, and they received letters of high appreciation from the chairman of the State committee. The convention really won but was lost by dishonest election returns. The annual convention was held at the Hotel Patton, Chattanooga, December 9, Mrs. McCormack presiding. In 1912 a treasury fund of \$5.50 was turned over to the new treasurer, Miss Wester, who handled in 1915 \$1,127. The National Association this year elected Mrs. McCormack auditor.

National Suffrage Day, May 2, 1916, was celebrated in all of the larger cities. The Business Women's Club brought Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst of England and Miss Margaret Foley of Boston to Chattanooga and the 5,000 capacity auditorium was packed. The State Federation of Women's Clubs, which was to hold its convention there May 3, was invited to attend and the next day it passed a woman suffrage resolution by a vote of 96 to 43.

In May woman suffrage planks were secured in both the Republican and Democratic State platforms, after which the State officers living in Chattanooga had a 25-foot streamer prepared with the following words on it: Tennessee Leads the South, The State Federation, Republican and Democratic Parties Endorse Woman Suffrage, and had it stretched across the main street. Over night Police Commissioner E. R. Betterton had made a ruling that banners could no longer hang over the street

and three policemen with the patrol wagon "arrested" it. The women secured the release of the culprit and through the courtesy of E. A. Abbott, a merchant, it was placed over the front of his store and there it hung for several weeks. On June 13 it was taken to the National Democratic convention at St. Louis, where it gave its silent message hanging on the wall of the lobby of the hotel in which the Tennessee delegation had headquarters. Mrs. Dudley and Mrs. Ford addressed the Tennessee delegates to the convention urging them to vote for the woman suffrage plank, which they did unanimously.

Mrs. Catt held a successful congressional conference in Memphis, spoke at several large meetings and the biggest automobile parade ever seen in the city added to the occasion.<sup>1</sup> Federal Amendment Day was celebrated in twenty-six cities and thousands of leaflets were distributed. In October the legislative chairman wrote to all candidates for Congress asking their position on suffrage and eight declared in favor. In November those elected were interviewed and banquets, luncheons and receptions given them on the eve of their leaving for Washington.

In order to unite the two State associations Mrs. Catt suggested that they hold their conventions at about the same time in the same city. The Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, Mrs. McCormack president, set its convention for Jan. 5, 6, 1917, and that of the other was announced for the 9th, both in Nashville. The former was held at the Hotel Hermitage, large and enthusiastic, with the principal speakers Clyde Shropshire, Speaker of the House, the Hon. George L. Berry, Dixon Merritt, editor of the *Tennessean*, and Miss Laura Clay. Mrs. Ford was elected president. The latter postponed its convention to January 30-31, which made the union impossible. On February 22 the former association offered its services to Governor Rye to be utilized as he should see fit, should the United States enter the war. Mrs. Catt called a meeting of the Executive Council of the National Association for the 23rd in Washington to consider offering its assistance to President Wilson and Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. C. B. Allen organized the Memphis Woman's Party within the State Association and became its president and Mrs. Ford organized it in Chattanooga with over 400 members, was elected president and ward organization started there. Nashville had the first through ward organization, due to Miss Matilda Porter.

Ford represented Tennessee. The suffragists of this State, as did those of every other, rallied to the colors. Many served in France and thousands at home in every field of activity where women were permitted, in army and navy, in citizen service, Red Cross, Government bond sales, etc., and their devoted service proved a most effective plea for their enfranchisement.

On March 26, 1918, the boards of the two associations met in Memphis at the Professional and Business Women's Club, with Mrs. Allen, honorary president, in the chair. A union was effected and Mrs. Leslie Warner was unanimously elected president of the amalgamated associations. Mrs. Warner spoke at the State Federation of Women's Clubs in Jackson and after one session she asked all to remain who were interested in suffrage. About 90 per cent. did so and an enthusiastic meeting was held. Her next work was to secure resolutions in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and protests against further delay in the Senate. She spoke before nineteen organizations of various kinds, all of which passed the desired resolutions. It was also endorsed by the Democratic and Republican State Committees.

As vice-chairman of the Woman's Committee Council of National Defense, Mrs. Warner introduced Dr. Shaw, its chairman, to an audience of 7,000 people at Nashville in April. In July she called 200 suffragists from all sections of the State for a hearing before U. S. Senator John K. Shields, hoping they might convince him that the Tennessee women did want the ballot, as one of his reasons for voting against the Federal Amendment was that they did not. Later when pressed by the women for a declaration during his candidacy for re-election he gave to the press his correspondence with President Wilson who had urged him to vote for it, to whom he wrote: "If I could bring myself to believe that the adoption of the resolution would contribute to the successful prosecution of the war we are waging with Germany I would unhesitatingly vote for it, because my whole heart and soul are involved in bringing the war to a victorious issue and I am willing to sacrifice everything save the honor and freedom of our country in aiding you to accomplish that end, but I have been unable to do so. . . ."

The President said in reply: "I realize the weight of argument

that has controlled your attitude in the matter and I would not have written as I did if I had not thought that the passage of the amendment at this time was an essential psychological element in the conduct of the war for democracy. I am led by a single sentence in your letter, therefore, to say that I do earnestly believe that our action upon this amendment will have an important and immediate influence upon the whole atmosphere and morale of the nations engaged in the war and every day I am coming to see how supremely important that side of the whole thing is."

On August 8 the State Bar Association passed a strong resolution endorsing woman suffrage by Federal Amendment. The president, Colonel Ed Watkins, in his annual address, included a strong plea for it and Judge David V. Puryear introduced the resolution. Miss Elizabeth Lea Miller and Mrs. Ford, the first women members of the association; Mrs. John Lamar Meek and others worked for it. Col. Joseph H. Acklen gave his services as attorney for years to the State association without charge. Urgent petitions which bore the names of all the leading Democrats of the State, arranged on a large sheet with the photograph of and a quotation from President Woodrow Wilson, were sent to Senator Shields. The State board sent petitions to the legislators urging that they ask him to vote for the Federal Amendment resolution, which lacked only two votes of passing the Senate, but he opposed it to the end.

The remainder of Mrs. Warner's régime was filled with efforts in the Legislature for the Presidential suffrage bill. She began in September and worked unceasingly until its passage the next April, financing the campaign with some small assistance from her board. During the hundredth anniversary of the city of Memphis in June, a notable State event, a suffrage "victory" celebration was held with addresses by Mayor Monteverde and leading suffragists.

The eleventh annual convention was held in the Tulane Hotel, Nashville, June 4, 5, 1919. During the second day's session news came of the submission of the Federal Amendment by the U. S. Senate and excitement ran riot. Telegrams of congratulation were sent to Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw, U. S. Senator McKellar and the Tennessee Representatives who voted for it. It was a

dramatic ending of the long contest—long even in Tennessee, for here too women had grown old and died in the struggle. Tributes were paid to those who were gone, among them Mrs. Meriwether who had given her life to the work. The two pioneers present, Mrs. Allen and Miss Terrett, gave reminiscences of the early days. Mrs. George Fort Milton was elected president.

A call was issued for the final convention of the State association and the first convention of the Tennessee League of Women Voters to meet May 18, 19, 1920, in the House of Representatives at Nashville. This was signed by the presidents of the following State associations: Suffrage, Mothers' Congress and Parent Teachers', Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Federation of Music Clubs, Daughters of the American Revolution and Press and Authors' Club. Mrs. Milton presided over the convention and Miss Mary Boyce Temple, regent of the D. A. R., presided over the first conference of the League of Women Voters. The association and the League were merged and Mrs. Milton was elected chairman.<sup>1</sup>

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. 1911. This year for the first time a resolution was introduced by Senator Walter White of Dayton "to amend the constitution so as to give women the ballot." It was referred to the Constitutional Amendment Committee, Alfred A. Adams, chairman, which reported adversely. The women in charge were Mrs. J. D. Allen, State president, and Attorney Frances Wolf, legislative chairman.

1915. The suffragists espoused two bills. The association of which Mrs. McCormack was president worked for a new State constitution because of the great difficulty of changing the old one. The association of which Mrs. Dudley was president asked for an amendment. It received a "courtesy" vote in favor from the first Legislature and did not come before a second. Mrs. McCormack, Mrs. Ford, Mrs. Henry J. Kelso, Mrs. Hall and Miss Wester were the Legislative Committee.

1917. In March the Legislature passed an Act amending the

<sup>1</sup> The lists of the many officers of the association during the years are unavoidably too imperfect to be used without doing injustice to those omitted. In Mrs. Ford's strong desire to give full credit to all the men and women who were actively connected with the work for woman suffrage in Tennessee she sent lists so long that the lack of space made it absolutely necessary to omit them.—Ed.

charter of Lookout Mountain so as to give the women Municipal suffrage. The prime mover was Attorney James Anderson and Mayor P. F. Jones, and the other commissioners voted unanimously for it. Mrs. Ford, the State president, a lifelong resident, had the previous year registered there in order to call attention to the injustice of "taxation without representation" but her name was removed from the records. Early in 1917 Mrs. Ford called on President Wilson at the White House and asked him to send a message to the Legislature in favor of the pending Presidential suffrage bill, which he did.

[Mrs. Ford's thorough account of the fortunes of this bill through the Legislatures of 1917 and 1919 is so largely covered by the report in Part I of this chapter that it is omitted here.]<sup>1</sup>

After the law was enacted Mrs. Kenny and Mrs. Kimbrough appeared at the office of the county trustee and made a tender of the amount due as their poll tax. He refused to receive it, acting under instructions from the county attorney who declared that the laws of the State exempted women. They then filed a bill in the Chancery Court of Davidson county asking a decision. Chancellor Newman dismissed it with an opinion in part as follows: "It will be observed by Section 686 of the code that those liable for poll taxes are males between the ages of 21 and 50 years on the 10th day of January the year the assessment is laid. Women were not liable Jan. 10, 1919, for poll tax and plainly it was never the purpose or intent of Section 1220 that a qualified voter as a condition precedent to the right to vote should produce satisfactory evidence that he had paid a poll tax assessed against him for which he was not liable. . . . All women between the ages of 21 and 50 years, otherwise qualified as voters, are entitled to vote in the November election of 1920 without paying a poll tax for 1919." The case was taken to the Supreme Court, which ruled that women did not have to pay in order to vote that year.

RATIFICATION. When the Legislature of Washington in March, 1920, ratified the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment making the 35th, there came an absolute stop. The southeastern

<sup>1</sup> The gold pen used by Governor Roberts in signing the bill was one used by Dr. John W. Wester when drafting the first anti-liquor bill ever introduced in the Tennessee Legislature, in December, 1841. With it also Governor Rye signed the Lookout Mountain Suffrage Bill. It belongs to Mrs. Ford, grand-daughter of Dr. Wester.



States had rejected it and it had been ratified by all the others except Vermont and Connecticut, whose Governors refused to call special sessions. It looked as if the women of the United States would be prevented from voting at the presidential election in November for the lack of one ratification. There was every reason to believe that the Legislature of Tennessee would give this one if it were not prevented by a clause in the State constitution. Meanwhile the ratification of the Federal Prohibition Amendment by the Ohio Legislature had been sent to the voters by a recent law, they had rejected it and an appeal had been taken to the U. S. Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the referendum law. On June 1, in *Hawk vs. Smith*, this court held that a referendum to the voters on the ratification of Federal Amendments was in conflict with Article V of the Federal Constitution, therefore null and void, as this Constitution was the supreme law of the land. The decision said: "It is not the function of courts or legislative bodies, National or State, to alter the method which the U. S. Constitution has fixed."

Article II, Section 32 of the Tennessee constitution reads: "No convention or General Assembly of this State shall act upon any amendment of the Constitution of the United States proposed by Congress to the several States unless such convention or General Assembly shall have been elected after such amendment is submitted." The presumption was naturally that this clause was nullified by the U. S. Supreme Court's decision. On June 10, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Suffrage Association, telegraphed Governor Albert H. Roberts, urging him to call an extra session. He, thereupon, sought the opinion of Attorney General Frank M. Thompson as to the power of the present Legislature to ratify, who answered that it would have the power. He said that he had submitted the question to the U. S. Department of Justice through Solicitor General John L. Frierson, to whom President Wilson had also appealed, whose answer in brief was as follows: "The ruling of the Supreme Court in the Ohio case and the consideration which I gave to this question in preparing those cases for hearing leave no doubt in my mind that the power to ratify an amendment to the Federal

Constitution is derived solely from the people of the United States through this constitution and not from the people or the constitution of the State. The provision of the Tennessee constitution that no Legislature shall act on an amendment to the Federal Constitution unless elected after the proposal of the amendment, if valid, would undoubtedly be a restriction upon that power. . . . If the Legislature is called in extra session it will have the clear right to ratify."

A request was made to President Wilson for assistance, and on June 24 he sent the following telegram to Governor Roberts: "It would be a real service to the party and to the nation if it is possible for you under the peculiar provisions of your State constitution, having in mind the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Ohio case, to call a special session of the Legislature to consider the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Allow me to urge this very earnestly." At the same time the Governor received a telegram signed by practically every member of the Tennessee delegation at the National Democratic convention meeting in San Francisco, impressing on him the advantage to the party of his calling the extra session. In addition U. S. Senator Kenneth McKellar, a member of the platform committee of that convention, secured a plank in the platform, endorsing the amendment and urging the Democratic Governors and legislators of Tennessee and other States to unite in an effort to complete the ratification. On June 26 Homer S. Cummings, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, informed the Governor that the committee that day by unanimous vote had directed him to send the following message: "We most earnestly emphasize the extreme importance and urgency of an immediate meeting of your Legislature for the purpose of ratifying the proposed 19th Amendment to the Federal Constitution." On June 8 the Tennessee Democratic convention had passed the following resolution: "We heartily favor the ratification of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States . . . and we demand that the Governor call an extra session."

Governor Roberts answered President Wilson: "I will call the extra session in ample time for the women to vote in the

1920 elections." This he did on August 7, calling the Legislature to convene on the 9th.<sup>1</sup>

The first of July Governor Roberts appointed Mrs. Leslie Warner State chairman to organize for ratification. She selected a committee of one hundred, some from each county, recommended by the legislators, and opened headquarters at the Hotel Hermitage in Nashville and Mrs. James B. Ezzell was elected vice-chairman, Mrs. Margaret Ervin Ford, secretary of the committee, which became known as the Democratic Ratification Committee. On the advisory board were: Miss Charl Williams, vice-chairman of the National Democratic Committee; Miss Della Dortch, regional chairman of the National League of Women Voters; Mesdames A. H. Roberts, wife of the Governor; Guilford Dudley, third vice-president of the National Suffrage Association; John B. Gilmore, James S. Fraser and Miss Lutie Jones. Mrs. George Fort Milton, chairman of the League of Women Voters, appointed Mrs. John M. Kenny State chairman for ratification with Mesdames John R. Aust and Claude B. Sullivan chairmen of committees. They opened headquarters at the Maxwell House. Mrs. James Beasley became chairman of the Republican committee and ex-Governor Rye of the Men's Committee, assisted by ex-Governors Albert A. Taylor and Ben W. Hooper and Mr. Hal H. Clements.

Early in July Miss Marjorie Shuler, chairman of publicity of the National Suffrage Association, was sent by it to assist. She expressed gratification at what had been accomplished, saying: "The Tennessee women have done wonders; they are now well organized and things look promising for ratification." She joined with the committees in urging Mrs. Catt to come and direct the work and she came soon after the middle of July and remained six weeks.<sup>2</sup> Her first move was to start a series of letters through the League of Women Voters to local groups urging meetings,

<sup>1</sup> Anti-suffragists from all over the State bombarded Governor Roberts with threats of defeat for reelection should he persist in pushing ratification, many of whom were his strongest friends and supporters. At the special elections during the summer held to fill vacancies in the Legislature several suffragists were elected, among them M. H. Copenhaver, who took the seat of Senator J. Parks Worley, arch enemy of suffrage. T. K. Riddick, a prominent lawyer, made the race in order to lead the fight for ratification in the House. Representative J. Frank Griffin made a flying trip from San Francisco to cast his vote for it.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Upton and Miss Shuler did no lobbying in the State House.

deputations to legislators and the return to headquarters of their signed pledges to vote for ratification, which later were very useful. With Mrs. Milton and with Miss Shuler in charge of publicity, a speaking tour began at Memphis and ended in eastern Tennessee, including all the large cities and creating much favorable sentiment. During this trip Mrs. Catt did not hesitate to call attention to the sinister forces which it was discovered were working against ratification and she sent a message to Senator Harding and Governor Cox, the presidential candidates, describing them. On July 24 Miss Esther Ogden, a director of the National Association, with a deputation of women, appeared before the National Democratic Committee in session at Columbus, O., presenting a memorial from that association, signed by Mrs. Catt, urging the committee to assume the responsibility of achieving the ratification and she brought their favorable answer to Nashville. The last week in July Mrs. Catt received the following from Senator Harding: "I am exceedingly glad to learn that you are in Tennessee seeking to consummate the ratification of the suffrage amendment. If any of the Republican members should ask my opinion as to their course I would cordially recommend immediate favorable action." He sent a similar message to Senator John C. Houk, State chairman, but later when the Harding-Coolidge League of the District of Columbia urged him to appeal further for ratification he answered: "You can understand why I cannot consistently urge Tennessee legislators to vote for ratification without knowing their reasons for such commitment as they have made. The situation is being reported to national headquarters, where it will be given attention at once."

A letter from Governor Cox to Mrs. Catt said: "I am very much gratified at the news that you are to remain in Tennessee for the ratification campaign. It gives me added reason for expressing confidence that the Legislature will act favorably, which will greatly please the national Democratic party." In addition he sent Miss Charl Williams, a member of the Democratic National Committee, to Nashville with the message that if necessary he would himself come and fight for it. On August 7 at the request of Will H. Hays, chairman of the

Republican National Committee, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of its executive committee, came to assist.

Urged by President Wilson, Governor Cox, George White, chairman of the National Democratic Committee, and Senator Pat Harrison, its chairman of publicity and speakers, U. S. Senator McKellar came with his valuable help. Miss Edna A. Beveridge of Maryland and Mrs. Lydia Holmes, president of the Louisiana Suffrage Association, came to assist Mrs. Catt. Miss Sue White, Tennessee chairman of the National Woman's Party, assisted by Mesdames L. Crozier French, Walter Jackson, Frank Phillips, Miss Anita Pollitzer, Miss Betty Grim, Parley P. Christensen and others, also opened headquarters and worked for ratification. Since there were so many committees at work it was decided to appoint a general chairman and Miss Charl Williams was the wise choice.

From the time the special session was called anti-suffragists gathered in Nashville from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico, many of them paid workers. Everett P. Wheeler, a New York lawyer, president of a so-called American Constitutional League, formerly the Men's Anti-Suffrage Association, came and formed a branch composed of men prominent politically, who used every means known to influence legislation; sent speakers into the districts of friendly legislators, promised rewards, used threats, and charges of bribery were so insistent that Judge D. B. DeBow ordered a grand jury investigation. There was no depth to which some of the men trying to defeat woman suffrage did not descend.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. James S. Pinckard of Alabama, president of the Southern Women's Rejection League; Miss Josephine Pearson, its Tennessee president; Miss Mary G. Kilbreth, president of the

<sup>1</sup> After Mrs. Catt returned to New York she said: "Never in the history of politics has there been such a nefarious lobby as labored to block the ratification in Nashville. In the short time that I spent in the capital I was more maligned, more lied about, than in the thirty previous years I worked for suffrage. I was flooded with anonymous letters, vulgar, ignorant, insane. Strange men and groups of men sprang up, men we had never met before in the battle. Who were they? We were told, this is the railroad lobby, this is the steel lobby, these are the manufacturers' lobbyists, this is the remnant of the old whiskey ring. Even tricksters from the U. S. Revenue Service were there operating against us, until the President of the United States called them off. . . . They appropriated our telegrams, tapped our telephones, listened outside our windows and transoms. They attacked our private and public lives. I had heard of the 'invisible government.' Well, I have seen it work and I have seen it sent into oblivion."

National Anti-Woman Suffrage Association, with many of their followers were at work with the legislators. They were industriously assisted by Mrs. Ruffin G. Pleasant, wife of the ex-Governor of Louisiana, and by Miss Kate M. Gordon of that State and Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky, ardent suffragists but opposed to the Federal Amendment. The presidents or other officers of anti-suffrage associations in Ohio, Maryland, Delaware, Massachusetts, Maine and other States joined with the forces above.

The Legislature convened in extraordinary session Aug. 9, 1920, and heard the Governor's message, which said in part: "The Legislatures of thirty-five States have ratified the amendment, only one more being required to make it effective as a part of the Constitution of the United States. Its prompt ratification is urgently recommended. Tennessee occupies a pivotal position and the eyes of all America are upon us. Millions of women are looking to this Legislature to give them a voice and share in shaping the destiny of the Republic." He then quoted the platform declarations of both State and National Democratic and Republican parties urging ratification. The next day the Senate was called to order by President Andrew L. Todd, who introduced the ratification resolution. It was introduced in the House by the Shelby county delegation, all for it. Both were referred to the Committee on Constitutional Amendments.

On the night of August 12 a joint hearing was held and able speeches were made by Senator McKellar, Generals James A. Fowler and Charles A. Cates, Jr., and Attorney Ed T. Seay. Anti speakers were: Congressman Finis J. Garrett, Major E. B. Stahlman, Judges S. F. Wilson and G. N. Tillman. Miss Charlotte Rowe, of Yonkers, N. Y., represented the National Anti-Suffrage Association. The next day a memorial from Maryland "antis" urging rejection was read in the Senate. Senator L. E. Gwin presented the committee report recommending ratification, signed by himself and Senators M. H. Copenhaver, John C. Houk, C. C. Collins, J. W. Murray, T. L. Coleman, Douglas Wikle and E. N. Haston. Senators W. M. Cameron and J. W. Rice presented the minority report. After many elo-

quent speeches in favor and two in opposition the Senate vote was ayes 25, noes 4, two not voting, and a motion to reconsider was tabled.

On August 17 the House Committee reported in favor of ratification, saying: "This is the performance of solemn platform promises and we take great pride in the fact that to Tennessee has been accorded the signal distinction of passing a resolution which will secure the final adoption of the 19th Amendment." Speaker Seth M. Walker then moved to adjourn to gain time, which was carried by 52 ayes, 44 noes. He had given the suffragists his word that he would not only vote for ratification but would lead the fight for it in the House. On the contrary he suddenly underwent a radical change and fought it bitterly through the entire session.

On August 18 occurred the most exciting and dramatic session ever held in the House. Speaker Walker moved to table the resolution in an effort to kill it. R. L. Dowlen, who had undergone a serious operation, was brought from his bed to the Capitol to vote for it. T. A. Dodson received a message that his baby was dying and after he had taken the train it was found that his vote would be needed to carry it. A member reached the train as it was pulling out, found him and they leaped off. He cast his vote for the resolution and a man who was able to do so sent him home on a special train. The Speaker lobbied openly after clearing the House of suffrage lobbyists. Sitting with his arm around the shoulder of Banks S. Turner he stopped his voting when his name was called, but Turner won the honor of all present when, at the end of the roll call, he threw off Speaker Walker's arm, stood up and cast his vote for ratification. Harry T. Burn, aged 24, had been voting with the opposition but had given the suffragists his word that, as he had voted for the Presidential suffrage bill in 1919 and as his mother wanted him to vote for ratification, he would do so if his vote should be needed but otherwise he would vote against it, as his constituency was opposed. When the vote was a tie—48 to 48—he instantly realized that the resolution would be lost unless he should vote for it. This he did and the vote stood 49 ayes, 47 noes. Speaker Walker then changed his

vote from no to aye, making the vote 50 ayes, 46 noes, and moved to reconsider.<sup>1</sup>

By the rules of the House Speaker Walker had for three days the exclusive right in which to call up the motion to reconsider, after which others could do so. During this time the opponents worked madly to get one of the loyal 49 to change his vote without avail. They attempted every unscrupulous scheme known to control legislation. All failing, as a last desperate move, 36 in the early morning hours made a hegira to Decatur, Ala., where they remained for about ten days.

On August 23 the seats of the "antis" were conspicuously vacant. As the Speaker had not asked for a reconsideration, Mr. Riddick moved to call from the Journal the motion to reconsider. Speaker Walker ruled this out of order, giving among other reasons that Judge E. F. Langford of the Chancery Court had granted a temporary injunction restraining the Governor, Secretary of State and Speakers from certifying to Secretary of State Colby that the Legislature had ratified. Mr. Riddick appealed from the decision of the chair and it was not sustained. He then moved that the House reconsider its action in concurring in the Senate ratification, which was defeated by 49 noes, 9 present and not voting. He next moved that the Clerk of the House be instructed to transmit to the Senate the ratification resolution, which was carried by a viva voce vote. Governor Roberts, himself formerly a Judge, could not be checked by the devices of the opposition but asked Attorney General Thompson to place the matter before Chief Justice D. L. Lansden of the State Supreme Court. He issued a writ of supersedeas and certiorari, which, taking the matter out of the jurisdiction of the Chancery Court,

<sup>1</sup> Burn's vote so angered the opposition that they attempted to fasten a charge of bribery on him. On a point of personal privilege he made a statement to the House which was spread upon the Journal. After indignantly denying the charge he said: "I changed my vote in favor of ratification because I believe in full suffrage as a right; I believe we had a moral and legal right to ratify; I know that a mother's advice is always safest for her boy to follow and my mother wanted me to vote for ratification. I appreciated the fact that an opportunity such as seldom comes to mortal man—to free 17,000,000 women from political slavery—was mine. I desired that my party in both State and Nation might say it was a Republican from the mountains of East Tennessee, purest Anglo-Saxon section in the world, who made woman suffrage possible, not for any personal glory but for the glory of his party."

[Lack of space prevents giving the names of the immortal 49, which were sent with the chapter.]



amounted to a dissolving of the injunction. The Governor then mailed the certificate of ratification to Secretary Colby at noon, August 24, which he received on the morning of August 26. This completed the necessary thirty-six ratifications and Secretary Colby immediately proclaimed the Federal Suffrage Amendment a part of the Constitution of the United States.

During the weeks of machinations by the opposition, Governor Roberts, State Superintendent of Education Albert H. Williams, the other officers of the administration and the efficient Steering Committee, made up of members of the Legislature, headed by President Todd and Chief Clerk W. M. Carter of the Senate, were on complete guard night and day.

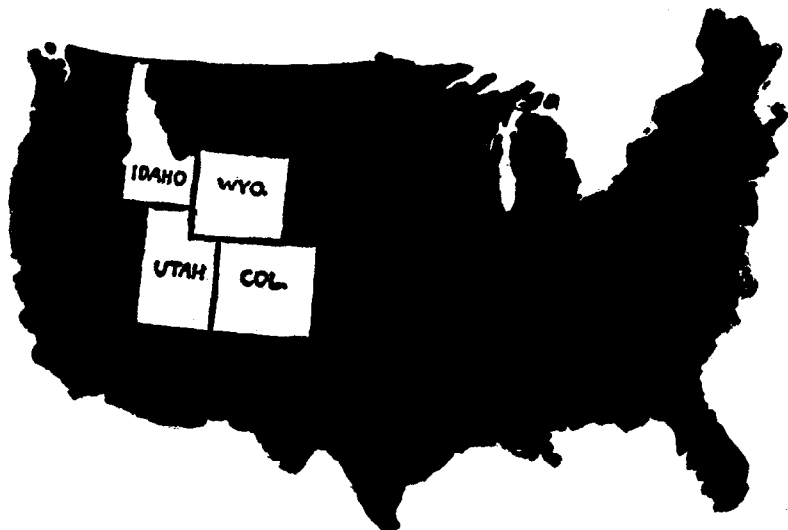
After the American Constitutional League had failed in the courts of Tennessee they planned to secure injunctions against election officials to prevent women from voting and carried their fight to the courts of the District of Columbia, losing in every one. They finally reached the Supreme Court of the United States, which eventually decided that the 19th Amendment was legally and constitutionally ratified. [This matter is referred to in Chapter XX of Volume V.] Meanwhile on September 20 Speaker Walker and other opponents went to Washington and requested Secretary Colby to withdraw and rescind the ratification proclamation. Failing in this effort they went on to Connecticut to prevent ratification by the special session there, which had at last been called, and this mission also was a failure.

To Tennessee will forever belong the glory of placing the last seal on the Federal Amendment by which the women of the United States were enfranchised.



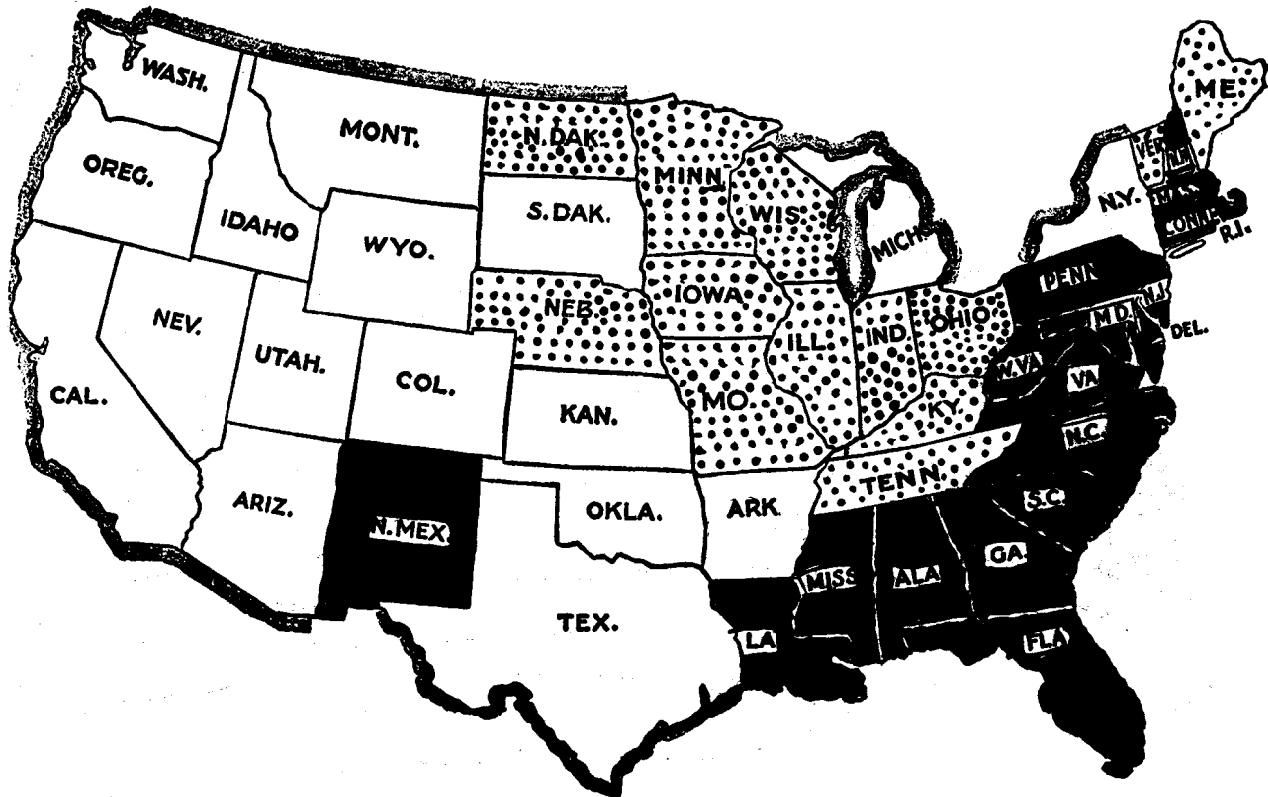
MAP I.

The Suffrage Map from 1869 to 1893. Wyoming as a Territory in 1869 and as a State in 1890 gave equal suffrage to women.



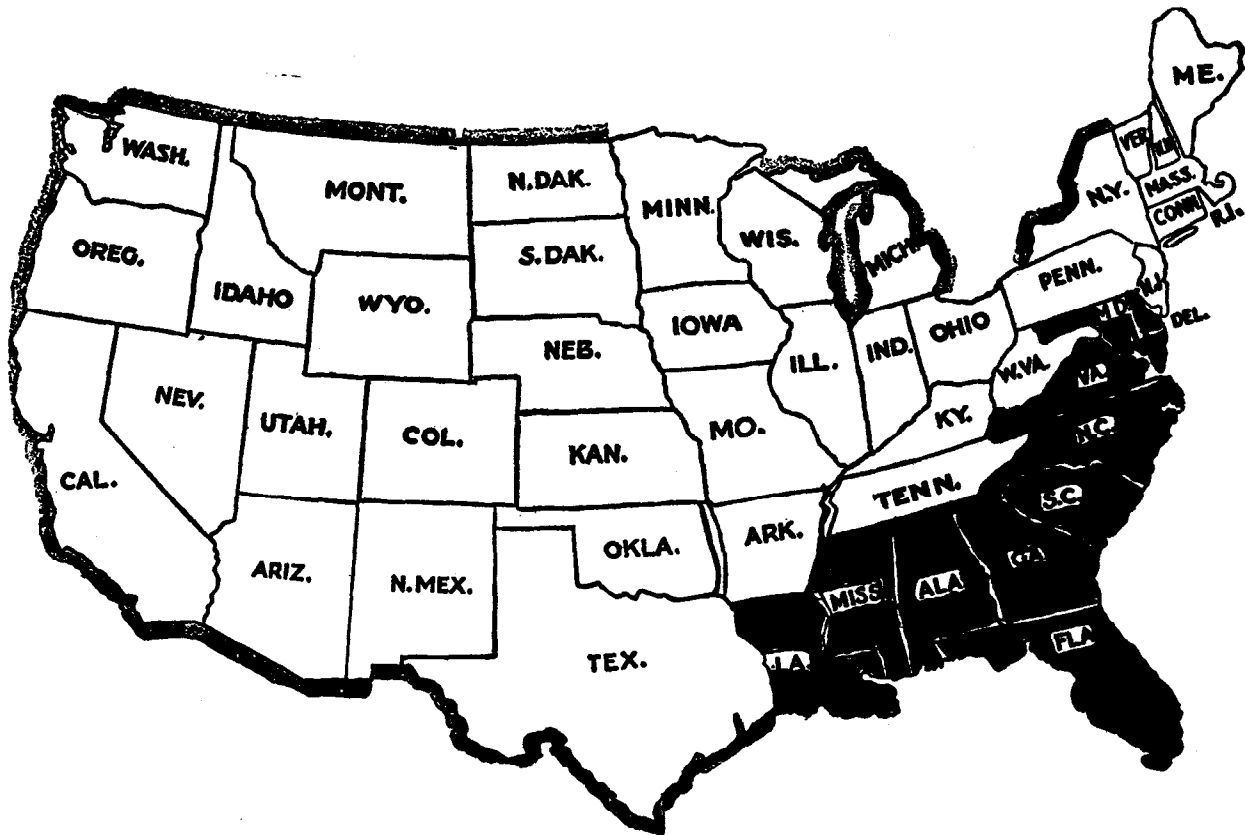
MAP II.

The Suffrage Map from 1893 to 1910. Colorado gave equal suffrage to women in 1893  
Utah in 1895, Idaho in 1896.



MAP III.

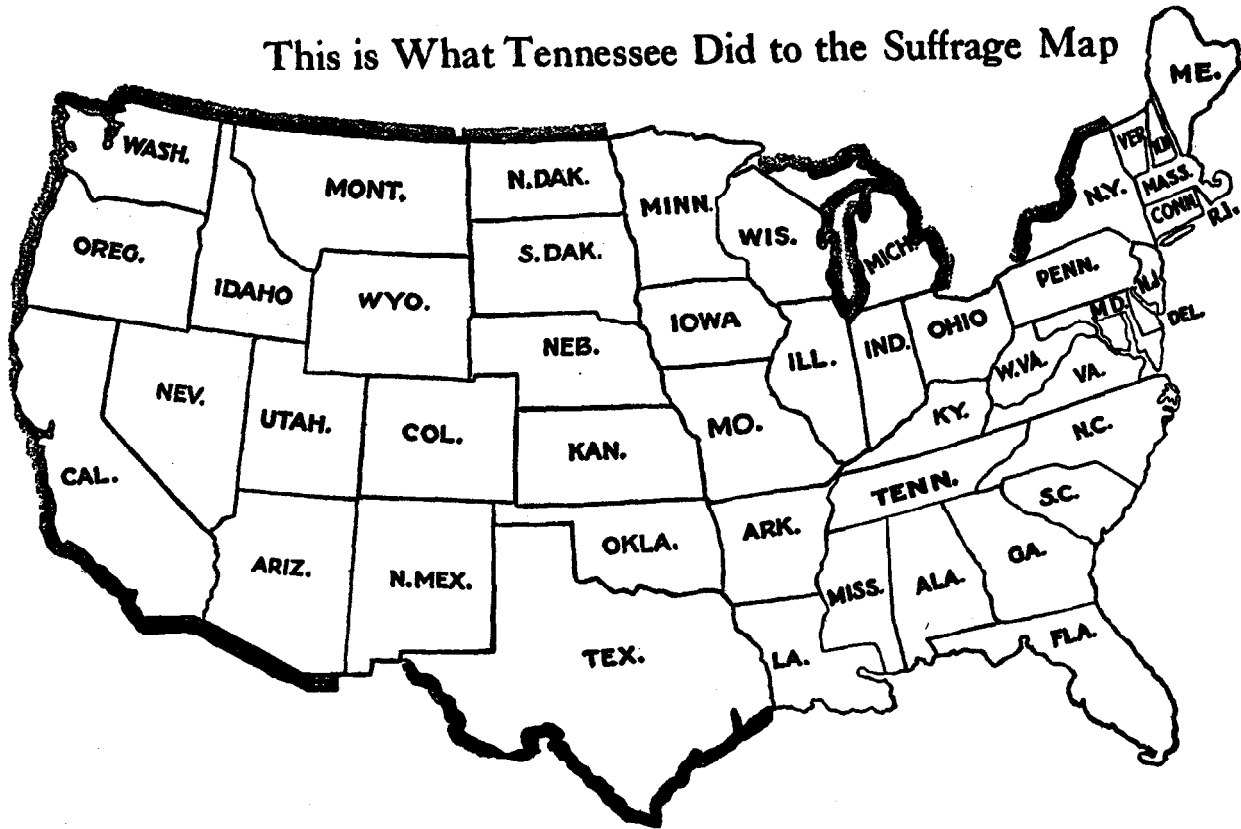
The Suffrage Map when Congress submitted the Federal Amendment June 4, 1919. In the white States women had full suffrage; in the dotted States Presidential; in Illinois, Nebraska, North Dakota, Tennessee and Vermont Municipal also; in the first three County besides.



MAP IV.

The Legislatures of all the white States ratified the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment; those of the black States rejected it except that of Florida, whose Governor said it would do so if he called a special session.

# This is What Tennessee Did to the Suffrage Map



MAP V.

The Suffrage Map after the Ratification of the Federal Amendment—universal, complete woman suffrage in every State.

## CHAPTER XLII.

### TEXAS.<sup>1</sup>

For many reasons Texas was slow in entering the movement for woman suffrage. There was some agitation of the subject from about 1885 and some organization in 1893-6 but the work done was chiefly through the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. In February, 1903, a meeting was called at Houston by Miss Annette Finnigan, a Texas girl and a graduate of Wellesley College. Here, with the help of her sisters, Elizabeth and Katharine Finnigan Anderson, an Equal Suffrage League was formed with Annette as president. The following month Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, lectured in Houston under its auspices. During the summer Annette and Elizabeth Finnigan spoke several times in Galveston and secured a suffrage committee of twenty-five there. With this nucleus a State Woman Suffrage Association was organized at a convention held in Houston, in December, which lasted two days and was well attended. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president of the National Association, was present at all the sessions, spoke at both evening meetings and took a deep interest in the new organization. Annette Finnigan was elected State president and during the following year made an effort to organize in Beaumont, San Antonio and Austin but the women, although interested, were too timid to organize for suffrage. Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman spoke under the auspices of the league.

The second State convention or conference was held in Houston in December, 1904, Galveston and La Porte being represented. Reports were given and officers elected, Annette Finnigan remaining president. The Houston league had a paid up membership

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Jane Y. McCallum, member of the Executive Board of the State Equal Suffrage Association as chairman of the Legislative Committee, the Ratification Committee and the Publicity Committee,

of one hundred, regular meetings were held and the subject of woman suffrage was kept constantly before the public. An effort was made to get a woman on the school board but the Mayor refused to appoint one. Among those active in the work were Althea Jones, Miss Mary W. Roper, Mrs. E. F. and Miss Ruby McGowen of Houston; Mrs. A. Adella Penfield of La Porte, Mrs. C. H. Moore and Miss Julia Runge of Galveston. The Finnigan sisters were the leaders and the league prospered for several years until they left the State. The movement became inactive and the society formed in Austin in 1908 with twenty-five members was the only one that continued.

In 1912 through the efforts of Miss M. Eleanor Brackenridge of San Antonio and Miss Anna Maxwell Jones, a Texas woman residing in New York, suffrage clubs were organized in San Antonio, Galveston, Dallas, Waco, Tyler and San Marcos. Miss Finnigan returned to Texas and the Houston league was revived. The third State convention was held in San Antonio in March, 1913. Miss Brackenridge was elected president, Miss Finnigan honorary president. The convention was spirited and showed that the suffrage movement was well launched. This was just ten years after the first club was started. Miss Brackenridge possessed large means and a wide acquaintance and gave much prestige to the association. A number of notable speakers were brought to the State and the subject was introduced in women's organizations. This year through the San Antonio league a bill was introduced in the Legislature but never came to a vote.

In April, 1914, the State convention was held in Dallas and Miss Brackenridge was made honorary president and Miss Finnigan again elected president. During the year State headquarters were opened in Houston and the clubs were increased from eight to twenty-one. Miss Pearl Penfield, as headquarters and field secretary, organized the State work. The president sent letters to all the legislators asking them to pledge themselves to vote for a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution. None of them had an idea that any of the others would agree to support it and a considerable number in a desire to "please the ladies" wrote charming letters of acquiescence. When in January, 1915, they confronted a large group of women lobbyists, experiences were

hurriedly compared and consternation reigned among them. "Uncle" Jesse Baker of Granbury, of honored memory, introduced the resolution to submit an amendment to the electors. The Legislative Committee were inexperienced but they worked with such zeal that it received a vote in the House of 90 to 32. It was not considered by the Senate.

Among those who worked with Miss Finnigan during the three months in Austin were Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, president of the Galveston Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. Tex Armstrong of the Dallas association; Mrs. J. O. Creighton of the Austin association; Mrs. Ed. F. Harris and Mrs. J. H. W. Steele of Galveston; Mrs. David Doom, Mrs. Robert Connerly, Mrs. L. E. Walker, Mrs. A. B. Wolfe and Mrs. R. H. Griffith, all of Austin; Mrs. William H. Dunne of San Antonio; Mrs. Elizabeth Herndon Potter of Tyler; Mrs. W. E. Spell of Waco.

On Sunday afternoon, March 28, Dr. Shaw, the guest of Miss Brackenridge, delivered a great speech in Beethoven Hall under the auspices of the San Antonio Equal Franchise Society, accompanied on the stage by its president, Mrs. Dan Leary; J. H. Kirkpatrick, president of the Men's Suffrage League, the Rev. George H. Badger and Miss Marie B. Fenwick, a veteran suffragist. Many converts were made. In April the State convention met in Galveston and reports showed twenty-one auxiliaries. Mrs. Cunningham was elected president, alert, enthusiastic and bringing to the cause the valuable experience of work in it for the past two years. The president and new board prosecuted the work so vigorously that during the year there was a 400 per cent. increase in organizations. Miss Kate Hunter, president of the Palestine league, gave her entire summer vacation to field work.

In May, 1916, the State convention met in Dallas, re-elected Mrs. Cunningham to the presidency and instructed the executive committee to ask for suffrage planks in State and National Democratic platforms. The name was changed from Woman Suffrage to Equal Suffrage Association and the Senatorial district plan of organization was adopted, following the lines of the Democratic party. When the State Democratic convention met in San Antonio this month to elect a national committeeman there were scores of women in the galleries proudly wearing their



suffrage colors but Governor James E. Ferguson and ex-U. S. Senator Joseph Weldon Bailey, both of unhallowed memory, united their forces and woman suffrage had not a remote chance.

Texas women went to the National Republican convention in Chicago in June and a sufficient number of them to form half a block in the "golden lane" at the National Democratic convention in St. Louis. At the latter Governor Ferguson brought in the minority report of the Resolutions Committee against a woman suffrage plank in the platform, and let it be recorded that there were only three other men on the committee who would sign it, the remainder signing the majority report placing the plank in the platform. In August the Democratic convention met in Houston to nominate State candidates and prepare the State platform. Mrs. Cunningham, Mrs. Helen Moore and Mrs. J. M. Quinnof appeared before the platform committee and with all the eloquence at their command urged it to insert a woman suffrage plank or at least to endorse the National platform. This committee was entirely in the hands of the liquor ring and Ferguson was czar of the convention, so woman suffrage was ignored.

Mrs. Edith Hinkle League, the headquarters secretary, shared the president's ten, twelve and even fourteen-hour days of labor, so that Mrs. Cunningham was able to leave the office in charge of her and volunteer assistants while she helped to fill the pressing need of field workers and organizers. She had the assistance of Miss Lavinia Engle, one of the National Association's organizers. Despite the lack of funds when word came of West Virginia's need of Mrs. Cunningham in its amendment campaign the executive board paid her expenses to that State and she donated her services. Upon her return to Texas she devoted July and August to field work, averaging two or three speeches a day during these insufferably hot months.

When the Legislature convened in January, 1917, the Legislative Committee were on hand. The following report by Mrs. Cunningham summarizes the work:

First. Opening suffrage headquarters on the main street at Austin near the Capitol. Second. A luncheon, at which the attendance exceeded the capacity of the largest hotel. The program was a mock legislative session at which the suffrage bill came up for the third

reading and debate, those opposed imitating the style of the leading "antis" at hearings. Third. A very successful mass meeting at the Hancock Opera House with good speakers. Fourth. Introduction of the House Joint Resolution for a suffrage amendment, signed by twenty members, including some who had opposed it in 1915. Fifth. Mass meeting in the House of Representatives the night before the amendment came to a vote, invitation for this being extended by resolution of the House. Speaker F. O. Fuller presided and House and gallery were crowded.

Sixth. Introduction of the Primary suffrage bill in the Senate and House. Seventh. Introduction of the Presidential suffrage bill. Eighth. Speakers touring the State and keeping the cities and towns aroused; a constant stream of letters to organizations and individuals and from them to Representatives. Ninth. Press work, a weekly news letter to those papers which would reach the legislators; getting in touch with reporters and editors of the large daily papers in the State in Austin for the session. First, last and all the time work at the Capitol, interviewing members of the House and Senate, Speaker, President, and public men who could and if asked might help a little here and there. This work was carried on daily for nearly three months.

It is my judgment that the Presidential suffrage bill could have been passed (anticipating the Governor's veto though) but for the fact that the closing days of the session were taken up by the investigation of the Governor on charges preferred in the House.

On January 31 the Primary suffrage bill was favorably reported by the Senate committee but was not taken from the calendar. On February 6 the resolution to submit an amendment to the voters received 76 ayes, 56 noes in the House, lacking the required two-thirds. It was not acted upon by the Senate. On February 19 the Presidential suffrage bill was referred to a Senate committee and on the 26th was returned with a favorable minority report but not acted upon.

Early in 1917 the misdeeds of Governor Ferguson culminated and a great campaign was begun to secure his impeachment. He was the implacable foe of woman suffrage and of every great moral issue for which women stood, therefore at the very beginning of the campaign word was sent to the committee in Austin that the State Equal Suffrage Association had abandoned all other work temporarily and placed its entire resources at their command. The offer was accepted at once and the character and value of the services which the women performed may be judged

from the following statement from D. K. Woodward, Jr., secretary of the Central Committee in charge of the campaign:

The impeachment of former Governor Ferguson could not have been brought about without the cooperation of the women of the State. . . . Their work was under the direction of Mrs. Cunningham, president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, who came at once to Austin and established headquarters. The women were asked to reach the remote sections, to eradicate prejudice and leave understanding in its stead. . . . They did all that was asked of them and more. The most confirmed skeptic on the question of women's participation in public life must have been converted had he witnessed the unselfish, tireless, efficient work of these hundreds of devoted women and the striking ability of their leader, whose genius for organization, knowledge of public affairs and public men of Texas and sound judgment on all questions of policy were of untold value. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Then came the entrance of the United States into the World War and the suffragists consecrated time, strength, life itself if necessary to its demands. The call to the annual convention held in Waco in May, 1917, indicated with what directness and intelligence the women approached their added responsibilities. It was "a call to the colors," to work for the war. War and Woman's Service; What can we do? Our Need of the Ballot to do it; True Americanism, were among the subjects considered. It voted to ask the War Department to abolish saloons in the soldiers' concentration and mobilization camps. Resolutions were passed pledging "loyal and untiring support to the Government." The convention expressed itself in no uncertain tones in the following resolution telegraphed to President Wilson: "For nearly seventy years the women of the United States have tried the State rights' route with its long and tortuous path. Since the Texas Legislature has repeatedly refused submission of the suffrage amendment to the voters, thereby repudiating the State rights' principle of the Democratic party, the State Equal Suffrage Association hereby urges your support of the Federal Suffrage Amendment to enfranchise the women of our country."

Mrs. Cunningham was literally conscripted president again, with a budget calling for the expenditure of \$30,000 and only

<sup>1</sup> It is a matter of much regret that the dramatic account sent of this remarkable campaign must be omitted because of the pressing lack of space.—Ed.

\$66.38 in the treasury! Other offices were filled and then the women hurried home to engage in Red Cross work, Liberty Loan work, anti-vice work; to knit, to sew, to tramp the highways and byways for the various "drives"; to make speeches before all sorts of audiences—women who a year before were too timid to second a motion. Following the instructions of the convention Mrs. Cunningham in June called together in San Antonio the heads of all organizations of women and out of the conference was formed the Woman's Anti-Vice Committee. Living in such close proximity to the training camps, Texas women early learned with sinking hearts of the unspeakable conditions obtaining there and their efforts to remedy matters and to arouse the proper authorities were strenuous and unceasing. Thousands of mothers whose sons were in training in far away Texas will never know how earnestly the mothers of this State labored to do by their sons as they would have wished their own done by.

The Federal Amendment work was not neglected during this time, neither was State work and organizations rapidly multiplied. The year 1918 is one never to be forgotten by Texas suffragists. January was given over to intensive work for the Federal Amendment. Day letters, night letters and telegrams poured into Congress at such a rate that the national president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, referred to them as the "heavy artillery down in Texas." The Executive Committee of the State Association in session at Austin, on the 23rd authorized Mrs. Cunningham and Mrs. Hortense Ward to call upon the new Governor, William P. Hobby, and ask that he submit a bill for Primary suffrage for women at the special session of the Legislature soon to convene.

A few weeks later the special session was called to consider a number of important measures asked for by the Secretary of War. On February 24 the suffrage leaders came to Austin and established headquarters at the Driskill Hotel, determined to secure the Primary law in time for women to vote in the July elections. While the women were interviewing the legislators Mrs. Nonie B. Mahoney, prominent in Dallas suffrage work, called on Judge Barry of that city, who seemed unfavorable and finally said it would take 5,000 names of Dallas women on a petition to change him. He dismissed the subject from his mind and returned to

his legislative duties. Four days later Mrs. Mahoney arrived in Austin with a heavy suit case, opened it and unfolded before the Judge's astonished gaze a petition containing the names, not alone of the required 5,000 but of 10,000 of his townswomen!

Mrs. Cunningham and her committee again asked the Governor to submit Primary suffrage for women to the Legislature but he delayed. So great pressure was brought to bear on him that he finally consented if they should present a petition to him signed by a majority of the members of both House and Senate. After many hours of labor they were able to comply with this condition and to furnish additional data to prove that the bill would pass both Houses with large majorities. The Governor did not submit it but he did submit the Primary Election bill, and the Primary Suffrage bill was immediately introduced by C. B. Metcalfe of San Angelo as an amendment to it. It passed the House March 16 by a vote of 84 to 34 and the Senate March 21 by 17 to 4, and was signed by Governor Hobby on March 26 in the presence of Mr. Metcalfe, Captain Sackett, who also labored untiringly in its behalf, Mrs. Cunningham, Mrs. Doom, Mrs. Elizabeth Speer and Mrs. McCallum, members of the Legislative Committee. The handsome fountain pen was purchased for the occasion by Mr. Metcalfe and after the signing presented by him to Mrs. Cunningham. Judge A. S. Lattimore drafted the bill in 1917 and Judge Ocie Speer of Fort Worth the one carried in 1918.<sup>1</sup>

This law gave women the right to vote at all primary elections and in all nominating conventions and nominations are equivalent to an election, as there is practically but one party. As Texas has two U. S. Senators and 18 Representatives it gave the women votes for more members of Congress than those of any other State possessed, and consequently for more presidential electors.<sup>2</sup>

The remaining days in March, all of April and a part of May were devoted by the suffragists to the Liberty Loan. The annual convention was held in Austin May 29-31. In order to concen-

<sup>1</sup> See Primary suffrage in Arkansas chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Judge F. G. Chambliss of the 36th District Court, who was defeated for reelection at this time, claimed that it was due to votes of women and brought suit in the 79th District Court at Corpus Christi to test the legality of the Primary Law. Judge V. M. Taylor ruled that it was unconstitutional. In another case an injunction was sought to restrain the tax collector of McLennan county from issuing poll tax receipts to women. The Appellate and Supreme Courts upheld the constitutionality of the law.

trate the entire strength of the organization on war work the delegates agreed not to ask the Legislature of 1919 to submit a constitutional amendment for full suffrage but the women would give whatever time they could spare to the Federal Amendment. The convention enthusiastically endorsed Governor Hobby for re-election and he addressed the delegates. It was resolved to vote only for candidates for the Legislature who favored ratification and to send greetings and letters of appreciation to the "immortal six" Texas Representatives in Congress who voted for the amendment the preceding January.<sup>1</sup> Decisions of importance were to work out a plan whereby women could be educated as to candidates and issues and the machinery of voting; to endeavor to bring out a heavy vote of women in the coming primaries and to organize non-partisan Women Voters' Leagues. Mrs. Cunningham against her determined protest was re-elected president.

The suffrage law did not go into effect until June 26, and, as the primary election was scheduled for July 27 and registration had to cease fifteen days before, the women had only seventeen days in which to register. There was not time to assess and collect the poll tax requisite for voting and the Legislature added to its good work by remitting it for the election in case of women. The suffrage association set to work to assist the new citizens. Omitting only the words "official ballot," nearly half a million reproductions of the long, complicated ballot to be used in the July primaries were circulated; candidates' records were scrutinized; issues were studied; "schools of instruction" were conducted all over the State. Women attending the first "schools" held others until practically the city women in every precinct, ward and block had been given the chance to vote intelligently if they so desired and the country women had similar opportunities. All the candidates for Governor who stood for civic righteousness withdrew in favor of Governor Hobby when it became certain that Ferguson would again be a candidate and the women organized Hobby clubs and advertised Ferguson's record. A strong campaign was also waged in behalf of the suffrage candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Miss Annie Webb Blanton.

<sup>1</sup> The speech of Morris Sheppard delivered in the U. S. Senate Aug. 5, 1918, was one of the strongest arguments ever made for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.—Ed.

Congressional candidates and those for the Legislature came in for especial attention. Thousands of women remained in the heat and dust all summer to help in the campaign. As a result approximately 386,000 women registered in the seventeen days—surely a convincing answer to the statement that “Southern women do not want to vote.” Governor Hobby was elected by an immense majority, as were Miss Blanton and all of the candidates who had been espoused by the new voters.

In August women were heartily welcomed into the political conventions, the men urging their appointment on all committees and even passing resolutions of pleasure at having them participate! It was reported that 233 out of 253 county conventions endorsed woman suffrage in some form. In September, 1918, at the State Democratic convention in Waco the women carried their demand for an endorsement of the Federal Suffrage Amendment but not without strenuous opposition. In November the Executive Board of the State Suffrage Association unanimously passed a resolution emphasizing the one of its annual convention, that the Legislature be requested to postpone a State referendum on woman suffrage until after the war. The thought of one under present conditions was appalling. A Ratification Committee which included the heads of practically all of the women’s organizations of state-wide importance was formed. Mrs. Cunningham went to Washington for the fourth time to assist the National Congressional Committee in the effort for a Federal Amendment.

In January, 1919, the State Legislature met in regular session and the poll in both Houses was entirely satisfactory in regard to ratifying the Federal Amendment. The lawmakers were so gratified at the part played by the women during the war and the “impeachment” that they were ready and anxious to grant anything wanted of them, in fact were disappointed that so little was asked. It was not deemed necessary to have a large lobby and only Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Georgetown came to Austin to assist the chairman. A resolution offered by Judge W. H. Bledsoe of Lubbock county and Senator R. M. Dudley of El Paso county, which was enthusiastically adopted by both Houses the second day of the session, after complimenting highly the voting of the women at the primaries, said: “Resolved, That the

United States Senate is hereby respectfully but urgently requested to act immediately and favorably upon the woman suffrage amendment, which has already received proper recognition by the House of Representatives; that such action is in full accordance with enlightened sentiment which sees no reason for further delay."

Unfortunately many friends, both men and women, were misled into believing that it would now be possible to win a complete suffrage victory in Texas, although 260,000 real American voters were away on account of the war and thousands of aliens remained at home to vote. Because of the delay in Congress on the Federal Amendment both Houses submitted by unanimous vote an amendment to the State constitution. It was handicapped by a "rider" which required full naturalization by every foreign-born man before he could vote, instead of merely his first papers as now. This ensured a negative vote from every alien. A telegram to Washington summoned Mrs. Cunningham to return immediately and take command of the campaign, for it would be a Herculean task to manage one successfully in less than three months' time in a State consisting of 253 counties and the vote to be taken May 24. It was impossible for the State association to finance such a campaign and the National Association, although disapproving of the referendum, contributed about \$17,000.

President Wilson sent a cablegram from Paris urging the voters to give the amendment their support and the members of his administration used their influence in its favor. The State officials championed it and the party organization of the State and many in the counties put themselves behind it. All of the daily newspapers but one in the four largest cities advocated it. Almost every minister labored earnestly for it, many of them preaching in favor of it. Many excellent women engaged in the campaign, some of them even speaking on the street corners. The district, city and county chairmen of the State suffrage association totaled 400 earnest, active women with whom the headquarters kept in close touch through letters, press bulletins, telephone and telegraph. These chairmen were the medium through which 3,000,000 fliers and 200,000 copies of the *Texas Democrat*, an excellent paper edited for the occasion by Dr. A. Caswell Ellis of



the State University faculty, reached the voters. More than ninety small papers issued a four page suffrage supplement furnished them. The list of speakers included 1,495 names and almost no meeting or convention of any importance was held during the latter part of the three months that did not make room on its program for a talk on woman suffrage.

On the other hand every nook and corner of the State was flooded with anti-suffrage literature, a great deal of it emanating from U. S. Senator Reed of Missouri, of such a vile, insinuating character that when placed by the "antis" upon the desks of the legislators they quickly passed protesting resolutions with only five dissenting votes. These called attention to the splendid work of Texas women during the war and their suffering at the absence and loss of their loved ones; declared that this literature was "nothing short of a slap in the face of these good women and of the members who passed, by a unanimous vote, the woman suffrage amendment," and said: "Resolved that we go upon record as condemning the circulation of this character of literature and opposed to the sentiments expressed therein. We re-affirm our allegiance to the woman suffrage amendment . . . and when we return to our homes we will do all in our power to secure the passage of this amendment."

Some of the most vicious literature was from a so-called "Man's Organization Opposed to Woman Suffrage," with headquarters in Selma, Ala. Former U. S. Senator Bailey, who had been residing in New York for some years, made a speaking tour of the State, assailing the amendment in the most vindictive manner.<sup>1</sup>

The Women's National Anti-Suffrage Association sent Miss Charlotte Rowe of New York, who spoke and worked against the amendment. Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., president of this association, accompanied by her husband, the U. S. Senator, came into the State during the campaign and held some parlor meetings. She appointed Mrs. James B. Wells, wife of the political "boss of the borderland" at Brownsville, to send out literature, speak where possible, etc. Mrs. Wells had headquarters in Austin with Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> After women got the Primary vote Mr. Bailey returned to Texas and announced himself a candidate for Governor. He was overwhelmingly defeated at the primaries and his comment was: "The women and the preachers did it."

Darden and their work was done from there. The amendment failed but not because of their feeble efforts. It was opposed by the strongest political forces in Texas, including the liquor interests. The vote was 141,773 ayes, 166,893 noes; defeated by a majority of 25,120.

In eleven days after this defeat—on June 4—the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment was submitted by Congress to the Legislatures for ratification. Both of the Texas Senators—Charles A. Culberson and Morris Sheppard—and nine Representatives voted for it.

RATIFICATION. Governor Hobby issued a call for a second special session of the Legislature to convene June 23 to consider other matters but the opening day found the suffragists on hand ready to ask for ratification. The “antis” were on hand also and while they were holding a conference in the Driskill Hotel to devise ways and means of obtaining a hearing before the House committee, Resolution No. 1 to ratify the amendment was read the first time in the House and referred to this committee. The “antis” came in just in time to learn that the committee had held its meeting, favorably reported the resolution and it had been made the special order of business for 11 o’clock the next morning. All of this occurred before noon of the first day.

Speaker R. E. Thomason was one of the most ardent supporters of the resolution and promptly on the hour it was brought up. As a poll of the House had shown that it was safe, the leaders decided not to choose between the dozens who wanted to speak in its behalf but to let the “antis” do the talking since the “pros” had the votes. The “father of the House,” Representative King of Erath, alone spoke for it but the opponents talked until 3:55 p. m., when some one moved the previous question. The vote stood 96 ayes, 20 noes. As the Senate committee hearing was set for 4 o’clock there could be no thought of lunch but only to hurry to its room in the far removed wing of the Capitol. That hearing can never be adequately described. Ex-Congressman Robert W. Henry and State Senator J. C. McNealus, fire-eating “antis,” almost came to blows over the name of former Governor Ferguson, and Miss Rowe, the New York crusader, had a difficult

time with questions. The chairman was instructed to report favorably and in the Senate the real fight was on.

The opposition tried every conceivable method to defer or defeat. Heckling, threats, fervid oratory had no effect on the favoring Senators. Filibustering continued all through Wednesday and Thursday, except when the Senate recessed to listen to Governor Brough of Arkansas, who touched on the justice of suffrage for women in an effective manner. Finally their swan song was due and came from Senator W. A. Johnston of Houston, intimate friend of ex-Senator Bailey. Senator Paul Page of Bastrop ably led the fight in behalf of the resolution. On June 27, at 7 p. m., it passed to third reading by a vote of 18 to 9, with one pair and one absentee. That night the opposition tried to get enough Senators out of town to break the quorum but the friendly members and the women "shadowed" the passengers on all out-going trains. On June 28 by a viva voce vote the Senate went on record as the ninth State to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment, the actual strength being 19 to 10, with one absent. Lieutenant Governor W. A. Johnson proved his friendship and loyalty to the cause of woman suffrage by remaining in the chair constantly during the four days' contest.

With the women of Texas soon to be fully enfranchised the State Equal Suffrage Association in October, 1919, merged into the State League of Women Voters, with Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames chairman.<sup>1</sup>

[LAWS. An excellent digest of the laws for women and children accompanied this chapter, showing considerable advance since a résumé was given in Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage. The writer of the present chapter insists that they never were so unjust as there represented. The omission of the laws from this, as from the other State chapters for lack of space is a loss to the History.]

<sup>1</sup> The following women besides those mentioned have held office in the association since 1900: Mesdames Tex Armstrong, Anna B. Cade, A. O. Critchett, John Davis, Walter L. Fordtran, Mary Herndon Gray, Goodrich Jones, Lindley Miller Keasbey, Helen Moore, Elizabeth Stribling Maury, Jane Yelvington McCallum, Sterling Myer, Elizabeth Herndon, Dwight Edward Potter, Ella Pomeroy, E. B. Reppert, L. E. Walker, Robert Aeneas Watt; Misses Mary Fowler Bornefield, Irelene DeWitt, Marin B. Fenwick, Kate Hunter, A. A. Stuart, Hettie D. M. Wallis.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### UTAH.<sup>1</sup>

The results of equal suffrage in Utah for fifty years—1870-1920—with an unavoidable interim of eight years, have demonstrated the sanity and poise of women in the exercise of their franchise. The Mormon women had had long training, for from the founding of their church by Joseph Smith in 1830 they had a vote in its affairs. Although the Territory of Wyoming was the first to give the suffrage to women—in November, 1869—the Legislature of Utah followed in January, 1870, and the bill was signed by Governor S. A. Mann February 12. Women voted at the regular election the next August and there was no election in Wyoming until September, so those of Utah had the distinction of being the pioneer women voters in the United States and there were over five times as many women in Utah as in Wyoming. The story of how their suffrage was taken away by an Act of Congress in 1887 and how it was restored in full by the men of Utah when they made their constitution for statehood in 1895 and adopted it by a vote of ten to one is related in detail in Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage. The women have voted since then in large numbers, filled many offices and been a recognized political influence for the benefit of the State.

The large and active Territorial Woman Suffrage Association held annual conventions until after it succeeded in gaining the franchise. In 1899, during a visit of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to Salt Lake City, a meeting was called and steps taken to form a Utah Council of Women to assist the suffrage movement in other States and Mrs. Emily S. Richards was made president. This Council, composed of Mormons and non-Mormons, continued in existence for twenty years. For the first ten years there were

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Susa Young Gates, member of the General Board of the Woman's Relief Society and editor of the Relief Society's Magazine since it was established in 1913 and historian of the activities of Utah women.

monthly meetings and also special and committee meetings and prominent speakers addressed the annual gatherings, eulogizing and commemorating the lives and labors of the suffrage pioneers throughout the Union. Whenever the National American Suffrage Association called for financial aid it responded liberally. The suffrage having been gained it was hard to keep up the interest and after 1910 meetings were held only at the call of the president for the purpose of carrying out the wishes of the National Suffrage Association, at whose conventions the Council was always represented by delegates. In 1909-10, when the association was collecting its monster petition to Congress, the Council obtained 40,000 names as Utah's quota.

The official personnel remained practically the same from 1900. That noble exponent of the best there is in womanhood, Mrs. Emily S. Richards, preserved the spirit and genius of the Council, which recognized no party and whose members cast their votes for good men and measures without undue partisan bias. She was sustained by its capable and resourceful secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohen, and both maintained a non-partisan attitude in the conduct of the Council. The officers were: Emmeline B. Wells, member national executive committee; Elizabeth A. Hayward, Mrs. Ira D. Wines, Dr. Jane Skolfield and Mrs. B. T. Pyper, vice-presidents; Anna T. Piercey, assistant secretary; Hannah S. Lapish, treasurer.

As Territory and State, every county, every town, every precinct has been served faithfully and well by women in various positions. It would be impossible to name all who have done yeoman service during the past years but the three women who have meant more than all others to the suffrage cause are Mrs. Sarah M. Kimball, who was appointed by Brigham Young and Eliza R. Snow as the standard bearer of that cause in the late '60's and who maintained her active hold upon politics until about 1885, when her able first lieutenant, Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, took up the work dropped by the aged hands of Mrs. Kimball. She in turn carried the banner of equal civic freedom aloft, assisted by Mrs. Richards, until she relinquished it in 1896 and Mrs. Richards became the standard bearer. Many other splendid women have labored assiduously in this cause.

In legislative matters a committee from the Council has worked during every session since 1911 with associated committees from the other large organizations of women, the powerful Relief Society, the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association and the Federated Clubs leading in all good movements. Results in the enactment of welfare laws for women and children have been very gratifying. The women's committees of the various organizations meet at the State Capitol during the legislative sessions and go over very carefully every bill in which they are interested. If after investigation a bill meets with their approval it is endorsed and every effort is made to secure its passage. From 1911 to 1917 the women's legislative committee secured copies of laws already in successful operation in other States and framed bills to meet their own needs. These were always submitted to two young lawyers, Dan B. Shields and Carl Badger, who corrected any flaws which might jeopardize their constitutionality. Among the women who comprise these committees are Mrs. Cohen, chairman, Miss Sarah McLelland of the Relief Society; Mrs. Adella W. Eardley and Mrs. Julia Brixen of the Y. L. M. I. A.; Mrs. Richards and Mrs. Hayward of the Suffrage Council; Mrs. C. M. McMahan, president, Mrs. Peter A. Simpkin, Mrs. A. V. Taylor and Mrs. Seldon I. Clawson, members of the Federation of Women's Clubs.

In many Legislatures since statehood there have been women members and their work has been along expected lines. In 1896, the year Utah was admitted to the Union, Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon was elected to the State Senate, the first woman in the United States to receive that honor. Several women were elected to the Lower House then and others in the years following. Needed reform measures were secured by Mrs. Mary G. Coulter, who sat in the Lower House and was made chairman of the Judiciary Committee in 1903. There was a long interim when no women were sent to the Legislature but in 1913 four were elected, Mrs. Annie Wells Cannon, Dr. Skolfield, Mrs. Elizabeth Ellerbeck Reid and Mrs. Annie H. King. They were instrumental in securing the Mothers' Pension Law and the Minimum Wage Law and through Mrs. Cannon the bureau of emigration labor was provided with a woman deputy to look after the women

and children workers. Utah already had an equal guardianship law but largely through the efforts of Mrs. Cannon it was improved and is now regarded as a model and has been copied by other States. She is a representative daughter of Mrs. Wells.

In 1915 Mrs. Elizabeth A. Hayward and Mrs. Lily C. Wolstenholme were elected and to the former the improved child labor law must be credited. In 1917 she was re-elected and Dr. Grace Stratton Airy and Mrs. Daisy C. Allen became members of the Lower House. During 1915-1917 laws raising the age of protection for girls to 18 and requiring equal pay for equal work were enacted. Mrs. Hayward, at the request of the women's Legislative Council, introduced the resolution calling on Congress to submit the Federal Amendment. In 1918 she was elected State Senator. In 1919 Dr. Airy was re-elected and Mrs. Anna G. Piercy and Mrs. Delora Blakely were elected to the Lower House. Altogether there have been thirteen women members of the Legislature. No State has better laws relating to women and children than Utah.

It has been difficult to persuade the women to stand for important offices. The modern furious pace set by campaigners and the severance of home ties for long periods are not alluring to wives and mothers but they find many public activities through which to exercise their executive abilities. They sit on the boards of many State and local institutions and serve on committees for civic and educational work. A considerable number have filled and are now filling city and county offices. Mrs. L. M. Crawford has a responsible position in the office of the State Land Board. Mrs. McVickar was State Superintendent of Schools. In 1917 a new department was added to the office of the Adjutant General to secure pensions for those veterans who had served in the early Indian wars of Utah. Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohen was given custody of the old Indian War Records and was named Commissioner of Pensions. In order to prove the claims of these men and women she cooperated with the Pension Bureau at Washington, D. C. Up to date out of a possible 1,500 whose claims have merit nearly 700 pensions have been granted, bringing into the State the sum of \$400,000.

When Brigham Young established those monuments to his

name, the Brigham Young University of Provo and the Brigham Young College of Logan in 1874 he placed women on their boards. Mrs. Martha J. Coray of Provo served ten years for the former and Professor Ida M. Cook for the latter. Mrs. Gates was made a trustee of the university in 1891, which position she still occupies, while her sister, Mrs. Zina Young Card, has been a trustee since 1914. Mrs. Gates was on the board of the State Agricultural College 1905-1913. Mrs. A. W. McCune was on this board ten years, seven of them its vice-president. Mrs. Rebecca M. Little, Mrs. Antoinette B. Kinney and Dr. Belle A. Gummel have been regents of the university. Professor Maude May Babcock has been dean of physical education and expression since 1892 and a trustee since 1897. Her culture and personality have left an indelible impress on the history of this State.

From the beginning women have allied themselves with the different political parties, occasionally uniting on a great issue like that of Prohibition. From the time they were enfranchised by the State constitution they have received the recognition of the parties. In 1900 women were sent as delegates and alternates to both national presidential conventions and Mrs. Cohen seconded the nomination of William Jennings Bryan. A number were sent in following years. In 1908 Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron was a delegate and a presidential elector, carrying the vote to Washington. She was one of the two received by President Taft and was royally entertained while in the capital. Among other women who have acted as delegates and alternates since 1900 are Mrs. William H. Jones, Mrs. Hayward, Mrs. Sarah Ventrees, Mrs. Gates, Mrs. Lucy A. Clark, Mrs. B. T. Pyper, Mrs. L. M. Crawford, Mrs. Alice E. Paddison.

Women have their representation on all political committees—Mrs Hayward is a member of the Democratic National Committee—and their participation in politics is accepted without question. There are about 10,000 more women voters than men voters. As a rule about 90 per cent. of the women vote and about 86 per cent. of the men, as some of the latter are in the mines or out of the State for various reasons. Among the Republican leaders are Mrs. Wells, Mrs. Gates, Mrs. Cherdron, Mrs. Jannette A. Hyde, Mrs. Cannon, Mrs. Wolstenholm, Mrs. Loufborough, Mrs. Wil-



liam Spry, Mrs. Reed Smoot; Mrs. Martha B. Keeler of Provo and Mrs. Georgina G. Marriott of Ogden. The Democratic party has had among its leading women Mrs. Richards, Mrs. Alice Merrill Horne, Mrs. Cohen, Mrs. Hayward, Gwen Lewis Little, Mrs. Piercy, Mrs. S. S. Smith, Mrs. Annice Dee, Mrs. Inez Knight Allen and Miss Alice Reynolds.

No State exceeded Utah in the proportion of the work done by women during the World War. Mrs. Clarissa Smith Williams was the unanimous choice for chairman of the State branch of the Woman's Council of National Defense. She was eminently fitted for this position through her long experience as first counsellor to Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, head of the Relief Society, and every demand of the Government was fully met.

RATIFICATION. At the request of the Suffrage Council and without urging, Governor Simon Bamberger called a special session of the Legislature for Sept. 30, 1919, to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment submitted the preceding June. The resolution was presented by Senator Elizabeth A. Hayward and was ratified unanimously by both Houses within thirty minutes. The Governor signed it without delay. The women and the Legislature had helped in every possible way to secure the Amendment and the entire Utah delegation in Congress had voted for it.

A striking event in the train of possible fruitful activities left behind was the visit of the great leader, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Suffrage Association, with her able young assistants, who came to Utah for Nov. 16-18, 1919. She was accompanied by Dr. Valerie Parker and Mrs. Jean Nelson Penfield, chairmen in the National League of Women Voters, and Miss Marjorie Shuler, director of publicity for the National Association. The convention, held in the Assembly Hall, was in charge of the Suffrage Council, its president, Mrs. Richards, assisted by Mrs. Cohen and Mrs. E. E. Corfman. A long and valuable program was carried out. Mrs. Catt spoke in the Tabernacle on Sunday afternoon, introduced by President Charles W. Penrose with a glowing tribute to her power as a leader, to the sincerity and womanliness of her character and to the catholicity of her vision and sympathy. There were banquets, teas and receptions.

At the close of the convention the Suffrage Council, which had rendered such splendid service for the past twenty years, was merged into the State League of Women Voters and Mrs. Richards willingly resigned her leadership to its chairman, Mrs. Clesson S. Kinney.

On Feb. 12, 1920, a jubilee celebration was held in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the woman suffrage bill by the Territorial Governor S. A. Mann. There was also celebrated the granting of the complete franchise by the immense majority of the voters in 1895.

Utah celebrated in Salt Lake City August 30, with a great demonstration, the triumph of woman suffrage in the United States through the ratification of the Federal Amendment, which had been proclaimed August 26. It was introduced with an impressive parade led by bands of music and the program of ceremonies was carried out on the steps of the State Capitol. Governor Bamberger, former Governor Heber M. Wells, Congressman E. O. Leatherwood and Mayor C. Clarence Neslen joined the women in congratulatory addresses. Mrs. Richards, Mrs. Hannah Lapish and Mrs. Lydia Alder, veteran suffragists, told of the early struggles and Mrs. Beulah Storrs Lewis appealed to women to keep high the standard in order to lead men out of the darkness of war into the light of brotherly love and make ready for world peace. Mrs. Annie Wells Cannon and Mrs. Susa Young Gates were appointed to send a telegram of congratulation to Mrs. Catt. The celebration was under the auspices of the League of Women Voters, whose chairman, Mrs. Kinney, presided. The most impressive figure on the platform was President Emmeline B. Wells, 92 years old, who had voted since 1870 and who had labored all these years for this glorious achievement. What those dim eyes had seen of history in the making, what those old ears had heard and what that clear brain had conceived and carried out only her close associates knew. She was the incarnate figure of tender, delicate, eternally determined womanhood, arrived and triumphant.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### VERMONT.<sup>1</sup>

The first convention to consider woman suffrage took place in Vermont in 1883, when a State association was formed, and others were held regularly to the end of the century, with the cooperation of the Massachusetts association. At the convention held in Waterbury Center June 12, 13, 1900, Henry B. Blackwell of Boston, editor of the *Woman's Journal*, was the chief speaker. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the new president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, sent a letter of helpful suggestions. Petitions for a Federal Suffrage Amendment were forwarded to Congress. During this and the following years the *Woman's Journal* was sent to members of the Legislature; a column prepared from that paper was sent to every editor in the State and much literature was distributed, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union assisting.

The convention of 1901 met in Rochester June 25, 26. The speakers were Mr. Blackwell, Professor W. L. Burdick, the Rev. George L. Story, Miss Eliza Eaton, Miss Blanche Dunham and Mrs. Laura Kezer, president of the W. C. T. U. The convention congratulated women of the Methodist Episcopal Church on their admission as delegates to the General Conference, the Vermont conference having voted for it unanimously.

In 1902 the convention met at West Concord June 18, 19, among the speakers being Miss Mary N. Chase, president of the New Hampshire Suffrage Association, and Mr. Blackwell, who never missed a convention.<sup>2</sup> The State Baptist Association

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Annette W. Parmelee, State Superintendent of Press, State Secretary and State Historian for the Vermont Woman Suffrage Association.

<sup>2</sup> Among those who addressed the annual conventions during the years were the Reverends A. M. Smith, J. A. Dixon, F. E. Adams, Verdi Mack, J. Borden Estee, George B. Lamson, T. L. Massock, E. T. Matthison, E. M. H. Abbott, C. J. Staples, O. M. Owen, Eugene Haines, M. T. Merrill, Charles A. Pennoyer; Hon. James F. Hooker, Dr. M. V. B. Knox, Attorney E. B. Flynn, Colonel G. C. Childs, Professor

went on record this year in favor of women voting on license and prohibition and the Universalist Church convention endorsed equal suffrage.

In 1903 the convention was held at Barton June 9, 10, with Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, a national organizer, among the speakers. The convention of 1904 went to Woodstock, June 22, 23, and was addressed by the Rev. Harry L. and Mrs. Canfield, suffrage leaders there, and many others. It was announced that Mrs. Dorcas McClelan of Glover had left a bequest of \$150 to the association. A "composition" entitled Female Education, written by a pupil in a Woodstock school in 1831, now Mrs. Harriet Walker of Denver, 90 years old, was read and much enjoyed.

The convention of 1905 took place in Springfield June 7, 8. During the year 10,000 copies of Opinions on Equal Suffrage by Vermont Men and Women had been distributed and the *Woman's Journal* placed in twelve libraries. A memorial service was held for Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, a life long suffragist. In 1906 the convention was held at Brattleboro June 6, 7, with a long list of State speakers, including six clergymen. A memorial service with tributes of appreciation was held for Miss Susan B. Anthony.

Burlington entertained the convention June 13, 14, 1907, which had the privilege of hearing Mayor W. J. Bigelow, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, now president of the National Association, and State Representative H. H. Shaw of Burlington. Mr. Blackwell presented a fine portrait of his wife, Lucy Stone. Four prominent State workers had died during the year, the Hon. Henry Ballard, C. W. Wyman, Miss Carolyn Scott and Miss Laura Moore, the latter for twenty-two years secretary of the State association, its leader and inspirer. She was known at the Capitol as "the Saint of Barnet" and U. S. Senator Carroll S. Page once said: "If the cause of equal suffrage should ever prevail in Vermont it will be largely because of the seed sown

Cox, Martin Vilas, Mr. Woolson and F. G. Fleetwood; Mesdames Canfield, Kidder, Flanders, Julia A. Pierce, C. J. Clark, M. V. B. Knox, Louisa M. Slocum, Inez Campbell, Mary E. Tucker, Laura Kezer, G. E. Davidson, M. S. Margum, E. B. Lund, Juliette Rublee, Amanda Seaver, Frances Rastall Wyman, Frances Hand, Elizabeth Van Patten, L. M. Benedict, O. C. Ashton, Edgar Moore, H. B. Shaw, Dr. Sue H. Howard; Misses Mary E. Purple, Grace Robinson, Margaret Allen, Fanny Fletcher, Emilia Houghton, Eliza Eaton, Carolyn Scott,

by Laura Moore." Miss Scott, her companion and co-worker, who passed away in her 92d year, left a bequest of \$1,000 to the association.

At the convention in Rutland Oct. 12, 13, 1908, among the speakers were the Reverend Mary Traffern Whitney and Mrs. Annette W. Parmelee, State superintendent of press. The association voted to become auxiliary to the National Association. A letter was read from former Governor Fletcher D. Proctor, declaring himself in favor of the movement and willing to assist it. Signatures to the suffrage petition this year included the names of Governor George H. Prouty, Lieutenant Governor John Abner Mead and Secretary of State Guy Bailey.

In 1909 the convention held at Barre June 4, 5, decided to concentrate its efforts on a State constitutional amendment to be voted on in 1910. A press report of the convention said: "Henry B. Blackwell, although 84 years of age, is a commanding figure and his voice as it rings forth in tones of conviction is more like that of a man in his prime than of one who has passed his four-score milestone." It therefore was a great shock when the news came on September 7 that this far-visions leader had passed from earth. The State suffragists owed him a debt of gratitude which could only be repaid by carrying forward his life work.

In 1910 and 1911 the association so sadly bereft by death held no convention but the work did not cease. Miss Chase, now a national organizer, formed new leagues; Mrs. Parmelee sent out 3,057 pieces of mail, circularized the clergy, conducted thirty-seven debates, wrote 131 newspaper articles, furnished leaflets to ninety W. C. T. U. units, sent *Woman's Journals* to every graded school and every library in the State and circulated literature at the county fairs. She also prepared a leaflet, *Seventeen Reasons Why Women Should Vote*, wrote and superintended the production of a play entitled *A Mock Session of the Legislature* and spoke at legislative sessions, churches, granges and parlor meetings. She was ably assisted in this work by the secretary, Mrs. Canfield, who had charge of the large Vermont and New Hampshire tent at the State Fair at White River Junction, where speeches were made, literature distributed and sig-

natures obtained. Fourteen speakers were kept busy. The pastors of all the churches in the State were circularized and as a rule were sympathetic.<sup>1</sup>

In 1912 the convention was held at Montpelier on June 7, with Professor George B. Cox of Dartmouth College; Attorney J. H. Senter and Dr. J. Edward Wright among the speakers. At Woodstock a big suffrage "rally" was held with Dr. Harvey W. Wiley of Washington as chief speaker. Mrs. Frances Rastall, recently appointed State congressional chairman by the National Association, organized a congressional committee in every county. At the convention in Rochester June 11, 12, 1913, Mrs. Emily Chaffee of Detroit, Mich., and many State speakers made addresses. Mrs. Julia Pierce, the State president, handsomely entertained speakers and delegates at her home. At St. Albans a successful "rally" with Mrs. Marian Booth Kelly as speaker was held.

In 1914 the convention was held in Burlington November 4, 5, and the city hall was crowded at the evening meetings. Mrs. Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale of New York and Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston were the out-of-town speakers and Representative E. P. Jose of Johnson headed the State coterie. Conforming to plans sent out by the National Association, "suffrage day" had been observed May 1 in Burlington with an address by Mayor James E. Burke.

The convention which met at Springfield Oct. 20, 21, 1915, received a royal welcome. American flags and suffrage banners were suspended across the streets and the stores were decorated with yellow. A reception and banquet were given by Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Woolson at Mucross Park. Among the speakers were Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Arthur P. Howard, editor of *The Advance*; the Hon. James Hartness, Dr. Grace Sherwood and Representative H. E. Taylor. Mrs. Pierce, having served

<sup>1</sup> This year Miss Lou J. C. Daniels, a liberal contributor to the suffrage association, her family the largest taxpayers in Grafton, where they had a summer home, was indignant to learn that the Representative of her district had voted against the suffrage bill in the Legislature. She sent a written protest and refusal to pay her taxes, whereupon an official served papers on her and several shares of stock in the Bellows Falls National Bank were attached and sold at auction. The bank declared it illegal and declined to honor the sale. The matter aroused discussion throughout the State and surrounding country. When the town elected a Representative who supported woman suffrage she considered the lesson sufficient and paid her taxes.

six years as president, asked to be released and was made honorary president for life. Mrs. Lucia E. Blanchard was elected in her place. The convention deplored the opposing attitude of Congressman Frank Greene and of U. S. Senator William P. Dillingham, who had declared himself "unalterably opposed" to the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and it commended the stand of Congressman Porter Dale. Among public officials declaring themselves favorable were U. S. Marshal Horace W. Bailey, Dr. Guy Potter Benton, president of the University of Vermont, and J. N. Barss, superintendent of the State Industrial School.

On March 1, 1916, Mrs. Rastall called a congressional conference in Burlington. Mrs. Catt, national president, and Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald of Boston addressed a large audience. The day sessions were at the City Hall and the mass meeting at the Strong Theater. During the autumn a delegation of suffragists called on U. S. Senator Carroll S. Page of Hyde Park to urge his support of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. They were graciously received, entertained at luncheon at the Inn and reported themselves as "pleased with the interview." In November the National Association sent Mrs. Augusta Hughston, one of its organizers, for a month's field work, paying all expenses, and eighteen clubs were formed with officers and active committees.

In 1917 the convention was held at St. Albans June 27, 28, with the usual list of good speakers. Mrs. Lilian H. Olzendam was employed as State organizer. A resolution was passed condemning the methods of the "militant" suffragists. It was reported that after an address by Mrs. Rastall at the State conference of the Federation of Labor at Bellows Falls August 11, 12, woman suffrage was endorsed unanimously.

In accordance with the plans of the National Association to strengthen the situation wherever there were opposing members of Congress, and to assist in bringing pressure on Senator Dillingham, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, its recording secretary, was sent to Vermont in July, 1918, and also Miss Marjorie Shuler, its director of field publicity, who spent two weeks, speaking, interviewing editors and building up favorable press sentiment. The convention was held at Burlington July 10, 11 and was addressed by Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. A. L. Bailey, State president;

Mrs. Joanna Croft Read, State secretary, and Dr. Alice Wakefield. A resolution was adopted thanking Senator Page for his promise to support the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Senator Dillingham still remained obdurate and Mrs. Wilson returned to meet with the Executive Board August 17 at Montpelier, after which Mrs. Bailey, Mrs. Read, Mrs. Parmelee, Mrs. Olzendam and Mrs. Wilson called on him by appointment to appeal for his vote. He was very courteous but gave them no encouragement. Mrs. Wilson remained for three weeks conferring with and assisting the workers. In November, at the expense of the National Association, Mrs. Hughston spent three weeks doing valuable field work.

In January, 1919, Mrs. Wilson again returned to assist the board during the legislative session, remaining until after the convention, which was held at Burlington March 11, 12. The speakers were Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Wilson, Dr. Marion Horton, the new State president; City Attorney Hamilton S. Peck, Miss Bernice Tuttle, president of the Child Welfare Bureau; Mrs. Anna Hawkes Putnam, State chairman of the Woman's Division of the National Council of Defense; Mrs. M. D. Chittenden, president of the State Y. W. C. A., and others. Mrs. Parmelee gave an account of the work for woman suffrage in Vermont and its courageous leaders during the past thirty-six years and the reasons why bills were voted down in the Legislature.

**RATIFICATION.** On June 4, 1919, the Federal Suffrage Amendment was submitted to the Legislatures for ratification and a survey showed that Vermont's would probably be necessary to make the needed 36. Mrs. Halsey Wilson returned for consultation with the State leaders and an intensive effort was begun which continued for more than a year. Mrs. Olzendam, chairman of ratification, not only obtained enough favorable pledges from the members to ratify but an agreement by a majority to pay their own expenses, and give their time for a special session. It was soon evident, however, that Governor Percival W. Clement was determined not to call one. Every possible influence was brought to bear on him but he based his refusal on the ground that it would be unconstitutional. By March, 1920, 35 States had ratified and it seemed that the 36th



would have to be Vermont or Connecticut, whose Governor also had refused to call a special session.

An ingenious demonstration was decided on, which was made possible by a contribution of \$1,000 from the Leslie Suffrage Commission. An interview of Vermont women with the Governor was arranged by a good friend of suffrage, Major Harvey Goodell, secretary of Civil and Military Affairs. On April 21, a remarkable deputation of 400 women arrived in Montpelier, representing twelve of the fourteen counties, loyal, ardent soldiers, overcoming the obstacles of long distances, almost impassable roads and poor train service, many coming from towns where there were no trains and where they must plow through deep snow and over muddy and rocky roads, one woman walking five miles. Led by Mrs. Olzendam in a cold, drenching rain they marched through the streets and up the steps of the Capitol and took their places before the Governor's chair. One by one, fourteen speakers presented the case in a few sentences. It was a notable demonstration in size, enthusiasm and determination. It had been arranged that letters and telegrams should arrive the day before, the day of and the day following the visit and his excellency received 1,600 communications in three days. Governor Clement's only response was that he did not wish to make a decision at present.

In May, 1920, the State Republican convention, with the Governor seated on the platform, passed a resolution urging him to call a special session, saying: "We have full faith and confidence that the voters of the State, regardless of party affiliation, would cordially approve and endorse the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment."

The State suffrage convention met in the roof garden of The Tavern, St. Albans, July 1, 2, in a rousing convention. Governor John H. Bartlett of New Hampshire, which had ratified, was the guest of honor, attending by special request of Will Hays, chairman of the National Republican Committee. He had consulted Governor Clement about coming, who answered: "I shall be glad to have you. Regret I shall be unable to hear you." Miss Katharine Ludington, chairman of the Connecticut League of Women Voters, and Miss Julia A. Hinaman, its

press chairman, were among the speakers. Mayor Charles A. Buck extended the freedom of the city and Mrs. Read, acting president, responded. On the platform were a large number of prominent Vermont men and women. The report of Mrs. Olzendam described the strenuous efforts of the women of the State for an extra session, acknowledging the assistance of Miss Ann Batchelder, Mrs. Vida M. Chase and others and thanking Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Raymond Brown, fourth vice-president, and Miss Shuler, of the National Association; Mrs. Sara Algeo, president of the Woman Suffrage Party of Rhode Island, and Miss Winifred Brown of Utah for their help. The delegates expressed in applause and in words their high appreciation of Mrs. Olzendam's work. A resolution was passed at an evening mass meeting calling upon Governor Clement to summon a special session in order that Vermont might have the honor of being the 36th State to ratify.

Just before the convention the Governor went to Washington and the press dispatches of July 1 told of a long talk he had that day with President-elect Harding. Both men admitted in interviews that the calling of a special session in Vermont had been discussed. Senator Harding said he told the Governor he would be very glad to see this done but made plain his desire not to interfere with the Governor's prerogatives. Governor Clement frankly admitted that he had been urged by Senator Harding, Chairman Hays and other Republican leaders to give an early call but made the stereotyped excuses. Nevertheless the press generally expressed the opinion that he would yield. On the contrary he returned home and on July 12 issued an official proclamation in which he made the assertion that "the Federal Constitution in its present form threatened the foundation of free popular government; the 16th Amendment, providing for a federal income tax, was lobbied through Congress and State Legislatures by federal agents and the 18th Amendment for Federal prohibition was forced through by paid agents of irresponsible organizations with unlimited funds." To what he called the proposal to "force through the 19th Amendment for woman suffrage in the same manner," he said: "I will never be a party to any proceeding which proposes to change

the organic law of the State without the consent of the people." "The National Constitution," he said, "threatens free popular government alike as it stands and as it is interpreted by the Supreme Court. Its decision leaves the people at the mercy of any group of men who may lobby a proposal for a change in it through Congress and then through the Legislatures."

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, national president, issued an open letter to the Governor in the course of which she said:

In order that this generation of your fellowmen and posterity also may not misunderstand your position, the National American Woman Suffrage Association urges you to supplement your proclamation with answers to the following questions: Do you challenge the fact which has stood unchallenged for 131 years that the Federal Constitution is the supreme law of this land and supersedes all State constitutions whenever the two are in conflict? Do you know that on Jan. 10, 1791, Vermont ratified that Constitution, although she had one of her own, and by so doing accepted the precedence of the Federal Constitution and by that act was admitted into the Union? If you do know these facts of common knowledge why did you throw over your refusal to call a special session the camouflage of a dissertation about the alleged conflict between the Vermont and Federal Constitutions which has nothing whatever to do with the calling of a special session of your Legislature? . . . Do you not know that when a Legislature acts upon a Federal constitutional amendment it draws its authority from the Federal and not from the State constitution, and that the Governor has no responsible part in the transaction except as custodian of the amendment when it comes from the Federal Secretary of State and returns to him with the Certificate of Ratification? Then why profess such a burden of personal responsibility in the matter?

You pretend to fear "an invasion of State's Rights" and take upon yourself the responsibility of preserving "the foundations of free popular government." Then why did you veto the Presidential suffrage bill passed by the Legislature of Vermont in 1919, which was strictly a State action and conferred the vote upon the women of Vermont alone? . . . Your national party convention in 1920 called for completion of ratification in time for women to vote for the next President. Your party's National Committee in the interim of conventions took action three times—once asking Congress to submit the amendment; once favoring early ratification and once calling upon Republican Governors to call special sessions in order that ratification might proceed. Your State party convention, your party's State Committee, your State Legislature, hundreds of Vermont women, the chairman of the National Republican Committee and the chairman of your State Republican Committee, the candidate for President of your party—all have asked you to call a special

session. . . . You owe it to the Republican party and to the world to explain your assumption of an authority that belongs to your party leaders. By what right do you make this assumption? Governor Clement, tell it all!"

The total cost of the efforts to secure a special session was \$7,442, of which the National Association paid \$2,578 and the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission \$4,864.<sup>1</sup>

Following the convention of the State association at St. Albans, July 1, 2, 1920, Miss Ludington explained the purpose of the National League of Women Voters and the association was dissolved and a State league organized with Mrs. Lilian Olzendam chairman.

The Vermont suffrage association was fortunate in always having the support of other State organizations, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Grange, Federation of Labor, Teachers' Association, Federation of Women's Clubs, Young Women's Christian Association and, in the closing years, of all political parties. Among other noted speakers from outside the State not mentioned were Professor Charles Zueblin, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Mrs. Susan S. Fessenden, president of the Massachusetts W. C. T. U. Over fifty clergymen of various denominations gave active assistance.<sup>2</sup>

**LEGISLATIVE ACTION.** From 1884 to 1900 a bill to give Municipal suffrage to taxpaying women was regularly introduced in the Legislature only to be defeated.

1902. The Town and Municipal Suffrage bill in the Senate was defeated by 22 to 6; in the House by 111 to 75. A Presidential suffrage bill received only six votes. A bill permitting women to vote on the license question was defeated by 138 to 67. Petitions with 15,000 signatures had been presented for these various measures.

<sup>1</sup> Governor Clement retired from office Dec. 31, 1920, and was succeeded by Governor James Hartness. The Legislature met in regular session in January, 1921. The resolution to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment was read in the House for the third time on January 28 and passed by 202 ayes, 3 noes, French, Stowell and Peake of Bristol. On February 8 it passed the Senate unanimously.

<sup>2</sup> Presidents of the State association from 1900 to 1920 not already mentioned were Elizabeth Colley; C. D. Spencer; the Rev. A. M. Smith; Mrs. A. D. Chandler; the Hon. James Hutchinson; Mrs. Frances Rastall Wyman; Dr. Grace Sherwood. Secretaries: Miss Laura Moore (1883-1905); Mrs. Fatima Davidson; the Rev. Verdi Mack; the Rev. Mary T. Whitney; Mrs. Annette W. Parmelee; Mrs. Jeannette Pease; Mrs. Annie C. Taylor; Miss Emilia Houghton; Mrs. Amanda Seaver; Miss Marguerite Allen; Miss Ann Batchelder; Mrs. James A. Merrill.

1904. The Municipal Suffrage bill was reported favorably to the House by C. C. Fitts, chairman of the committee, but was refused third reading by 99 to 97. On November 17 it was introduced in the Senate, reported favorably by committee chairman J. Emery Buxton and passed without debate with three opposing votes. When on December 6 it came again before the House for reconsideration it was ordered to a third reading by 112 to 104 but the next day was defeated by 124 to 100.

1906. A bill to substitute the word "person" for "male" in the statutes came before the House October 24, was ordered to third reading by 149 to 24 and passed the following day by 130 to 25. This majority aroused the Massachusetts Society Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women and an officer, Mrs. A. J. George of Brookline, was sent to try to defeat the bill. She was coolly received and found it so impossible to convince the members that she was not an emissary of the liquor interests that she failed to obtain even a hearing before the committee. Her coming stirred the suffrage forces and a telegram was sent to the *Woman's Journal* of Boston asking for help and Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, the editor, and Mrs. Maud Wood Park responded. A public hearing was granted by the Senate committee and people from all over the State were present. Nine legislators and members of the association spoke for the bill. Not one opponent appeared. In the Senate it failed by three votes, many who were pledged to it deserting.

1908. Legislative committee chairman 1908-1910, Mrs. Annette W. Parmelee, spoke at the hearing on the Municipal suffrage bill, which was defeated in the Senate by 16 to 11. During the final debate Mrs. Parmelee wrote down the disgusting remarks made by some of the opponents and their consternation was great when these were published. This bill for years was termed the "football."

1909. The legislative chairman sent an official letter to Frank E. Partridge, chairman of the Commission to Propose Amendments to the State Constitution, which can only be done once in ten years, asking that suffrage for women be among the proposals considered. The letter was read May 28, 1910, before

the commission—Frank L. Greene, A. M. Fletcher, W. N. Cady and M. G. Leary, but received no attention.

1910. The legislative chairman was assisted by Chaplain A. W. Ford. In the official record suffrage was spelled "sufferage." The Municipal suffrage bill was introduced in the House and the suffragists asked for a hearing but the date was changed three times and the final one left no time for summoning speakers. At the request of Judge H. S. Peck the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole and the Senate came in. The Northfield Cadets, the Burlington High School and several hundred visitors attended the hearing and gave close attention to Mrs. Parmelee for an hour. A large number of members spoke for and against the bill. An anti-suffrage newspaper in referring to it said: "Its killing will make a Roman holiday for ladies' week." It was refused a third reading by 113 to 111. A bill permitting women to vote on the liquor question aroused the stormiest debate of the session and the Speaker split his desk trying to preserve order. It was definitely settled that the Legislature would pass no woman suffrage bills.

1912. The legislative committee was Mrs. Frances Rastall, Miss Fanny B. Fletcher, Mrs. J. B. Estee and Mrs. Parmelee and the bill was to add the words "and female" in the statutes. On October 24 at a hearing held in Representatives Hall, which was filled to overflowing, the following made addresses in favor: Miss Anne Rhodes of New York; Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks of New Hampshire; Miss Mabel Foster of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Rastall, Mrs. Charles Van Patten, Mrs. Parmelee, Senators Darling, Jose, and the Rev. Clifford Smith, superintendent of the State Anti-Saloon League. Those speaking in opposition were: Mrs. E. D. Brooks Brown, who presented an "anti" petition; Miss Minnie Bronson, secretary of the National Anti-Suffrage Association; Mrs. M. H. Buckham, Mrs. George W. Wales, Miss Lillian Peck, Mrs. T. J. Deavitt and Senator D. C. Hawley. It was defeated as usual. A bill which gave women the same right as men to vote in town meetings on all matters relating to taxation and the raising and appropriation of money passed the Senate but was not considered by the House.

1915. Mrs. Amanda Seaver served as the "watchman on the

tower," her husband being a member of the Legislature, and she was assisted by Mrs. Wyman and Mrs. Taylor. A public hearing on the bill for Municipal and Presidential suffrage was held January 21. A large audience in Representatives Hall listened to a convincing address by Mrs. Antoinette Funk of Chicago, a member of the Congressional Committee of the National Association. Mrs. Wyman closed the hearing with an effective speech. Opportunity was given for the opponents but although a large delegation of them from Burlington was present, no one spoke. Mrs. George of Massachusetts and John A. Matthews, a member of the New Jersey Legislature, were the anti-suffrage speakers February 2 at a largely attended Senate hearing. The vote in the Senate was 19 to 19; in the House the bill was loaded with amendments and a third reading was refused by 129 to 100.

1917. Dr. Grace Sherwood was legislative chairman. Six bills giving various kinds of suffrage to women were introduced and every trick that legal minds could devise was employed to retard or defeat their passage but nevertheless one was passed, which was introduced by Representative Ernest E. Moore. It provided that "a female citizen, 21 years of age, who has taken the Freeman's Oath . . . and whose taxes were paid prior to the 15th day of February preceding town meeting, shall while residing in such town be a voter in town meeting." Hearings were held February 6, 15, 16 and March 17, 20. There were 28 speakers in favor, 9 of them women; 21 opposed, 9 of them women. The Speaker, Stanley G. Allson, instead of asking the usual question "Shall the bill pass?" put the question "Shall the bill be rejected?" Several members were caught by the trick and voted the opposite of what they intended but four changed their votes—Hardy of Guildhall, Hayden of Barton, Hooper of Hardwick and Bliss of Georgia, just enough to carry it. It passed the House March 9 by 104 to 100, and the Senate March 20 by 16 to 11. It was signed by Governor Horace F. Graham March 30. Vermont thus had the honor of leading all eastern States in adopting a Town and Municipal suffrage bill permitting tax paying women to vote and hold office.

1919. Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, its recording secretary, was

sent by the National Association to assist the State Executive Board during the legislative session. A bill introduced by Senator Carr of Caledonia to repeal the Municipal suffrage act was promptly defeated. Effort was now concentrated on the Presidential suffrage bill, which was introduced January 14. The Senate passed it by a vote of 20 to 10 and sent it to the House, where it was first read on January 28 and referred to the Committee on Suffrage and Elections, which reported in favor. The bill was read the second time and several motions to defeat it were made by Representative Hopkins of Burlington but all were lost and the third reading was ordered by a vote of 129 ayes, 83 noes. At a hearing February 4 the following spoke in favor: Dr. Sherwood, Mrs. Fred Blanchard, Mrs. Joanna Croft Read, Senators Steele, Vilas and M. J. Hapgood; in opposition, Senators Carr and Felton, Miss Margaret Emerson, Mrs. Wayne Read, Mrs. H. C. Humphrey, David Conant, Representatives O'Dowd, Cudworth and Hopkins. On February 5 the bill passed by 120 ayes, 90 noes. Governor Percival W. Clement vetoed it in March on the ground of unconstitutionality, though eight Legislatures had passed a similar bill without question and Illinois women had voted under one in 1916.

The State suffrage convention was in session at Burlington and immediately on its adjournment March 12 Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the national president, and fifteen of the delegates went to Montpelier, where Mrs. Catt addressed the Legislature. The Senate reconsidered the bill and passed it over the veto. On March 17 the Speaker laid before the House an extended communication from Governor Clements giving in detail his reasons for failing to approve the bill. It was then read and Representative Tracy moved that it be made a special order for the following Thursday, which was agreed to by 104 ayes, 70 noes. At that time the question, "Will the House pass the bill notwithstanding the objections of the Governor?" was decided in the negative by 168 noes, 48 ayes. The next year the women were fully enfranchised by the Federal Amendment.



## CHAPTER XLV.

### VIRGINIA.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest record of woman suffrage in Virginia bears the name of Mrs. Hannah Lee Corbin of Gloucester county, whose protest in 1778 against taxation without representation was answered by a letter from her brother, Richard Henry Lee ("Lighthouse Harry"), who wrote that in his opinion under the clause in the constitution which gave the vote to householders she could exercise the suffrage.

There had been a suffrage organization in Virginia in 1893, of which Mrs. Orra Langhorne, a pioneer worker, had been president. When the State Equal Suffrage League was organized, Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky gave to it a trust fund of \$2.50 which had been left in the treasury and Mrs. Langhorne had requested her to give to a Virginia League when one should be formed. In November, 1909, a preliminary meeting was held to discuss organization, followed a week later by the forming of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia. Lila Meade (Mrs. B. B.) Valentine, widely known for her public work, was elected president and served in this capacity for the next eleven years. State and city headquarters were opened in Richmond and remained there. Miss Mary Johnston was greatly interested and used her influence in promoting the new organization. Miss Ellen Glasgow also was very active. The league was organized to work for suffrage by both State and Federal action and early in its existence circulated a petition to Congress for a Federal Amendment. In 1910 this was presented to the Virginia members by Mrs. Valentine and the State delegates attending the national suffrage convention.

In January, 1911, the first public meeting ever held in Rich-

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Edith Clark Cowles, Executive and Press Secretary; Miss Adele Clark, Legislative Chairman, and Miss Ida Mae Thompson, Headquarters Secretary of the State Equal Suffrage League.

mond in the interest of woman suffrage was addressed by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, president of William and Mary College, in the chair. The first State convention was held this year in Richmond with delegates present from Norfolk, Lynchburg, Williamsburg and Highland Springs societies, and individual suffragists from Fredericksburg and Charlottesville. In 1912 the convention was held in Norfolk with delegates from twenty-two leagues. In 1913 it met in Lynchburg and the reports showed that 2,500 new members had been added and Mrs. Valentine had made 100 public speeches.

An outdoor demonstration was held in Richmond on the steps of the State Capitol, May 2, 1914, in conformity with the nationwide request of the National Association, and the celebration was continued in the evening. The convention was held in Roanoke, where it was reported that forty-five counties had been organized in political units and that the *Virginia Suffrage News*, a monthly paper, was being published at State headquarters under the management of Mrs. Alice Overbey Taylor.

In 1915 street meetings were inaugurated and held in Richmond from May till Thanksgiving, and in Norfolk, Newport News, Portsmouth, Lynchburg and Warrenton. For the first time women appeared on the same platform with the candidates for the Legislature and presented the claims of the women of Virginia to become a part of the electorate. The May Day celebration was held on the south portico of the Capitol on the afternoon of May 1, after a morning devoted to selling from street booths copies of the *Woman's Journal*, suffrage flags, buttons and postcards. A band played and the decorations and banners in yellow and blue, the suffrage and Virginia colors, made a beautiful picture. John S. Munce of Richmond introduced the speakers, Dr. E. N. Calisch, Rabbi of Beth Ahaba Temple; Miss Joy Montgomery Higgins of Nebraska and Miss Mabel Vernon of Washington, D. C. In December the convention was held in Richmond and the two hundred delegates marched to the office of the Governor, Henry Carter Stuart, to request him to embody in his message to the General Assembly a recommendation that it submit to the voters an equal suffrage amend-

ment to the State constitution. They were led by Mrs. Valentine and brief addresses were made by Mrs. Stephen Putney of Wytheville, Mrs. Lloyd Byars of Bristol, Mrs. John H. Lewis of Lynchburg, Miss Lucy Randolph Mason of Richmond, great-great-granddaughter of George Mason, author of the Virginia Bill of Rights; Miss Agnes Randolph, great-great-granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson, founder of the University of Virginia; Miss Mary Johnston, Mrs. Sally Nelson Robins of Richmond, author; Miss Elizabeth Cooke of Norfolk, Miss Jannetta FitzHugh of Fredericksburg, Mrs. Kate Langley Boshier of Richmond, author; Miss Roberta Wellford of University; Mrs. George Barksdale, Miss Marianne Meade and Miss Adele Clark of Richmond. He received them courteously but not seriously and paid no attention to their request. During the year organization of the State into legislative and congressional districts was begun. Norfolk was the place of the annual convention in 1916 when 111 leagues were reported. This was a legislative year and all efforts were concentrated on the Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

From January 29 to February 2, 1917, a very successful suffrage school was conducted in Richmond under the auspices of the National Association. Later when the services of this association were offered to the Government for war work the league dedicated itself to State and country and endeavored to carry out the plans of the National Board. The president, Mrs. Valentine, was the first person in the State, on request of the Governor, to speak in the recruiting campaign and other members also took part in it. At the annual convention held in Richmond in November a resolution not only again endorsing the Federal Suffrage Amendment but pledging members to work for it was unanimously adopted. Virginia sent the largest delegation in her history to the national convention in Washington in December and it was upon the advice of the returning delegates that emphasis was laid upon enrollment of those who desired

<sup>1</sup> From year to year delegates from the Equal Suffrage League went to the State political conventions, asking for an endorsement of woman suffrage. The Republicans, the minority party, always received them courteously and a few times put the plank in their platform. The Democrats always treated them with discourtesy and never endorsed woman suffrage in any way until 1920, when they "commended the action of the General Assembly in passing the Qualifications Bill contingent upon the ratification and proclamation of the 19th Amendment."

woman suffrage. Because of the influenza epidemic no State convention was held in 1918.

The enrollment of 32,000 men and women was accomplished in 1919, Mrs. Faith W. Morgan, a vice-president of the association, securing the largest number of names and Miss Ellen Robinson being the first person to fill her quota. The submission by Congress of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in June of this year gave great impetus to the work. In November the annual convention was held in Richmond, with representatives from all parts of the State. At this time there were 175 suffrage centers. The members reaffirmed with enthusiasm their determination to carry on the fight for ratification. An important feature of the year had been the endorsement of the amendment by the State Teachers' Association, the State Federation of Women's Clubs and the Women's Benevolent Association of the Maccabees.<sup>1</sup>

On Sept. 9, 10, 1920, the State league met in convention in the hall of the House of Delegates in the Capitol for the joint purpose of celebrating the proclamation of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and planning for the organization of a League of Women Voters. It was an occasion never to be forgotten, with a welcome extended by Governor Westmoreland Davis, speeches by Attorney General John R. Saunders, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Harris Hart and members of the Legislature who had made the fight for ratification. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, president of the National League of Women Voters, gave an inspiring address and extensive plans for future work were made. A reception was given by the wife of the Governor assisted by the officers of the league. On November 10, in the Senate chamber, the State League of Women Voters was organized with Mrs. Valentine honorary chairman; Mrs. John H. Lewis honorary vice-chairman and Miss Adele Clark chairman.

<sup>1</sup> There were very few changes in officers during the eleven years of the league's existence. The list was as follows: Honorary vice-presidents, Miss Mary Johnston, Miss Ellen Glasgow. Vice-presidents: Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Mrs. Louise Collier Willcox, Mrs. C. V. Meredith, Mrs. T. Todd Dabney, Mrs. W. J. Adams, Mrs. John H. Lewis, Miss Nannie Davis, Mrs. Stephen Putney, Mrs. Kate Langley Boshier, Mrs. J. Allen Watts, Mrs. W. T. Yancey, Mrs. C. E. Townsend, Mrs. W. W. King, Mrs. J. H. Whitner, Mrs. Faith W. Morgan, Mrs. Robert Barton; secretaries, Mrs. Alice M. Tyler, Miss Adele Clark, Mrs. Grace H. Smithdeal, Miss Roberta Wellford, Miss Lucinda Lee Terry; treasurers: Mrs. C. P. Cadot, Mrs. E. G. Kidd; auditors: Mrs. John S. Munce, Mrs. Henry Aylett Sampson, Mrs. S. M. Block.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. For improved conditions for women in industry, child labor laws and all welfare legislation before the General Assembly in the past ten years individual members of the league have labored assiduously. The league as an organization, however, has confined itself to work for suffrage, knowing that the vote gained "all things else would be added."

1900. When the constitutional convention met to draft the present State constitution, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and a small group of Virginia and other southern women appeared before it and Mrs. Catt urged it to embody woman suffrage in the new constitution but this was not done.

1912. The first resolution proposing an amendment to the State constitution enfranchising women was introduced in the House by Hill Montague of Richmond and the hearing granted by the committee created statewide interest. The speakers were Mrs. Valentine, Mrs. Lewis, Miss Johnston, Mrs. Boshier, Miss Randolph, Clayton Torrence and Howard T. Colvin of the State Federation of Labor, later Assistant U. S. Commissioner of Labor. The vote in the House was 12 ayes, 84 noes.

1914. The resolution for a State amendment was again introduced in the House and a hearing granted by the Committee on Privileges and Elections. Mrs. Valentine presided and introduced the following speakers: Mrs. Desha Breckinridge of Kentucky; Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett of Alexandria, State regent of the D. A. R.; Mrs. Putney, Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Barksdale of Richmond, Miss Mason, Miss Lillie Barbour, State factory inspector, and Mr. Colvin. The vote was 13 ayes, 74 noes.

1916. The resolution for a State amendment had its first public hearing before a joint committee of the House and Senate. The speakers were Mrs. Valentine, Mrs. J. H. Whitner of Roanoke, a vice-president of the State League; Miss Eudora Ramsey and Miss Adele Clark of Richmond; the Rev. John J. Wicker, pastor of Leigh Street Baptist Church, Richmond, and E. F. Sheffey of Lynchburg. The House vote, 40 ayes, 51 noes, marked the third defeat but an increase in suffrage sentiment.

1918. The Legislative Committee consisted of Mrs. Valentine, Miss Wellford, Mrs. Frank L. Jobson, Miss Clark, Miss

Nora Houston and Mrs. Munce, all of Richmond. The Federal Suffrage Amendment having now passed the Lower House of Congress, a resolution urging the U. S. Senate to take favorable action on the Federal Amendment was introduced but it did not come out of committee. The Hon. William Jennings Bryan stopped over trains to pay his respects to Governor Westmoreland Davis. He was escorted to the Capitol by members of the Equal Suffrage League and made a brief address to the Assembly in joint recess, urging ratification of the Federal Amendment if submitted in time for action at this session.<sup>1</sup>

RATIFICATION. The Legislature assembled August 13, 1919, in special session for the purpose of meeting the federal appropriation for good roads. The Federal Suffrage Amendment having been submitted to the Legislatures for ratification on June 4 was due to be presented by the Governor. As the special session had been called specifically for good roads, the State Equal Suffrage League intended to await the regular session of 1920 to press for action but to test the legislators a questionnaire was sent to them. Answers proved that it would be well-nigh impossible to obtain ratification at this time, even though substantial petitions from all sections of the State were shown to men representing the localities from which these came. Spurred on, however, by efforts of the National Woman's Party to secure action at any cost, the opponents succeeded in having a Rejection Resolution railroaded through the House without debate ten minutes before adjournment in the second week of the session. The Senate refused to sanction such tactics and by 19 to 15 voted to postpone action until the next session.

1920. The State league's committee on ratification was composed of Mrs. Valentine, Miss Clark, Mrs. Boshier, Mrs. Jobson, Miss Houston and Miss Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon.<sup>2</sup> Miss Josephine Miller, an organizer for the National Association, was sent into the State toward the end of the campaign. There were

<sup>1</sup> By act of the General Assembly of 1918 women were admitted to William and Mary College. They were admitted to the graduate and professional schools of the University of Virginia by act of the Board of Visitors in 1920.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Pidgeon was appointed by the National Association in November, 1919, for organization to prepare for ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. After its defeat the next February she continued until June 15, organizing citizenship schools throughout the State. The expense to the association was \$1,792.

in the two Houses 61 new members who had been elected since the Federal Amendment was submitted. Very strong pressure to ratify was made upon the General Assembly. President Wilson sent an earnest appeal and others came from Homer Cummings, chairman of the National Democratic Committee; A. Mitchell Palmer, U. S. Attorney General; Carter Glass, U. S. Treasurer; U. S. Representative C. C. Carlin and other prominent Democrats. Thousands of telegrams were sent from women throughout the southern States. A cablegram came from Lady Astor, M. P. of Great Britain, a Virginian. Urgent requests for ratification were made by presidents of colleges, mayors of cities, State and county officials and other eminent citizens.

Before the Governor had even sent the certified copy of the amendment to the Legislature its strongest opponent, Senator Leedy, also an opponent of the administration at Washington, introduced a Rejection Resolution couched in the same obnoxious terms he had used in August. By urgent advice of the leaders he finally omitted some of its most offensive adjectives. It was presented in the House by Representative Ozlin and referred to the Federal Relations Committee, which granted a hearing. On the preceding evening Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Suffrage Association, addressed a mass meeting held by the Equal Suffrage League in the Jefferson Hotel. The hearing was held before a joint session of the Senate and House in the Hall of Delegates at noon on January 21. Some of Virginia's foremost citizens spoke for ratification, among them Allan Jones, member of the State Democratic Committee; Roswell Page, State auditor and a brother of the Hon. Thomas Nelson Page; U. S. Representatives Thomas Lomax Hunter and Howard Cecil Gilmer; J. B. Saul, chairman of the Roanoke County Democratic Committee; former Senator Keezel; Dr. Lyon G. Tyler. The women speakers were Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Valentine, president, and Mrs. John H. Lewis, vice-president of the State Suffrage League, and Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The next day, after Mrs. Catt had returned to New York, Harry St. George Tucker appeared before the Legislature and ridiculed her and her speech in the most insulting terms. In 1921 Mr. Tucker was a candidate for Governor and was defeated at the primaries by Senator E. Lee Trinkle, whose plurality was 40,000. He had been a strong supporter of woman suffrage and his victory was attributed to the women.

Notwithstanding this very able presentation the Federal Relations Committee reported the Rejection Resolution favorably. On the floor Lindsay Gordon of Louisa county substituted a Ratification Resolution and Harry Rew of Accomac a substitute to refer ratification to the voters. The latter carried on January 27 by a vote of 55 to 39, supported by Representatives Gordon, Willis of Roanoke, Williams of Fairfax, Hunter of Stafford, Rodgers, J. W. Story, Wilcox of Richmond, Snead of Chesterfield and H. W. Anderson, Republican floor leader.

The battle front now shifted to the Senate, where, owing to illness of the chief suffrage proponent, G. Walter Mapp, consideration had been postponed. On February 6, the day finally set, proceedings were similar to those in the House, Senator E. Lee Trinkle's ratification resolution and Senator Gravatt's referendum being respectively substituted for Leedy's rejection. The referendum, under Leedy's coercive method, was voted down. All day the contest raged on the ratification resolution, with strong speeches in favor by Senators Trinkle of Wythe, Corbitt of Portsmouth, Paul of Rockingham, Layman of Craig, West of Nansemond, Parsons of Grayson. Supporting the measure by vote were also Senators Crockett, Haslinger and Proffitt; and pairing in favor Pendleton and Gravatt. The Ratifying Resolution was defeated. The Rejection Resolution was adopted by 24 to 10 votes; in the House by 16 to 22.

One week later the resolution of Senator J. E. West to submit to the voters a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution passed the Senate by 28 ayes, 11 noes; the House by 67 ayes, 10 noes; as it would have to pass the Legislature of 1921 and ratification of the Federal Amendment was almost completed, this vote was merely an empty compliment. A few days thereafter the Qualifications Bill, offered by Senator Mapp, was overwhelmingly adopted, Senate, 30 ayes, 6 noes; House, 64 ayes, 17 noes. It made full provisions for the voting of women if the Federal Amendment should be ratified.



## CHAPTER XLVI.

### WASHINGTON.<sup>1</sup>

The period from 1900 to 1906 was one of inactivity in State suffrage circles; then followed a vigorous continued campaign culminating in the adoption of a constitutional amendment in 1910 granting to women full political equality. This victory, so gratifying to the women of Washington, had also an important national aspect, as it marked the end of the dreary period of fourteen years following the Utah and Idaho amendments in 1895-6, during which no State achieved woman suffrage.

The Legislature of 1897 had submitted an amendment for which a brilliant campaign was made by the Equal Suffrage Association under the able leadership of its president, Mrs. Homer M. Hill of Seattle, but it was defeated at the November election of 1898. The inevitable reaction followed for some years. Three State presidents were elected, Dr. Nina Jolidon Croake of Tacoma, 1900-1902, elected at the Seattle convention; Dr. Luema Greene Johnson of Tacoma, 1902-1904, elected at the Tacoma convention; Dr. Fannie Leake Cummings of Seattle, 1904-1906, elected at a meeting in Puyallup at which only five persons were present, the small suffrage club here being the only one surviving in the State. Dr. Cummings, aided by Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer Spinning of Puyallup, State treasurer for many years, and Mrs. Ellen S. Leckenby of Seattle, State secretary, kept the suffrage torch from being extinguished. Mrs. Leckenby held office continuously throughout twelve years.

The revival of interest plainly seen after 1906 was due to the impetus given through the initiative of Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, who with her husband, John Henry DeVoe, had recently come from Harvey, Ills., and established a new home. Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Dr. Cora Smith King, assisted by Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, Dr. Sarah A. Kendall, Mrs. Homer M. Hill, and others. Valuable assistance in editing the manuscript was rendered by Judson King, writer and lecturer, Secretary of the National Popular Government League, Washington, D. C.

DeVoe was a life-long suffrage worker who had served many years in many States with Susan B. Anthony and also was a national organizer. She began by calling on individual suffragists and suggesting that Washington was a hopeful State for a campaign and aroused so much interest that in November a large and enthusiastic convention met at Seattle. Dr. Cummings presided and inspiring addresses were given by A. W. McIntyre of Everett, formerly Governor of Colorado; Miss Ida Agnes Baker of the Bellingham State Normal School; Miss Adella M. Parker of the Seattle Broadway High School and Professor J. Allen Smith of the University of Washington. Mrs. DeVoe was elected president.

Conventions were held at Seattle in 1907, 1908 and 1909, Mrs. DeVoe being re-elected each time. By June, 1909, there were 2,000 paid members of the State association and afterwards, many thousands of men and women were enrolled. The executive committee decided upon a campaign to amend the State constitution for woman suffrage and Mrs. DeVoe was made manager and given authority to conduct it according to her own judgment. No other convention or executive committee meeting was held, only frequent informal conferences, until after the vote was taken on November 8, 1910. The final executive committee meeting was held at Seattle in January, 1911, when it was voted to continue the association until all bills were paid and then disband. It was decided to present the large silken banner "Votes for Women" to the next State having a campaign and it went to California the following year. The unfinished business was completed by the old officers, Mrs. DeVoe, Mrs. Leckenby and Dr. Eaton.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Following is a complete list of the officers of the State Association who served during the campaign of 1910: President, Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, Melmont; vice-presidents: Mrs. Bessie I. Savage, Seattle; Mrs. Jennie Jewett, White Salmon; Mrs. John Q. Mason, Tacoma; Mrs. Alice M. Grover, Spokane; Mrs. Anna E. Goodwin, Columbia (now Mrs. Yungbluth); treasurer, Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, Seattle (now Dr. King); corresponding secretary, Mrs. Ellen S. Leckenby, Seattle; headquarters secretary, Miss Mabel Fontron, Seattle (now Mrs. Paul Rewman); auditors, Miss Bernice A. Sapp, Olympia, Dr. Anna W. Scott, West Seattle, Dr. N. Jolidon Croake, Tacoma, Mrs. H. J. McGregor, Tacoma; trustees, Dr. Sarah A. Kendall, Seattle, Mrs. Georgia B. Smith, Anacortes, Mrs. B. B. Lord, Olympia; chairmen of standing committees: Church Work, Mrs. C. M. Miller, Seattle; Letter Writers, Mrs. Lucie F. Isaacs, Walla Walla; Literature, Mrs. E. M. Wardall, West Seattle; Labor Unions, Dr. Luema G. Johnson, Tacoma; Publication, Miss Linda Jennings, LaConner; Finance, Mrs. H. D. Wright, Seattle; Headquarters, Miss Mary G. O'Meara, Seattle (now Mrs.

**CAMPAIGN.** After the defeat of 1898 no amendment came before the Legislature for eleven years, nor was there any legislation on woman suffrage until a resolution to submit to the voters an amendment to the State constitution giving full suffrage was presented to the session of 1909. It was drafted by Senator George F. Cotterill of Seattle, a radical suffragist, after many conferences with Mrs. DeVoe, and was introduced, strangely enough, by Senator George U. Piper of Seattle, an able politician and a friend of the liquor interests, in honor of his dead mother, who had been ardently in favor of woman suffrage. It was presented in the House by Representative T. J. Bell of Tacoma. The State association rented a house in Olympia for headquarters and Mrs. DeVoe spent all her time at the Capitol, assisted by many of its members, who came at different times from over the State to interview their Representatives and Senators. The work was conducted so skilfully and quietly that no violent opposition of material strength was developed. The resolution passed the House January 29 by 70 ayes, 18 noes; the Senate February 23 by 30 ayes, 9 noes, and was approved by Governor Marion E. Hay on February 25.

The interests of the amendment were materially advanced later by Senator W. H. Paulhamus, then an anti-suffragist, who "in the interest of fair play" gave advance information as to the exact wording and position of the amendment on the ballot, which enabled the women to hold practice drills and to word their slogan, "Vote for Amendment to Article VI at the Top of the Ballot." The clause relating to the qualifications of voters was reproduced verbatim except for two changes: 1. "All persons" was substituted for "all male persons." 2. At the end was added "There shall be no denial of the elective franchise at any election on account of sex."

During the campaign of 1910 the State Equal Franchise Society, an offshoot from the regular organization, was formed, its members being largely recruited from the Seattle Suffrage

Otway Pardee); Advisory, Mrs. Amos Brown, West Seattle; Library, Mrs. Dora W. Cryderman, Bellingham; Precincts, Mrs. Silvia A. Hunsicker, Seattle; Petitions, Mrs. Roy Welch, Kelso; Educational, Mrs. Margaret Heyes Hall, Vancouver; Member of National Executive Committee, Miss Adella M. Parker, Seattle; Historian, Miss Ida Agnes Baker, Bellingham.

Club, Mrs. Harvey L. Glenn, president, with which it cooperated. Headquarters were opened in Seattle July 5, with Mrs. Homer M. Hill, president, in charge and the organization was active during the last four months of the campaign.<sup>1</sup> The Political Equality League of Spokane, Mrs. May Arkwright Hutton, president, worked separately for fourteen months prior to the election, having been organized in July, 1909. The college women under the name of the College Suffrage League, with Miss Parker as president, cooperated with the regular State association.

Following the act of the Legislature twenty months were left to carry on the campaign destined to enfranchise the 175,000 women of the State. It was a favorable year for submission, as no other important political issue was before them and there was a reaction against the dominance of the political "machines."

The campaign was unique in its methods and was won through the tireless energy of nearly a hundred active, capable women who threw themselves into the work. The outstanding feature of the plan adopted by the State Equal Suffrage Association under the leadership of Mrs. DeVoe, was the absence of all spectacular methods and the emphasis placed upon personal intensive work on the part of the wives, mothers and sisters of the men who were to decide the issue at the polls. Big demonstrations, parades and large meetings of all kinds were avoided. Only repeated informal conferences of workers were held in different sections of the State on the call of the president. The result was that the real strength was never revealed to the enemy. The opposition was not antagonized and did not awake until election day, when it was too late. Although the women held few suffrage meetings of their own, their speakers and organizers constantly obtained the platform at those of granges, farmers' unions, labor unions, churches and other organizations.

Each county was canvassed as seemed most expedient by in-

<sup>1</sup> Other officers of the Franchise Society were: Assistants, Mrs. Edward P. Fick and Mrs. D. L. Carmichael; corresponding secretary, Mrs. F. S. Bash; recording secretary, Mrs. W. T. Perkins; treasurer, Mrs. E. M. Rininger; financial secretary, Mrs. Phebe A. Ryan. Others who worked without pay were: Miss Martha Gruening of New York and Miss Jeannette Rankin of Montana. Mrs. George A. Smith, president of the Alki Point Suffrage Club of Seattle, worked independently but cooperated with the society in many ways. The society employed Mrs. Rose Aschermann, Mrs. Ethel Stalford, Charles E. Cline, Vaughn Ellis and John Gray of Washington.

terviews, letters or return postals. Every woman personally solicited her neighbor, her doctor, her grocer, her laundrywagon driver, the postman and even the man who collected the garbage. It was essentially a womanly campaign, emphasizing the home interests and engaging the cooperation of home makers. The association published and sold 3,000 copies of *The Washington Women's Cook Book*, compiled by the suffragists and edited by Miss Linda Jennings of LaConner. Many a worker started out into the field with a package of these cook books under her arm. In the "suffrage department" of the *Tacoma News* a "kitchen contest" was held, in which 250-word essays on household subjects were printed, \$70 in prizes being given by the paper. Suffrage clubs gave programs on "pure food" and "model menus" were exhibited and discussed.

Thousands of leaflets on the results of equal suffrage in other States were distributed and original ones printed. A leaflet by Mrs. Edith DeLong Jarmuth containing a dozen cogent reasons *Why Washington Women Want the Ballot* was especially effective. A monthly paper, *Votes for Women*, was issued during the last year of the campaign with Mrs. M. T. B. Hanna publisher and editor, Misses Parker, Mary G. O'Meara, Rose Glass and others assistant editors. It carried a striking cartoon on the front page and was full of suffrage news and arguments, even the advertisements being written in suffrage terms.<sup>1</sup>

State and county fairs and Chautauquas were utilized by securing a Woman's Day, with Mrs. DeVoe as president of the day. Excellent programs were offered, prominent speakers secured and prizes given in contests between various women's societies other than suffrage for symbolic "floats" and reports of work during the year. Space was given for a suffrage booth, from which active suffrage propaganda went on with the sale of *Votes for Women* pins, pennants and the cook book and the signing of enrollment cards. The great Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909 at Seattle was utilized as a medium for publicity. A permanent suffrage exhibit was maintained, open

<sup>1</sup> During the year following the winning of the franchise Mrs. Hanna published her paper under the name of *The New Citizen*. Miss Parker published twelve numbers of a monthly paper called *The Western Woman Voter*, from the files of which much valuable data has been gleaned for this chapter.

air meetings were held and there was a special Suffrage Day, on which Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver spoke for the amendment. The dirigible balloon, a feature of the exposition, carried a large silken banner inscribed Votes for Women. Later a pennant with this motto was carried by a member of the Mountaineers' Club to the summit of Mt. Rainier, near Tacoma, said to be the loftiest point in the United States.<sup>1</sup> It was fastened to the staff of the larger pennant "A. Y. P." of the exposition and the staff was planted in the highest snows on the top of Columbia Crest, a huge white dome that rises above the crater.

The State association entertained the national suffrage convention at Seattle in 1909 and brought its guests from Spokane on a special train secured by Mrs. DeVoe, as an effective method of advertising the cause and the convention.

The State Grange and the State Farmers' Union worked hard for the amendment. State Master C. B. Kegley wrote: "The Grange, numbering 15,000, is strongly in favor of woman suffrage. In fact every subordinate grange is an equal suffrage organization. . . . We have raised a fund with which to push the work. . . . Yours for victory." The State Federation of Labor, Charles R. Case, president, at its annual convention in January, 1910, unanimously adopted with cheers a strong resolution favoring woman suffrage and urged the local unions to "put forth their most strenuous efforts to carry the suffrage amendment . . . and make it the prominent feature of their work during the coming months."

Practically all the newspapers were friendly and featured the news of the campaign; no large daily paper was opposed. S. A. Perkins, publisher of eleven newspapers in the State, gave a standing order to his editors to support the amendment. The best publicity bureau in the State was employed and for a year its weekly news letter carried a readable paragraph on the subject to every local paper. Besides this, "suffrage columns" were printed regularly; there were "suffrage pages," "suffrage supplements" and even entire "suffrage editions"; many effective "cuts" were used, and all at the expense of the publishers.

The clergy was a great power. Nearly every minister ob-

<sup>1</sup> The member was Dr. Cora Smith King.—Ed.

served Mrs. DeVoe's request to preach a special woman suffrage sermon on a Sunday in February, 1910. All the Protestant church organizations were favorable. The Methodist Ministerial Association unanimously declared for the amendment April 11 at the request of Miss Emily Inez Denney. The African Methodist Conference on August 10 passed a ringing resolution in favor, after addresses by Mrs. DeVoe and Miss Parker. The Rev. Harry Ferguson, Baptist, of Hoquiam was very active. In Seattle no one spoke more frequently or convincingly than the Rev. J. D. O. Powers of the First Unitarian Church and the Rev. Sidney Strong of Queen Anne Congregational Church. Other friends were the Rev. Joseph L. Garvin of the Christian Church, the Rev. F. O. Iverson among the Norwegians, and the Rev. Ling Hansen of the Swedish Baptist Church. Mrs. Martha Offerdahl and Mrs. Ida M. Abelset compiled a valuable campaign leaflet printed in Scandinavian with statements in favor by sixteen Swedish and Norwegian ministers. The Catholic priests said nothing against it and left their members free to work for it if they so desired. Among Catholic workers were the Misses Lucy and Helen Kangley of Seattle, who formed a Junior Suffrage League. Father F. X. Prefontaine gave a definite statement in favor of the amendment. Distinguished persons from outside the State who spoke for it were Miss Janet Richards of Washington, D. C., the well-known lecturer; Miss Jeannette Rankin of Montana, afterwards elected to Congress; Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby of Nebraska and Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway of Oregon.

None of the officers and workers connected with the State association received salaries except the stenographers. For four-and-a-half years Mrs. DeVoe, with rare consecration, gave her entire time without pay, save for actual expenses, and even these were at crucial times contributed by her husband, from whom she received constant encouragement and support. For the most part of the entire period she was necessarily absent from home, traveling over the State, keeping in constant personal touch with the leaders of all groups of women whether connected with her association or not, advising and helping them and on special days speaking on their programs. Her notable characteristics as a

leader were that she laid personal responsibility on each friend and worker; from the first assumed success as certain and avoided arousing hostility by mixing suffrage with politics or with other reforms. She asked the voters everywhere merely for fair play for women and made no predictions as to what the women would do with the vote when obtained. It was her far-sighted generalship and prodigious personal work that made success possible.

The Equal Franchise Society of Seattle planned to carry suffrage into organizations already existing. It gave a series of luncheons at the New Washington Hotel and made converts among many who could not be met in any other way and was especially helpful in reaching society and professional people. Its workers spoke before improvement clubs, women's clubs, churches, labor unions, etc. A man was employed to travel and engage men in conversation on woman suffrage on trains, boats and in hotel lobbies and lumber camps. A good politician looked after the water front. The Political Equality League of Spokane worked in the eastern counties and placed in the field the effective worker, Mrs. Minnie J. Reynolds of Colorado.

The Franchise Department of the W. C. T. U. had done educational work for years under the leadership of Mrs. Margaret B. Platt, State president, and Mrs. Margaret C. Munns, State secretary, affectionately referred to as "the Margarets." Its speakers always made convincing pleas for suffrage and Mrs. Munns's drills in parliamentary usage were valuable in training the women for the campaign of 1910. Tribute must be paid to the fine, self-sacrificing work of this organization. In a private conference called by Mrs. DeVoe early in the campaign, the W. C. T. U. represented by these two, an agreement was reached that, in order not to antagonize the "whisky" vote, the temperance women would submerge their hard-earned honors and let the work of their unions go unheralded. They kept the faith.

A suffrage play, *A Mock Legislative Session*, written by Mrs. S. L. W. Clark of Seattle, was given in the State House and repeated in other cities. Several hundred dollars' worth of suffrage literature was furnished to local unions. They placarded the bill boards throughout the State, cooperating with Dr. Fannie Leake Cummings, who managed this enterprise, assisted by the



Seattle Suffrage Club, by Mrs. George A. Smith of the Alki Point Club and others who helped finance it to a cost of \$535. The placard read: "Give the Women a Square Deal. Vote for the Amendment to Article VI," and proved to be an effective feature.

Mrs. Eliza Ferry Leary, among the highest taxpayers in the State, was chosen by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage as their representative, but, having satisfied her sense of duty by accepting the office, she did nothing and thus endeared herself to the active campaigners for the vote. There were no other "anti" members in the State. The only meeting held was called by a brief newspaper notice at the residence of Mrs. Leary one afternoon on the occasion of a visit by a representative, Mrs. Frances E. Bailey of Oregon, at which six persons were present—the hostess, the guest of honor, three active members of the suffrage association and a casual guest. No business was transacted. With the "antis" should be classed the only minister who opposed suffrage, the Rev. Mark A. Mathews of the First Presbyterian Church, the largest in Seattle. He was born in Georgia but came to Seattle from Tennessee. His violent denunciations lent spice to the campaign by calling out cartoons and articles combating his point of view. When suffrage was obtained he harangued the women on their duty to use the vote, not forgetting to instruct them how to use it.

Election day was reported to the *Woman's Journal* of Boston by Miss Parker as follows: "It was a great victory. The women at the polls were wonderfully effective. Many young women, middle-aged women and white-haired grandmothers stood for hours handing out the little reminders. It rained—the usual gentle but very insistent kind of rain—and the men were so solicitous! They kept trying to drag us off to get our feet warm or bringing us chairs or offering to hand out our ballots while we took a rest, but the women would not leave their places until relieved by other women, even for lunch, for fear of losing a vote. The whole thing appealed to the men irresistibly. We are receiving praise from all quarters for the kind of campaign we made—no personalities, no boasting of what we would do, no promises, no meddling with other issues—just 'Votes for

Women' straight through, because it is just and reasonable and everywhere when tried has been found expedient."

The amendment was adopted November 8, 1910, by the splendid majority of 22,623, nearly 2 to 1. The vote stood 52,299 ayes to 29,676 noes out of a total vote of 138,243 cast for congressmen. Every one of the 39 counties and every city was carried. The large cities won in the following order: Seattle and King County 12,052 to 6,695; Tacoma and Pierce County, 5,552 to 3,442; Spokane and Spokane County, 5,639 to 4,551. Then came Bellingham and Whatcom County, 3,520 to 1,334; Everett and Snohomish County, 3,209 to 1,294; Bremerton and Kitsap County, including the U. S. Navy Yard, 1,094 to 372. Kitsap was the banner county giving the highest ratio for the amendment. This was largely due to the remarkable house to house canvass made by Mrs. Elizabeth A. Baker of Manette.

The cost of the twenty months' campaign is estimated to be \$17,000, which includes the amounts spent by organizations and individuals. The money was raised in various ways and contributions ran from 25 cents up, few exceeding \$100. Over \$500 were subscribed by the labor unions and about \$500 collected at the Granges and Farmers' Unions' suffrage meetings. Dr. Sarah A. Kendall of Seattle collected the largest amount of any one person. About \$3,000 were contributed from outside the State, chiefly from New York, Massachusetts and California. The first and largest gift which heartened the workers was \$500 from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.<sup>1</sup>

After the suffrage amendment was carried there was organized

<sup>1</sup> Among eastern contributors were Henry B. and Alice Stone Blackwell, Mass., \$250; Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Lesser, California, \$100; Mrs. H. E. Flansburg, New York, \$100; Miss Janet Richards, Washington, D. C., \$100; the Rev. Olympia Brown, Wisconsin, \$25. The National American Woman Suffrage Association contributed direct to Mrs. DeVoe for traveling expenses to June, 1909, inclusive, \$900. At this time, seventeen months before the amendment was submitted, through differences arising between the national and State organizations, all national support was withdrawn. Among those contributing from the East to Mrs. Hill's society through Miss Margaret W. Bayne of Kirkland, who went there to raise money, her own trip being financed by Mrs. E. M. Rininger of Seattle, were: Mrs. Henry Villard, New York, \$200; Mrs. Susan Look Avery, Kentucky, \$250; Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller and Miss Anne Fitzhugh Miller, New York, \$300; Mrs. Kemeys, New York, \$100; Mrs. Alfred Lewis, New York, \$50; Mrs. Raymond Robins, Illinois, \$50; Misses Isabel and Emily Howland, New York, \$20; Mrs. Sarah L. Willis, New York, \$20; Mrs. Isabella B. Hooker, Conn., \$25; Equal Suffrage Association, Mass., \$100; Mrs. H. S. Luscomb, Mass., \$100; "A Friend," \$200.

The net contribution of the National to the State Association during the campaign, deducting the expense of entertaining the 1909 national convention, was about \$30.

on Jan. 14, 1911, the National Council of Women Voters at the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Mason in Tacoma. Governor James H. Brady of Idaho issued a call to the Governors of the four other equal suffrage States—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Washington—asking them to send delegates to this first convention. He presided at the opening session and spoke at the evening meeting which filled the largest theater. Mrs. DeVoe was elected president and was re-elected at each succeeding convention. It was non-partisan and non-sectarian and its objects were three-fold: 1. To educate women voters in the exercise of their citizenship; 2. To secure legislation in equal suffrage States in the interest of men and women, of children and the home; 3. To aid in the further extension of woman suffrage. As new States gained suffrage they joined the Council.

Before Mrs. DeVoe went to the National Suffrage Convention at St. Louis in March, 1919, she was authorized by the Council to take whatever steps were necessary to merge it in the National League of Women Voters which was to be organized there. Mrs. Catt requested her to complete the arrangements when she returned to Washington and act as chairman until this was accomplished. On Jan. 6, 1920, the Council became the State League of Women Voters. Mrs. Nelle Mitchell Fick was elected temporary and later Mrs. W. S. Griswold permanent chairman.

On the afternoon of August 21, old and new suffrage workers joined in a celebration at Seattle of the final ratification by the Legislature of Tennessee, which was attended by over two hundred women.

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Election returns furnish conclusive proof that the women of Washington use the ballot. After 1910 the total registration of the State nearly doubled, although men outnumber women, and the women apparently vote in the same proportion as men. A tremendous increase of interest among them in civic, economic and political affairs followed the adoption of suffrage and the results were evidenced by a much larger number of laws favorably affecting the status of women and the home passed in the ten year period following 1910 than during the previous ten year period. Uniform hostility to liquor, prostitution and vice has

been shown; also to working conditions adversely affecting the health and morals of women and children.

The vote of the women was the deciding factor in the Seattle recall election of February 8, 1911, when Mayor Hiram Gill was removed because of vice conditions permitted to flourish under his administration. It was acknowledged that, due to a strong combination of the vice and public utility interests of the city, he would have been retained but for their opposition. His re-election later by a small majority is explained by the fact that he begged the citizens to give him a chance to remove the stigma from his name for the sake of his wife and family, with whom his relations were blameless.

The State Legislative Federation, representing 140 various kinds of women's clubs and organizations, having a total membership of over 50,000 women, has maintained headquarters at Olympia during the sessions of the Legislature in recent years, to the advantage of legislation. The W. C. T. U. also is an active influence. Miss Lucy R. Case, as executive secretary of the Joint Legislative Committee of the State Federation of Labor, Grange, Farmers' Union and Direct Legislation League, took an important part at the elections of 1914 and 1916 in defeating the reactionary measures affecting popular government and labor.

Representative Frances C. Axtell of Bellingham introduced and engineered the minimum wage law and several moral bills in cooperation with the W. C. T. U. Representative Frances M. Haskell of Tacoma led in securing the law for equal pay for men and women teachers. Reah M. Whitehead, Justice of the Peace of King county, prepared and promoted the law relating to unmarried mothers. The Seattle Branch of the Council of Women Voters established a "quiz congress," which requested candidates to attend its meetings and state their position on campaign issues and answer questions and many candidates importuned it for a chance to be heard.

**RATIFICATION.** The Federal Suffrage Amendment was ratified on March 22, 1920, at an extraordinary session called principally for that purpose. Governor Louis F. Hart had been reluctant to call a special session on the ground that, due to the unsettled condition of the country at that time, it would afford

opportunity for the introduction of a flood of radical legislation which would keep the Legislature in prolonged session at great expense to the State. He finally yielded to the persuasion of a large number of the leading women of the State and to political pressure from his party in high places and called the session, which lasted but three days and dealt only with the subjects mentioned in the call.

The occasion was most impressive. The Capitol was thronged with women who had traveled from every corner of the State to participate in the occasion. Every available seat in the balconies of both Houses was filled and the aisles and corridors were crowded. The hope and expectation that at any moment the wires might flash the news that Delaware had ratified and Washington would thus be the thirty-sixth and final State to enfranchise the women of the whole nation, lent an added thrill to the proceedings. At noon both Houses met in joint session to listen to the Governor's message. Dealing with the ratification he reminded the members that in 1910 the electors had adopted woman suffrage by an overwhelming vote and said, "The State has done well under the management of both men and women." A marked feature of their proceedings was the gracious courtesy accorded to the old suffrage leaders and workers, who were present in large numbers.

In the House the honor of introducing the resolution was accorded to Mrs. Haskell, Representative from Pierce county, who made a strong speech favoring its adoption. Not one vote was cast against it. By special resolution Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, referred to as "the mother of suffrage" in the State, was invited to a seat on the right of Speaker Adams, with Governor Hart on the left. A special committee was appointed to escort her and she took her seat amid loud cheers. She was asked to address the House and said in part:

I am proud of the Legislature of Washington because of this patriotic act and I thank you in the name of our forefathers, who first proclaimed that "taxation without representation is tyranny" and that government without consent is unjust. . . . I thank you in the name of the early suffrage workers who have passed on to their beautiful reward. I thank you in the name of the women of the United States of today who will, I trust, use their new political

freedom wisely and well. I thank you in the name of the children who will come after us; they will have a better, broader and nobler heritage than was ours. And I personally thank you from the depths of my heart. God bless you every one!

Twelve minutes after the resolution reached the Senate it had been passed by another unanimous vote. During the proceedings Mrs. Homer M. Hill sat beside President Carlyon and was invited to address the members. Described as "a tiny figure whose white hair was scarcely on a level with the top of the Speaker's desk," she expressed the emotions of the older suffragists as they witnessed the adoption of the resolution. She thanked them in the name also of the W. C. T. U., and thanked the leaders in the cause of labor and of many other organizations, as well as the leaders of both parties. "Washington has led the victorious crusade for the Pacific Coast States," she said. "May we always appreciate what it means to live in a State whose men themselves gave this right to women!"

[LAWS. A complete digest of the laws relating especially to the interests of women and children and to moral questions enacted during the first decade of the present century was prepared for this chapter by Judge Reah M. Whitehead of Seattle. This was supplemented by an abstract of fifty-eight statutes of a similar nature enacted during the last decade, prepared by attorneys Adella M. Parker of Seattle and Bernice A. Sapp of Olympia. They largely cover the field of modern liberal legislation but can not be given because of the decision to omit the laws in all the State chapters for lack of space. The results on questions related to prohibition submitted to the electors, with women voting, are significant: Statute for State-wide prohibition submitted in 1914: ayes, 189,840; noes, 171,208; statute submitted in 1916 permitting hotels to sell liquor: ayes, 48,354; noes, 262,390; statute authorizing manufacture, sale and export of 4 per cent. beer: ayes, 98,843; noes, 245,399.]

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### WEST VIRGINIA.<sup>1</sup>

In 1895 when the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association was organized through the effort of the National American Association, with Mrs. Jessie G. Manley president, nine clubs were formed in the northern part of the State but only those in Fairmont and Wheeling remained in existence after 1900. The first president of the Fairmont Club was the mother of Mrs. Manley, Mrs. Margaret J. Grove, who with her sisters, Mrs. Corilla E. Shearer and Miss Ellen D. Harn, all still living, aged 89, 90 and 92, led in the early suffrage work in the State, and Mrs. Mary Reed of Fairmont also was a pioneer. Little public work was done until an active suffrage movement was inaugurated in Virginia and in 1912 Miss Mary Johnston came to Charleston and organized a club. One was formed in Morgantown and these four constituted the State association until the amendment campaign of 1916.

The following have served as State presidents: Mrs. Beulah Boyd Ritchie, 1900-1903; Mrs. M. Anna Hall, 1904; Mrs. Anne M. Southern, 1905; Dr. Harriet B. Jones, 1906; Mrs. May Hornbrook, 1907-1910; Mrs. Allie Haymond, 1911-1912; Miss Margaret McKinney, 1913; Mrs. J. Gale Ebert, 1914-1915; Mrs. Lenna Lowe Yost, 1916; Mrs. John L. Ruhl, 1917-1920.<sup>2</sup> Annual meetings were held as follows: 1900, December 1, Fairmont; 1904, August 11, Moundsville; 1905, October 27, Fairmont; 1906, October 26, Wheeling; 1907, November 8, Wheeling; 1908, October 29, Fairmont; 1909, October 30,

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Dr. Harriet B. Jones, officially identified with the movement for woman suffrage in the State since its beginning about thirty years ago, and to Lenna Lowe (Mrs. Ellis A.) Yost, chairman of the Ratification Committee; also to the records of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

<sup>2</sup> Women who have been most prominent in the work not already mentioned are: Miss Jennie Wilson, Mrs. Annie C. Boyd, Mrs. Henry O. Ott, Miss Elizabeth Cummins, Miss Anne Cummins, Miss Florence Hoge, Mrs. Virginia Hoge Kendall and Mrs. Edward W. Hazlett of Wheeling; Mrs. I. N. Smith, Mrs. Harold Ritz and Mrs. A. M. Finney of Charleston; Miss Harriet Schroeder of Grafton.

Wheeling; 1911, October 27, Fairmont; 1913, October 24, Wheeling. During these years practically all that was done was to have speakers of note from time to time and a resolution for woman suffrage introduced in the Legislature whenever possible.

In 1904 a new city charter was prepared for Wheeling and an effort was made to have it provide for a municipal vote for women. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, national president, gave a week to speaking in the city and Miss Kate Gordon, national corresponding secretary, spent three weeks there, addressing many organizations. The question was submitted to the voters with the charter but on a separate ballot. Both were lost, the suffrage amendment by 1,600. More votes were cast on it than on the charter itself.

In 1910 an amendment to the State constitution permitting women to be appointed notaries public, clerks of county courts, probation officers and members of boards of State institutions went to the voters. The State Bar Association also had an amendment and kindly printed the literature for the former and sent it out with theirs. It received the larger number of votes—44,168 ayes, 45,044 noes—and was lost by only 876.

With the submission to the voters by the Legislature of 1915 of an amendment to the constitution conferring full suffrage activity was stimulated. Miss Ida Craft of New York, in cooperation with the women of Charleston, held a suffrage school there January 28–February 3 and at that time Mrs. J. E. Canady, vice-president of its Equal Suffrage League, obtained permission from Governor Henry D. Hatfield to put the “suffrage map” in the lobby of the Capitol. Mrs. Mary E. Craigie, chairman of church work for the National Association, addressed the Woman’s Club of Parkersburg April 5 and afterwards spoke in many cities and towns through arrangement by Dr. Jones, as did Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton of Warren and Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser of Girard, Ohio. In May Mrs. Ebert of Parkersburg, president of the State association, addressed a letter to the clergymen urging them to use as a text on Mothers’ Day, May 9, The Need of Mothers’ Influence in the State, and Dr. Jones sent a questionnaire to 150 editors, receiving answers favoring suffrage from 53. Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, president of the Kentucky



Equal Suffrage Association, spent a week in the State speaking and Miss Craft, who kept her promise to return in May, organized many new suffrage groups, as did Mrs. Wesley Martin Stoner of Washington, who campaigned principally in the mining towns. In the summer a Men's Advisory Committee with Judge J. C. McWhorter as chairman was appointed by the State board; the State Educational Association in convention endorsed woman suffrage; and after an address by Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston of Maine, who was on a tour of the State, the Methodist Episcopal Conference passed a favorable resolution. Later on Governor's Day at Middlebourne with thousands of people present Mrs. Ebert spoke with Governor Hatfield, both making appeals for votes for women. At the annual Fall Festival at Huntington a suffrage float designed by Mrs. E. C. Venable was in the parade. At Parkersburg suffragists addressed an immense crowd at Barnum and Bailey's circus.

In October the number of small subscribers was increased by "dollar day," when many persons sacrificed or earned a dollar and gave it to the association. Window displays were arranged in many cities with especially elaborate ones in Wheeling, Parkersburg and Huntington. At the State convention held in Huntington Nov. 16, 1915, a "budget" of \$25,000 was authorized, \$5,000 of which was quickly subscribed by the delegates, Dr. Irene Bullard of Charleston and Mrs. Helen Brandeburg of Huntington pledging \$1,000 each for their branches. Mrs. Frank Roessing of Pittsburgh, national first vice-president, who was one of the speakers, pledged \$400 for the Pennsylvania association. For the first time there was an automobile parade.

In January, 1916, Mrs. Ebert resigned and Mrs. Yost, first vice-president, succeeded her, soon afterwards opening headquarters in her own home in Morgantown. These demanded practically every hour of her time from 6 in the morning until 11 at night throughout the ten months' campaign. Because of the illness of Dr. Bullard, chairman of literature, that department was moved to Morgantown and placed in charge of Mrs. P. C. McBee, with Lillie Hagans assisting. About \$2,000 were invested in literature. Over 200,000 congressional speeches were sent to the voters. In the last days of the campaign personal

appeals were mailed to those in half of the 55 counties and 10,000 posters were sent out by this bureau to be used on election day. Through a publicity department opened February 25, with Frank C. Dudley at the head, the 200 newspapers of the State were served with news bulletins. He also edited a special edition of the *Wheeling Intelligencer* in June. In September the National Association sent Mrs. Rose L. Geyer of Iowa, who had conducted the publicity in its campaign this year. During the last month bulletins were supplied to all daily papers; 110 newspapers were provided with free plate service; many anti-suffrage articles were answered; much copy was given to local newspapers about public meetings held by the speakers and organizers; newspaper advertisements were furnished to all rural papers the week before election; every city organization carried a conspicuous advertisement in the daily papers; hundreds of two-page supplements were furnished the last week. The majority of the newspapers were editorially in favor of the amendment.

In January the State association put two organizers in the field, Miss Marie Ames and Miss Eudora Ramsey, the salary of the latter paid by the Allegheny county suffrage society of Pennsylvania, and the National Association placed two, Miss Lavinia Engle and Miss Katherine B. Mills. An appeal in March for more help brought Miss Hannah J. Patterson, its corresponding secretary and chairman of organization. In making her report to the National Board on April 5 she recommended that headquarters be established in the business district of Morgantown; additional office assistance be sent to relieve the president; ten organizers be secured and so distributed that there would be one in every group of five or six counties; and a representative of the National Association visit the State each month in order to keep in close touch with the work. As the "budget" called for \$16,000 the National Board voted to give \$5,000 providing the State association would raise \$11,000. The headquarters were moved at once and furnished by friends. Later when they became too small the Board of Trade rooms were placed at the disposal of the suffragists through the kindness of E. M. Grant. From time to time organizers were sent to the State until there were twenty-eight and 400 organizations were formed. To re-

lieve the president, Miss Alice Curtis of Iowa was sent as executive secretary, remaining until the end of the campaign. Miss Patterson made three trips to the State. Mrs. Catt made one with her, meeting with the State board August 3, 4, in Clarksburg, to hold a workers' conference, which considered publicity, money raising, organization and election day methods. A "budget" of \$14,948 to cover the last four-and-a-quarter months of the campaign was adopted.

A "flying squadron" of prominent West Virginia men and women speakers was sent in groups to thirty points. They were Dr. Joseph A. Bennett of Sistersville; C. Burgess Taylor of Wheeling; the Hon. Charles E. Carrigan of Moundsville; Judge McWhorter and J. M. N. Downes of Buckhannon; Howard L. Swisher of Morgantown; the Hon. Tracy L. Jeffords and the Hon. B. Randolph Bias of Williamson; Mrs. Frank N. Mann of Huntington; Mrs. Flora Williams of Wheeling, soloist. Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs of Alabama and Mrs. Nellie McClung of Canada joined the squadron and spoke at several points. Among others of influence who filled many speaking engagements and met their own expenses were Mrs. Henry M. Russell and Rabbi H. Silver of Wheeling; Milliard F. Snider and the Hon. Harvey W. Harmar of Clarksburg; Judge Frank Cox and ex-Governor Glasscock of Morgantown. Judge McWhorter made about 25 addresses. Uncounted numbers of women throughout the State freely gave their time and work. About 1,500 meetings were arranged by the headquarters staff exclusive of those in charge of local women. Mrs. Catt spoke to mass meetings at Clarksburg, Morgantown and Fairmont and at the hearing before the Democratic State convention; Mrs. Antoinette Funk of Chicago before the Republican State convention. Favorable suffrage planks were placed in the platforms of both parties and the candidates for Governor declared publicly for the amendment.

Dr. Shaw made thirteen addresses in cities of over 5,000 inhabitants, contributing her services and expenses with the condition that the collections at her meetings go into the State treasury. Miss Katharine Devereux Blake, principal of a New York City school, addressed Teachers' Institutes three weeks without charge, the State paying her expenses. Mrs. Jacobs gave a two

weeks' speaking tour and paid her own expenses. Other speakers from outside the State were Mrs. Forbes Robertson Hale, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam of Arkansas; Dr. Effie McCollum Jones of Iowa; Mrs. Anna Ross Weeks and Miss Emma L. McAlarney of New York; Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham of Texas and Mrs. McClung. Dr. Harriet B. Jones spoke throughout the campaign.

The National Association paid the salary or expenses or both of the outside speakers and twenty of the organizers.<sup>1</sup> It paid also for 200,000 Congressional speeches; circularized and sent the *Woman's Journal* for four months to 1,600 clergymen; furnished suffrage posters and a Ford car and paid for election advertising in all the rural newspapers. It sent Mr. Heaslip, its own chairman of publicity, for the last days of the campaign. Financial assistance came also from the Massachusetts association. The State was left with a deficit of \$3,740. During the campaign the National Association had sent in cash \$5,257. Afterwards, to reduce the deficit, it sent money for the salary of one organizer and expenses of another beside \$1,000 in cash. Later the Leslie Suffrage Commission paid a bill of \$540 to the Publishing Company for literature ordered from June to November by the State and \$2,000 in cash which cleared up the deficit. According to the State report the campaign cost the State organization about \$9,000. It cost the National Association and Leslie Commission over \$17,000.

The vote on November 7 was 63,540 in favor; 161,607 against; opposing majority of 98,000, the largest ever given against woman suffrage. Only two out of the fifty-five counties carried, Brooke and Hancock, industrial districts situated in the extreme northern part of the State. Brooke county had the lowest per cent. of illiteracy—two per cent. while it was eight and three-tenths per cent. in the State at large. The "wet" vote of Wheeling, Huntington and Charleston proved a decisive factor in

<sup>1</sup> The organizers, who often were speakers also, not elsewhere mentioned, were Misses Adella Potter, Eleanor Furman, Alice Riggs Hunt, Lola Walker, Josephine Casey, Lola Trax, Grace Cole, Eleanor Raoul, Mrs. C. E. Martin, Mrs. W. J. Cambron, Mrs. Elizabeth Sullivan, Dr. Harriet B. Dilla and others. Miss Ramsey and Miss Raoul gave the use of their cars. Miss Gertrude Watkins and Miss Gertrude Miller of Arkansas donated their services from July 17, the State paying their expenses. The Philadelphia County Society sent Miss Mabel Dorr for two-and-a-half months as its contribution. Miss Alma B. Sasse of Missouri gave her services for over two months, the State paying her expenses.

defeating the amendment. Another element working toward the suffrage defeat was the use made by the opposition of the negro question. They told the negroes that the white women would take the vote away from them and also establish a "Jim-Crow" system and they told the white women that the negro women outnumbered them and would get the balance of power. There is a large colored vote in the State. A really big campaign was conducted and while the size of the opposition vote was appalling, one must consider that it was the first attempt. The election methods in some places were reprehensible.

The State convention was held at Fairmont, Nov. 20, 1917, and there was a determination to hold together for future effort. In 1918 there was no convention, the women being absorbed in war work. By 1919 another great struggle was ahead, as it was evident that the Federal Suffrage Amendment would soon be sent to the Legislatures by Congress.

Following the plan of the National Association Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, national corresponding secretary and chairman of organization, went to Charleston on Jan. 7, 1919, to meet the State board to discuss plans for ratification. The officers present were Mrs. Ruhl, president; Mrs. Yost, member of the National Executive Committee, and Mrs. Edward S. Romine of Wheeling, chairman of the Congressional Committee. They stated that there was little organization, no funds and that help must be given by the National Association. Mrs. Shuler remained two weeks and with these three officers and Miss Edna Annette Beveridge interviewed and polled members of the Legislature. Acting for the association Mrs. Shuler divided the State and assigned the districts to three national organizers, Miss Beveridge, who remained three-and-a-half months; Mrs. Augusta Hughston and Miss Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon, six weeks each, the National Association paying salary and expenses and furnishing literature and printed petitions to members of the Legislature. Suffrage societies were revived, public officials, editors and ministers interviewed and much work was done.

On April 2, 3, a large and enthusiastic State convention was held in Charleston at the Kanawha Hotel. Coming directly from the convention of the National Association at St. Louis, Mrs.

Catt, the president, who had asked for a "working" conference with the State board, spoke on the Federal Amendment at the afternoon session and to a mass meeting in the Young Men's Christian Association Hall in the evening. She was accompanied by Mrs. Shuler, who spoke at a dinner in the Ruffner Hotel presided over by Mrs. Woodson T. Wills, vice-president of the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs, and addressed by prominent men and women of the State and by Miss Marjorie Shuler, national director of field publicity, who had conducted a conference at the afternoon session.

**RATIFICATION.** The Federal Amendment was submitted by Congress June 4, and the pressing work for the State association was to secure its ratification by the Legislature. Mrs. Ellis A. Yost was made chairman of the Ratification Committee, whose other members were Mrs. Ruhl, Mrs. Ebert, Mrs. H. D. Rummel, Miss Mary Wilson, Miss Margaret McKinney and Mrs. Romine. An Advisory Board was formed of 150 of as influential men as there were in the State, judges, lawyers, bankers, officials, presidents and professors of colleges, editors, clergymen, presidents of the State Federation of Labor and other organizations; and the most prominent women in educational, civic and club work. This list was printed on the campaign stationery. The last of December Governor John J. Cornwell received a letter from Mrs. Catt urging him to call a special session in January. He was known to favor ratification and he had been kept informed by the members of the suffrage association and the W. C. T. U., who had polled the legislators and found a majority in favor.

The Democratic Governor called the Republican Legislature in special session for Friday, February 27, 1920. President Wilson telegraphed members of the Senate: "May I not urge upon you the importance to the whole country of the prompt ratification of the suffrage amendment and express the hope that you will find it possible to lend your aid to this end?" Both the Democratic and Republican National Committees joined in urging ratification, as did the entire State delegation in Congress, who had voted for submitting the amendment. The resolution was introduced and by the rules went over for one day. All looked

promising when suddenly its advocates found themselves in a torrent of opposition, due to the injection of the fight that was being made for the governorship and interference from outside the State. The Maryland Legislature sent a committee to urge its rejection and anti-suffrage leaders from all over the country made their appearance. The vote was taken on Wednesday and stood 47 ayes, 40 noes in the House. The vote was 14 to 14 in the Senate. A motion to reconsider was lost by the same vote. In the meantime Senator Jesse A. Bloch, who was in California, telegraphed: "Just received notice of special session. Am in favor of ratification. Please arrange a pair for me." This was refused by the opponents with jeers. Secretary of State Houston G. Young immediately got into communication with him on the long distance telephone and he agreed to make a race across the continent for Charleston.

Then came the struggle to hold the lines intact until his arrival. The situation was most critical because a motion in the Lower House to reconsider had been laid on the table and could be called up at any time. Many members were anxious to go home and there was difficulty in keeping enough present at roll call to defeat hostile attacks. The tie in the Senate held fast, however, as Senator Bloch sped across the country. The day he reached Chicago the opposition resorted to its most desperate expedient by producing a former Senator, A. R. Montgomery, who about eight months before had resigned his seat, saying that he was leaving the State, and later had moved to Illinois. There was documentary evidence that he had given up his residence. He demanded of Governor Cornwell to return his letter of resignation. The Governor refused and he then appeared in the Senate that afternoon and offered to vote. President Sinsel promptly ruled that he was not a member. On an appeal from this ruling he was sustained by a tie vote and the case was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

When Senator Bloch reached Chicago he found that not only a special train but also an airship were awaiting him.<sup>1</sup> He chose the train and made the trip with a speed that was said to have

<sup>1</sup> It was kept a secret at the time who was responsible for this arrangement but later it was found to be Captain Victor Heinze of Cincinnati, who had charge of the National Republican headquarters in Chicago.

broken all records. He arrived on March 10 and took his seat in the Senate amid cheers from crowded galleries. The corridors were thronged and even the floor of the Senate was crowded with guests, many of them women. Then followed a most dramatic debate of several hours, as each side tried to get the advantage. Montgomery was not permitted to take his seat and at 6 o'clock in the afternoon the vote was taken—16 ayes, 13 noes, one opponent changing his vote when he saw the resolution would pass.

After the Senate vote a second was secured in the House by the opponents of the motion to reconsider, which resulted in a larger favorable majority than the first.

Harvey W. Harmer of Clarksburg, who had charge of the resolution in the Senate and W. S. John of Morgantown in the House, deserve the warmest gratitude of the women. It was not an ordinary vote that the members gave but one which stood the test for days and against the most determined opposition. Too much praise can not be given to Governor Cornwell for calling the special session and for unyieldingly standing by the cause. The Democratic State chairman, C. L. Shaver, although unable to be present, gave splendid help. The men outside the Legislature who gave their time unstintedly, and were present, cooperating with the Ratification Committee of the Equal Suffrage Association, were State chairman of the Republican Committee, W. E. Baker; Secretary of State Young, former Minister to Venezuela; Elliott Northcott, mayor of Charleston; ex-Governor A. B. White; U. S. Senator Howard Sutherland; Major John Bond; National Republican Committeeman Virgil L. Highland; Congressman M. M. Neely; Mayor Hall and Jesse B. Sullivan, a prominent newspaper correspondent. The best legal and editorial assistance was given generously by the Hon. Fred O. Blue, the Hon. Clyde B. Johnson and former U. S. Senator W. E. Chilton. Boyd Jarrell, editor of the *Huntington Herald Dispatch*, was constantly on the firing line.

The chairman of the Ratification Committee had a herculean task during these strenuous days and after they were over a letter of appreciation of her services was sent to Mrs. Catt, the national president, which closed: "The opposing elements combined



tended to create for Mrs. Yost what at first seemed to be a situation impossible of solution, but with rare tact and a soundness of judgment that we have seldom seen equalled her leadership has brought about a complete victory. As supporters of suffrage we are sending you this without Mrs. Yost's knowledge and simply that at least some part of the credit due her may be given." This was signed by Chas. A. Sinsel, president State Senate; Grant P. Hall, Mayor of Charleston; W. E. Chilton, former U. S. Senator; Houston C. Young, Secretary of State; Albert B. White, former Governor; W. E. Baker, chairman Republican State Committee; J. S. Darst, Auditor of State.

The president of the State Association, Mrs. Ruhl, was present throughout the sessions, as were members of the State committee, Mrs. Ebert, Mrs. Rummel, Miss McKinney, Mrs. Romine, Mrs. Thomas Peadro, Mrs. Mann, Mrs. Allie B. Haymond, Mrs. O. S. McKinney, Mrs. Kemble White, Mrs. William G. Brown and Mrs. Olandus West. The cost of organizers and literature in the ratification campaign to the National Association was about \$2,300, in addition to the State association's expenses.

On Sept. 30, 1920, the State association became the League of Women Voters and Mrs. John L. Ruhl was elected chairman.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. 1901. A bill for Presidential suffrage, drawn by George E. Boyd, Sr., was introduced in the House by Henry C. Hervey and seconded by S. G. Smith of Wheeling. It was rejected by a vote of 31 to 25, Speaker Wilson voting against it. The bill was introduced in the Senate by Nelson Whittaker of Wheeling. U. S. Senator Stephen B. Elkins commanded it to be tabled and this was done.

1903. A bill for Presidential suffrage was defeated.

1905. A resolution introduced in the Senate by Samuel Montgomery to submit a suffrage amendment to the State Constitution received two votes.

1907. Dr. A. J. Mitchell introduced a resolution for an amendment in the house; Z. J. Forman in the Senate. Senator Robert Hazlett arranged a legislative hearing at which every seat was occupied, with people sitting on the steps and sides of the platform and the large space in the back part of the room filled with men standing. Dr. Harriet B. Jones made a short address

and was followed by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association, in an eloquent plea. The vote in the Senate was 10 ayes, 13 noes; in the House, 26 ayes, 48 noes.

1913. A resolution to submit a State amendment was introduced in the House January 28 by M. K. Duty and later at his request Delegate Ellis A. Yost took charge of it. Through the generosity of the Hon. William Seymour Edwards, Miss Mary Johnston was brought to Charleston by its suffrage association and addressed the Legislature, which assembled in the House Chamber. She also spoke to a large audience in the Burlew Theater. The resolution came up on February 15; the hall was crowded with interested spectators and stirring speeches were made by the members. On the final roll call, to the dismay of its supporters, it did not poll the necessary two-thirds. On motion of Delegate Yost the announcement of the vote was postponed till Monday, the 17th, and every possible effort was made to bring in absent members but as the final vote was being taken it was seen that it lacked one. At the request of Governor Hatfield Delegate Hartley changed his vote and it was carried by the needed 58, Speaker Taylor George voting for it. The resolution was introduced in the Senate by N. G. Keim of Elkins and supported by able speakers but it was lost on February 20 by 14 noes, 16 ayes, 20 being necessary.

1915. On January 26 the resolution for a State amendment was submitted by 26 ayes, 3 noes in the Senate and 76 ayes, 8 noes in the House, to be voted on in November, 1916.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

### WISCONSIN.<sup>1</sup>

Woman suffrage history in Wisconsin from 1900 to 1920 naturally divides itself into three sections, the first including the ten years preceding the submission of the referendum measure by the Legislature in 1911; the second the two years of the referendum campaign and the third the succeeding seven years to 1920.

The work of the State Woman Suffrage Association, which was organized in 1869, continued in the 20th century, as in the 19th, through organization, public meetings, annual conventions, the publication of the *Wisconsin Citizen*. The conventions of the first decade, which always took place in the autumn, were held as follows: 1901, Brodhead; 1902, Madison; 1903, Platteville; 1904, Janesville; 1905, Milwaukee; 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, Madison; 1911, Racine. The Rev. Olympia Brown, who had been elected president in 1883, continued to serve in that capacity with undiminished vigor and ability, having been elected every year, until the end of 1912. Besides her other services she gave hundreds of addresses on woman suffrage, speaking in nearly every city in the State.<sup>2</sup>

The publication of the *Wisconsin Citizen*, established in 1887, was continued in spite of limited finances. Its first editor was Martha Parker Dingee from Boston, a niece of Theodore Parker, who gave her services for seven years. After that the editors were Mrs. Helen H. Charlton, Miss Lena V. Newman and Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Theodora W. Youmans, president of the State Woman Suffrage Association from 1913 until its work was finished in 1920.

<sup>2</sup> The following were the officers for the first twelve years: Vice-presidents: Mrs. Jessie M. Luther, Mrs. Madge Waters, Mrs. Laura James, Vida James, Mrs. E. C. Priddle, Miss Linda Rhodes; corresponding secretaries: Miss Lucinda Lake, Mrs. Margaret Geddes, Mrs. Emma Geddes, Miss Lena Newman, Mrs. B. Ostrander, Mrs. Nellie K. Donaldson; recording secretaries: Miss Marion W. Hamilton, Miss Emma Graham, Mrs. Ethel Irish, Miss W. von Bruenchenhein; treasurers: Mrs. Dora Putnam, Mrs. Lydia Woodward, Mrs. F. H. Derrick, Mrs. A. B. Sprague, Mrs. B. Ostrander, Gwendolen Brown Willis; chairmen Executive Committee: Ellen A. Rose, Mrs. Etta Gardner, Mrs. Kate Rindlaub.

Youmans. After 1914 it was published at Waukesha, before that at Brodhead, and was discontinued in 1917. Notable speakers from outside the State at conventions of the first decade were Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, the Rev. Florence Buck, the Rev. Marion Murdock, Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Miss Jane Addams and Dr. Julia Holmes Smith.

The association for some time supported a State organizer, the Rev. Alice Ball Loomis, and later Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe for two seasons. In 1902 headquarters were established at Madison, the capital, in a little room in the State House, for the distribution of literature, and here was kept a register of men and women who believed in woman suffrage. In 1907 the Rev. Mrs. Brown prepared a bulletin for the legislators, giving the statistics of woman suffrage in the United States and other countries.

In 1908 Mrs. Maud Wood Park came to Wisconsin and spoke to women students of five colleges, arrangements having been previously made by Mrs. Brown, who took part in some of the meetings, and College Women's Suffrage Leagues were organized. Mrs. Brown prepared a pamphlet, *Why the Church Should Demand the Ballot for Women*, which was widely distributed. Near the end of 1909 the State association was asked to circulate the national petition to Congress for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Blanks were sent all over the State to schools, libraries and other public institutions and to individuals. The members took up the matter with enthusiasm and worked faithfully. The association did all that could be done in the six weeks allowed and about 18,000 names were signed, 5,000 of them in Racine. Mrs. Wentworth, over eighty years of age, canvassed portions of the city and obtained 1,000 names.

During this whole decade resolutions and petitions were sent to Congress and at every session of the Legislature suffrage measures were introduced. Mrs. Jessie M. Luther was chairman of the Legislative Committee during this period, an unrecognized and unpaid lobbyist, but by her skilful work, in which at times she was assisted by Mrs. Nellie Donaldson and others, she kept the Legislature in advance of the people of the State.

In 1911 the Legislature submitted to the voters a statutory law giving full suffrage to women, as it had authority to do. Influ-

ences from outside the State led to the organization of the Political Equality League, of which Miss Ada L. James was president and Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict from New York was made campaign manager. The campaign of 1911-1912, therefore, was carried on by two organizations, the State association and this league, working separately, although effort was made to correlate their activities by forming a cooperative committee representing both societies, of which Miss Gwendolen Brown Willis was chairman. The National American Woman Suffrage Association, through its president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, contributed \$100 per month salary for an organizer and speaker, Miss Harriet Grim, and gave further assistance to both organizations.<sup>1</sup>

Both associations employed field organizers, arranged meetings, provided speakers, distributed literature and made active effort to interest as far as possible organizations and individuals in the cause. The State association had headquarters in the Majestic Building and later in the Goldsmith Building in Milwaukee. The League had offices first in the Wells Building and later in the Colby-Abbott Building in that city. A bulletin of suffrage news was sent each week to the 600 newspapers in the State by Mrs. Youmans, who was press manager.

The campaign opened with a big rally in Racine June 1, 1912. The Rev. Olympia Brown, State president, continued her speaking tours without cessation and was assisted by prominent outside speakers, including Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Mrs. Colby, Dr. and Mrs. William Funck of Baltimore, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery and Mrs. Clara V. Laddey, who addressed the Germans. Miss Willis arranged a course of lectures in Milwaukee for Miss Jane Addams, Louis F. Post, Dr. Sophonisba Breckinridge of Chicago University, and Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch.<sup>2</sup>

The Political Equality League believed enthusiastically in street meetings and arranged many of them in Milwaukee and other

<sup>1</sup> Near the end of the campaign Miss Mary Swain Wagner from New York organized the American Suffragettes, a short-lived society, with Miss Martha Heide as president, and it arranged a mass meeting in Milwaukee with Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst of England as the principal speaker.

<sup>2</sup> A unique automobile tour was made by Mrs. McCulloch and her husband, Frank McCulloch, both prominent lawyers in Chicago, and their four children, who devoted their annual vacation in the summer of 1912 to a tour through Wisconsin, the eldest son driving a big car, Mr. and Mrs. McCulloch making suffrage speeches at designated points and the three younger children enjoying the outing.

cities. Under the same auspices several automobile tours swept the State, one of them having an itinerary through the southwestern counties, Miss James, Mrs. B. C. Gudden, Miss Grim and Miss Mabel Judd the speakers. The noted air pilot, Beachy, scattered suffrage fliers from the airship which he took up into the clouds at the State Fair in Milwaukee. The State association had a large tent on the grounds, in front of which there were a platform for speakers, where addresses were made every day, and a counter covered with literature and books. The two societies conducted Votes for Women tours up the Wolf and Fox Rivers, which were important features of the campaign. They traveled in a little steamer, stopping at landings and speaking and giving out literature. The association also held outdoor meetings at lunch-time before the factories and wherever it seemed best. The league formed two allied societies, the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, of which the late H. A. J. Upham was president, and a league for colored people, Miss Carrie Horton, president.

An extended series of mass meetings was held in many cities addressed by prominent speakers, who came from outside the State to assist, among whom were Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, Miss Addams, Mrs. Beatrice Forbes Robertson, Mrs. Emily Montague Bishop, Professor Charles Zueblin, Max Eastman, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery; the Countess of Warwick and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst of England; Miss Inez Milholland, Mrs. Maud C. Nathan, Mrs. Glendower Evans, Baroness von Suttner (Austria), Mrs. Alice Duer Miller, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Rabbi Emil Hirschberg, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Mrs. Henrietta C. Lyman, Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, Dr. Anna E. Blount, the Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. Clara Neymann, who addressed the Germans, and Dr. Shaw.

There is no adequate record of that campaign in existence. Mrs. Luther was State historian and in the habit of keeping carefully all programs, calls for meetings, reports and other material necessary for history, which were preserved at the Capitol and were destroyed when it was burned. The Political Equality League raised and expended \$10,000 and the State association \$5,000, as reported to the Secretary of State. Nearly as much more was expended by individual members and by other organiza-

tions. Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Benedict arranged a mass meeting in New York which netted \$2,700.

The determined hostility of the liquor interests to woman suffrage was unmistakably shown during the campaign by the official organ of the State Retail Liquor Dealers' Protective Association, called "Progress." For months preceding the election it was filled with objections, innuendo and abuse in prose, verse and pictures, all designed to impress the reader with the absurdity and danger of giving the vote to women. It appealed to the farmers and to every class of people connected in any way with the manufacture and sale of beer, saying in headlines: "Give the Ballot to Woman and Industry goes to Smash." "It means the Loss of Vast Sums to Manufacturer, Dealer and Workingmen," and this was kept up to the end.

An unprecedented vote was cast on the woman suffrage proposition at the election November 4, 1912: for, 135,736; against, 227,054; lost by 91,318. Each of the three constitutional amendments voted on at the time received barely a fifth of the vote cast on this measure. Of the 71 counties but 14 were carried for suffrage, Douglas county in the extreme northwest on Lake Superior had the best record, a majority of 1,000. Milwaukee county, including the city, gave 20,445 votes for and 40,029 votes against. The referendum was placed on a pink ballot, used only for this purpose, which unquestionably increased the majority against it, as even the most illiterate could stamp it with a "no." The defeat was conceded to have been due to an insufficiency of general education on woman suffrage and of organization, the large foreign population and the widespread belief that it would help largely to bring prohibition.

Three days after the election officers of the Political Equality League sent to officers of the State association a letter proposing a union of the two under a new name and on condition that the president of neither should be made president of the new one. The latter was in favor of the union but insisted that the old historic name, Wisconsin Suffrage Association, should be retained, which was done. Miss Lutie E. Stearns was chosen its president at its annual convention to serve until the union was effected. There were ultimatums and counter-ultimatums and

finally a call for a joint convention to be held in Madison Feb. 4, 5, 1913, was issued by Miss Zona Gale, vice-president of the association, and Miss James, president of the League. Here the union was duly effected; the Rev. Olympia Brown was elected honorary president, Mrs. Henry M. Youmans president and the other officers were divided between the two societies.

The suffrage work henceforth was conducted under the same president and the same policy. The first year of the new régime, the organization had no headquarters and paid no salaries, the officers doing their correspondence with their own hands. The next year an office was opened in Madison and Miss Alice Curtis was installed as executive secretary. It was difficult to do effective work so far away from the president and the office was removed to Waukesha, her residence, with Miss Curtis and later Mrs. Helen Haight in charge. In October, 1916, it was removed to Milwaukee, and, with the county association, headquarters were opened at 428 Jefferson Street, where they remained, with Mrs. Ruth Hamilton as office secretary.<sup>1</sup>

The great increase of sentiment favorable to woman suffrage throughout the country was plainly seen in Wisconsin and it was evident that a wide campaign of education must be undertaken. A "suffrage school" held in Madison in June, 1914, was very successful. Sixty-six women enrolled for the full course and hundreds of men and women attended the special lectures. The "faculty" of the school included the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, members of the faculty of the State University and other well known men and women. Social Forces, a topical outline with bibliography, published this year by the Education Committee, Mrs. A. S. Quackenbush, chairman, was especially designed for the instruction of women, first, in existing conditions, and second, in the various movements made to improve them. Copies were purchased by universities, organizations and individuals all over the United States. Wisconsin Legislators and the Home was a valuable pamphlet compiled by Miss James

<sup>1</sup> After 1913 annual conventions were held as follows: 1914, Milwaukee, speakers at evening meeting, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence of England and Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary; 1915, Milwaukee; 1916 (postponed to January, 1917, at the time of the legislative session), Madison; 1917, Milwaukee, Mrs. Nellie McClung of Canada speaker; 1918, no convention because of the war.



following the legislative session of 1913, giving the records of all members on the bills of especial interest to women which came up that year. Wisconsin Legislation, Topics for Discussion, was prepared in 1915 by Mrs. J. W. McMullein Turner for the use of the legislative and educational committees.

Miss James served as legislative chairman in 1913; Mrs. Ben Hooper in 1915; Mrs. Joseph Jastrow in 1917; Mrs. Hooper again in 1919. She was also for several years congressional chairman. Regular press service was continued during the last decade, a weekly letter being sent to 100 newspapers. Mrs. Youmans had charge of all publicity during her presidency. Mrs. Gudden supplied suffrage letters regularly to several German papers and due to her ability they were always published.

In March, 1916, a Congressional Conference was held in Milwaukee with Mrs. Catt, the national president, as the chief speaker. In June at the time of the Republican National Convention in Chicago the association sent to the great suffrage parade an impressive contingent, accompanied by a G. A. R. drum corps. This year it gave \$500 to the Iowa campaign and among its members who assisted there and in campaigns in other States were Mrs. Hooper, Mrs. Haight, Miss Curtis, Mrs. Maud McCreery, Miss Edna Wright and Mrs. Youmans.

On Oct. 14, 1917, a branch of the National Woman's Party was formed in the home of Mrs. Victor Berger and became active. There were two anti-suffrage societies of women, one in Milwaukee and one in Madison, and together they formed a so-called State association, of which Mrs. C. E. Estabrook was president and Mrs. Francis Day an active member. They provided speakers for legislative hearings and signed their names to newspaper articles sent them from the East but were of slight importance. The State petition work was stopped by the epidemic of influenza in the autumn of 1918 and after the first of the next year the apparent favorable attitude of the Legislature made it unnecessary, but already in forty counties the names of 5,800 men and 20,000 women had been obtained. Self-denial Day was originated by Miss Harriet Bain of Wisconsin and adopted by the National Association. The fund in this State was over \$400.

The State association was prompt to organize for war work

and formed all the committees recommended by the National American Suffrage Association. Many suffrage leaders served as leaders of the war work in their communities. The president was on the Woman's Committee of the State Council of Defense and State chairman for Americanization. The association sent \$1,590 for the Oversea Hospitals financed by the National Association.

The relations of the State with the National Association have been very cordial. It has sent a large delegation to each of the national conventions and paid its quota for the support of national work, about \$1,500 in 1919.

In February, 1919, the Legislature gave Presidential suffrage to women and the submission of the Federal Amendment was near at hand. The last meeting of the State association, a Good Citizenship convention, was held in Milwaukee Oct. 29-Nov. 1. The program was devoted to the intelligent and patriotic use of the ballot. Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker came from Connecticut to give six lectures on Citizenship for Women. A plan was adopted for publishing a Citizenship Manual and engaging a traveling representative to teach good citizenship to groups of women throughout the State. The convention provided that the association should automatically cease to exist as soon as the Federal Amendment was ratified, in any case not later than March 1, 1920, and should be replaced by a State League of Women Voters. This took place on February 20 and Mrs. Ben Hooper was elected chairman.<sup>1</sup>

**LEGISLATIVE ACTION. 1901.** Provision was made for separate ballot boxes for women, making fully operative the School Suffrage Law of 1885.

**1903.** A Municipal suffrage bill received a small vote. A full suffrage measure introduced in the Assembly by David Evans was lost by only one and had a large vote in the Senate.

<sup>1</sup> The officials from 1913, not already mentioned, were as follows: Vice-presidents: Miss Zona Gale, Dr. Jean M. Cooke, Mrs. Wm. Preston Leek, Mrs. Victor Berger, Mrs. Isaac Witter, Mrs. Frank Thanouser, Miss Harriet F. Bain; corresponding secretaries: Mrs. W. M. Waters, Mrs. Joseph Jastrow, Mrs. James L. Foley, Mrs. Glen Turner, Mrs. Charles H. Mott, Mrs. H. F. Shadbolt; recording secretaries: Mrs. H. M. Holton, Mrs. A. J. Rogers; treasurers, Miss E. E. Robinson, Mrs. Harvey J. Frame; auditors: Miss Gwendolyn B. Willis, Miss M. V. Brown, Mrs. Louis Fuller Hobbins, Miss Amy Comstock, Mrs. A. W. Schorger, Mrs. H. A. J. Upham, Mrs. Sarah H. Van Dusen, Mrs. A. J. Birkhauser.

1905. A Municipal suffrage bill was passed by the Assembly; not acted upon by the Senate.

1909. A bill for a referendum to the voters passed in the Senate; defeated in the Assembly by a vote of 53 to 34.

1911. The session opened promisingly. David G. James introduced in the Senate and J. H. Kamper in the Assembly a measure providing full suffrage for Wisconsin women contingent upon the approval of a majority of the voters at the general election in November, 1912. Miss Mary Swain Wagner was the only registered lobbyist but other suffragists, notably Miss James, Mrs. George W. Peckham, Mrs. Nellie Donaldson and Mrs. Luther, worked for the measure. At a joint hearing thirteen speakers, including several from outside the State, spoke in favor of the bill and one lone Assemblyman, Carl Dorner, spoke in opposition. It passed the Senate March 31 by a vote of 16 to 4, and the Assembly April 26 by a vote of 69 to 29, and was signed by Governor Francis E. McGovern on the ground that it was a problem which should be solved by the voters. This measure was not, as generally assumed, an amendment to the constitution but was a law, the constitution providing that suffrage might be extended by statute but this must be ratified by a majority of the voters at a general election. It was defeated in 1912.

1913. Paradoxical as it may seem, legislators now became more friendly. The Legislature of 1913 passed by a large majority in both Houses another referendum bill introduced by Senator Robert Glenn but it was vetoed by Governor McGovern on the ground that the voters should not be asked so soon to pass upon a measure which they had just defeated.

1915. Three measures were introduced in 1915, one by Senator Glenn and Assemblyman W. C. Bradley, providing for full suffrage by State-wide referendum; one by Senator George E. Scott and Assemblyman H. M. Laursen, providing for Presidential suffrage by action of the Legislature, and one by Senator A. Pearce Tompkins and Assemblyman Axel Johnson to permit to counties local option in the matter of enfranchising their women. Only the first was seriously considered and this was defeated in the Assembly by a vote of 49 to 41. A representative of the

German-American Alliance appeared against it at the hearing and at several later sessions.

1917. A referendum measure was introduced by Senator George B. Skogmo and Assemblyman James Hanson and was killed in the Assembly by a vote of 47 to 40.

1918. Meanwhile the tide was perceptibly turning and at the State political conventions held in September, 1918, all parties adopted planks favoring the enfranchisement of women. What was known as "the woman suffrage session" followed.

1919. Resolution urging the U. S. Senate to submit a Federal Suffrage Amendment: Assembly 75 for, 14 against; Senate 23 for, 4 against. Presidential suffrage bill granting to women the right to vote for presidential electors: Assembly 80 for, 8 against; Senate 25 for, one against. Law extending the right of suffrage to women subject to a referendum, passed without an aye and no vote in both Houses. It was repealed after ratification of the Federal Amendment made it unnecessary.

RATIFICATION. The Federal Suffrage Amendment was submitted by Congress on June 4, 1919. The Wisconsin Legislature ratified it about 11 o'clock in the morning on June 10, with one negative vote in the Senate, two in the House. A special messenger, former Senator David G. James (the father of Ada L. James), started for Washington on the first train carrying the certificate from the Governor and he brought back a statement from J. A. Tonner, Chief of the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, that "the certified copy of the ratification resolution by the Legislature of Wisconsin is the first which has been received." The Illinois Legislature ratified an hour earlier but owing to a technical error it had to ratify a second time. The two U. S. Senators LaFollette and Lenroot and eight of the eleven Representatives from Wisconsin voted for the Federal Amendment on its final passage through Congress.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

### WYOMING.<sup>1</sup>

Wyoming was the pioneer Territory and the pioneer State to give full suffrage to women. It is an interesting fact that the women did not find it necessary to have a Territorial or State Suffrage Association, or even a convention except the one during the campaign for Statehood in 1889-90. This rare situation is explained by the fact that universal suffrage came to the women in the newly organized Territory in 1869 without any general demand for it but through the efforts of a very few progressive men and women. [History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV, page 994.] When the Constitutional Convention was preparing for Statehood in 1889, holding its sessions in Cheyenne, the women of the Territory held a convention there in order to pass resolutions asking that the constitution should contain an article granting to the women a continuation of the right of suffrage which they had possessed for twenty years. This was granted and both men and women voted on the constitution, which was adopted by a three-fourths majority of the votes cast. The fact that there was no women's association for suffrage or for political purposes was at times a serious handicap to women of other States, who were not able to appeal to an organized body for an endorsement of woman suffrage or related subjects.

In 1901 and at subsequent dates by joint resolution of both Houses of the Legislature a strong appeal was sent to Congress to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment. On Feb. 14, 1919, a joint resolution was passed and signed by Governor Robert D. Carey commemorating the granting of woman suffrage in Wyoming, Dec. 10, 1869, by making this date each year Wyoming Day, "to be observed by appropriate exercises commemorative of the history of the Commonwealth and the lives and work of its pioneers."

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, professor of Political Economy and Sociology in the State University of Wyoming.

At a State convention in Laramie Nov. 9-11, 1919, with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the national president, as guest of honor, a branch of the National League of Women Voters was organized, with Mrs. Cyrus Beard as State chairman. At Casper, Oct. 2, 1920, it was re-organized by Mrs. James Paige, regional director, with Mrs. C. W. Crouter as State chairman.

RATIFICATION. Governor Robert D. Carey called a special session of the Legislature for Jan. 26, 1920, to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The vote was unanimous in each House, and, after it was finished and had received the Governor's signature, Mrs. Theresa Jenkins of Cheyenne, a faithful supporter of woman suffrage in Wyoming for fifty years, thanked the members and the Governor for their action in behalf of the women of the State, the United States and the world.

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The decree that laws must be omitted for lack of space bars out the many statutes in the interests of women and children which are Wyoming's especial pride.

The pioneer member of the Legislature was Mrs. Mary Godat Bellamy of Laramie, elected to the Lower House in 1911. She had been a teacher in the public schools of the city and county superintendent. She was very active in her duties and was instrumental in having a number of excellent bills become laws. Among these were bills for an adequate appropriation to employ a State humane officer for child and animal protection; to establish an industrial institution for male convicts twenty-five years old or under, as at that time 85 per cent. of those in the penitentiary were under twenty-one; an eight-hour day for women and children who worked in factories, laundries and industrial places; a grant to the State University of a permanent annual revenue. She helped to kill a bill to repeal an existing law which prohibited liquor being sold in places that were not incorporated, as mining and lumber camps. Mrs. Bellamy said later: "While the men were courteous yet no woman must expect that when it comes to gaining a point a man is going to make an exception because his colleague is a woman."

In the Legislature of 1913 two women Representatives had seats—Mrs. Anna Miller of Laramie, a mother of six grown

children, three of whom were graduated from the State University, and Miss Nettie Truax of Sundance, a school teacher and at one time county superintendent. Mrs. Miller was a successful merchant and at the time of her election was at the head of a large drygoods establishment. She succeeded her son in the Legislature. Miss Truax was made chairman of the important Committee on Education. In 1915 Mrs. Morna Wood, also of Sundance, was elected to the Lower House. She introduced a bill, which became a law, for the protection and regulation of child employment. During this session a bill in the direction of easy divorce came before the House and Mrs. Wood made a strong speech condemning it and appealing for loyal support of her protest in the interests of the home and the children. Nothing further was heard of the bill. While women may not have taken a large place as lawmakers they have had an active and effective interest in many excellent laws.

The following women have been elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction: Miss Estelle Reel, 1894-1898; Miss Rose A. Bird, 1910-1914; Miss Edith K. O. Clark, 1914-1918; Mrs. Katharine A. Morton, 1918-1922. This is the most highly paid office occupied by a woman, the salary being the same as that of the Secretary of State, State Auditor and State Treasurer. By virtue of her office the Superintendent is a member of the State Boards of Pardons, Charities and Reforms, Land Commissioners, School Land Commissioners and Education, with power to appoint all members of the last board, which elects the State Commissioner of Education. At present all the counties have women county superintendents of schools, not an unusual situation. They also hold other county offices and as in all States as soon as the suffrage is granted are eligible to all official positions.

The largest woman's organization is the Federation of Clubs, with a membership of 4,000, a democratic body which has been able to do much for the State in legislation, education and reform. The women of Wyoming have been very conservative with the ballot and have never used radical means to accomplish their aims. No woman's ticket has ever been offered.

All institutions of learning are co-educational. Since 1891 there has been but a short interval when women have not been on

the Board of Trustees of the State University. Grace Raymond Hebard was the first, serving thirteen years. For eighteen years, 1891-1908, a woman was secretary, acting also as financial agent, buying for the institution and paying the bills. In February, 1913, Mrs. Mary B. David of Douglas was appointed trustee by the Governor and displayed such unusual ability as an executive that later she was unanimously elected by the Board as its president, serving from September, 1917, to February, 1919, when she removed from the State. During her administration more important matters than ever before were brought to the Board for its consideration and solution—questions of land leases and oil grants, rents and royalties involving millions of dollars. The efficient, intelligent and impartial way in which Mrs. David handled these matters, of course in conjunction with the other members, won for her from the Board and the parties involved the strongest commendation. At one time a woman was seriously thought of for president of the university but she refused to consider it. At present (1920) two of the four most highly paid professors are women at the head of the combined departments of Psychology and Philosophy and of Political Economy and Sociology. There are five women on the Faculty, receiving the same compensation as the men holding equal positions. Women are full professors in History, English and Home Economics. The professor of Elementary Education and supervisor of the training school is a woman and the Dean of Women ranks as a full professor. With the assistant professors there are fourteen women on the Faculty.

On June 12, 1921, this university gave its first honorary degree and very appropriately to a woman. With beautiful ceremonies the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.



## CHAPTER L.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE PHILIPPINES.

#### ALASKA.<sup>1</sup>

When the bill was before Congress in 1912 to make Alaska a Territory of the United States an amendment was added on motion of Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming to give its Legislature full power to enfranchise women. This was accepted by the House without objection. Afterwards the official board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association gladly responded to the request of Arthur G. Stroup of Sitka, one of the Territorial Representatives, who intended to introduce a bill for the purpose, to send up some suitable literature. The board also asked women in Seattle, former residents of Alaska, to write to the members of the new Legislature.

Woman suffrage in Alaska possesses the unique record of being granted without any solicitation whatever from the residents. It is not known that a suffrage club ever existed in the Territory; it is quite certain that prior to the convening of the first Territorial Legislature in Juneau in 1913 no suffrage campaigning whatever had been carried on, yet two members, coming from towns not less than 1,500 miles apart, brought drafts for an equal suffrage bill. House Bill No. 2, "An Act to extend the elective franchise to the women in the Territory of Alaska," was the first to pass both Houses—7 Senators and 15 Representatives—and the vote on it was unanimous, Senator Elwood Brunner of Nome, the only member who had expressed himself as unfavorable, having had the good sense or caution to absent himself during roll call. This was also the first bill to be approved by the Governor, J. F. A. Strong, on March 21, 1913, and the Act became effective

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Jeannette Drury Clark, a graduate of the University of California, who with her husband, John A. Clark, an attorney, has made her home in Fairbanks for the past fifteen years.

ninety days thereafter. It declared the elective franchise extended to such women as had the qualifications required of male electors.

The Alaska Code had permitted women to vote only at School elections. The new law gave them the privilege of voting for the officers in incorporated towns and cities; for members of the Territorial Legislature and for Territorial Delegate to Congress.

It is estimated that there is a white population of 30,000 of whom between 5,000 and 6,000 are women. Probably not 500 native women are voters. Indian men have a vote if they have "severed tribal relations," which is interpreted to mean that if an Indian moves to a white man's town or lives on a creek or in a camp in such a way that the missions or the marshals think he has left his tribe, he can vote. Indian women have a vote if they marry white men who have a vote; if they are unmarried and have "severed tribal relations"; if they are married to an Indian who has "severed tribal relations." The original code said definitely that Juries should be drawn from the male citizens and it has never been changed. With this exception the rights of men and women are the same.

Two other bills of importance passed by the first Legislature provided for the compulsory education of white children and for Juvenile Courts to look after dependent children and create a Board of Children's Guardians. This board consists of the District Judge and U. S. Marshal in each judicial division, together with one woman appointed by the Governor, thus creating four such boards in the Territory, one for each division.

The interest of Alaska women in questions affecting local or Territorial conditions is intense and their efforts effective, as their work in the prohibition campaign of 1916 proved. This was essentially a woman's campaign, so well handled that at the plebiscite held at the time of the general election in November, 1916, the vote was about two to one in favor of prohibition. As a result, Congress enacted the Bone Dry Prohibition law for the Territory Feb. 14, 1917. It is believed that about three-fourths of the qualified women vote but there is no means of knowing. The percentage of illiteracy among white women is negligible and the young native women taught at the Government and mission schools can read and write.

The women of Alaska did their share in all kinds of war work, for conservation, bond drives, Red Cross and kindred activities. On account of the vast distances and small means of transportation any general cooperation is impossible. There are two daily papers in Fairbanks with a wide circulation over the entire district, which is larger than Texas. The organizing for Red Cross work had to be largely done through these papers but in a few months there were about 600 knitters, practically all the women in the district, and thirty organizations in the mining camps, many of these having only two or three women. In Fairbanks, by means of dances, card parties, sales, etc., \$8,000 were raised just to buy wool, besides all the funds and "drives."

The interest of Alaskan women in such public questions as affect women elsewhere is that of the spectator rather than of the worker. When legislation on housing and tenement laws, protection of factory workers, prevention of child labor and like problems becomes necessary they will not be lacking in interest or energy.

#### HAWAII.

The Organic Act under which the Territories of the United States were created said that at the first election persons with specified qualifications should be entitled to vote and at subsequent elections such persons as the Territorial Legislature might designate. It was under this Act that Wyoming and Utah enfranchised their women in 1869 and 1870 and Washington in 1883.

When in 1899 the Congress was preparing to admit Hawaii as a Territory the commission framed a constitution which specifically refused the privilege that had been granted to every other Territory of having its own Legislature decide who should vote after the first election, by inserting a clause that it "should not grant to . . . any individual any special privilege or franchise without the approval of Congress." This constitution gave the suffrage to every masculine citizen of whatever nationality—Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese—who could read and write English or Hawaiian, and it repeatedly used the word "male" to bar women from having a vote or holding an office. The members of this commission were Senators John T. Morgan of Alabama and Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois; Representative Robert R. Hitt of

Illinois; President Sanford B. Dole and Associate Justice Frear of Hawaii. Justice Frear said over his own signature that he and President Dole desired that the Legislature should have power to authorize woman suffrage but the rest of the commission would not permit it. Miss Susan B. Anthony president, and the Official Board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, made vigorous objection to this abuse of power, sent a protest to every member of Congress and followed this with petitions officially signed by large associations but to no avail. The Act was approved by President William McKinley April 30, 1900.<sup>1</sup>

The women had always exercised great influence in political affairs and the people of Hawaii resented this discrimination but the U. S. Congress then and for years afterwards was adamant in its opposition to woman suffrage anywhere. After the women of Washington, California and Oregon were enfranchised in 1910-11-12 this resentment found expression among the women of Honolulu in 1912, when they called on Mrs. John W. Dorsett to help them organize a suffrage club. They learned in October that by good fortune Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, would stop there on her way home from a trip around the world and they arranged by wireless messages for her to address a mass meeting at the opera house the one evening she would be there. The audience was large and sympathetic and she learned that every legislative candidate at the approaching election had announced himself in favor of getting the vote for women. She met with the suffrage club and found its constitution modeled on the one recommended by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. She was in touch with the women afterwards and the interest was kept alive.

By 1915 the more thoughtful men of the Territory were beginning to feel that its women must be enfranchised. Both political parties declared in favor of asking the U. S. Congress for an Act giving the Hawaiian Legislature authority in this matter and that body itself passed a bill to this effect. This was taken to Washington by the Delegate from the Territory, J. K. Kalaniana'ole, who presented it but it received no attention. He

<sup>1</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV, pages 325, 343, 346, 446.

presented it again in 1916, with a like result. Soon afterwards Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin F. Pitman of Brookline, Mass., visited the Islands. Mr. Pitman was the son of a Hawaiian Chiefess and although he had not been there since childhood he was the person of the highest rank. Mrs. Pitman was prominent among the suffrage leaders in Massachusetts and was deeply interested in the situation in Hawaii. She attended the opening of the Legislature and conversed with nearly all the members, finding them to a man in favor of the bill, and the Legislature adopted strong resolutions calling upon Congress to sanction it. In answer to a request for her experience to use in this chapter she wrote:

It was on Jan. 30, 1917, that we arrived in Honolulu and on the 31st Madame Nakiuna, who was known as the Court historian, gave us a large reception at Laniakea. At this fête were all the women of the highest social circles in the Islands. Among them were Mrs. John W. Dorsett, Mrs. A. P. Taylor, Mrs. Castle-Coleman, Miss Mary Ermine Cross and others who had heard of my activities in "the cause" and importuned me to hold meetings to try to arouse a keener interest. I would have consented at once but for the fact that almost the first person I saw in this beautiful land was the field-secretary of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women. I had a feeling that if there was not already an anti-association here there would be one the moment I began any serious work and so I advised waiting, promising to do my best for them as soon as it seemed wise, and so, while I was indeed sorry that the serious illness of a relative obliged her to depart for home at a very early date, it was amusing to say the least that while she was sailing out of the harbor I was holding my first suffrage meeting in the home of Mrs. Dorsett. I held meetings on two successive days, one attended mostly by the middle class and the other by high caste Hawaiians and the "missionary set," which, perhaps, we might style their "400." My talk was in the form of a discussion and I was surprised and delighted at the fluency of all who spoke, their wide knowledge of world affairs and desire for the franchise. Many months had passed since the departure of Prince Kalaniana'ole and so they begged me to investigate as soon as I returned home. This I promised to do and wrote at once to Mrs. Catt all that I heard.

Mrs. Catt sent Mrs. Pitman's letter to Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National Suffrage Association and she took up the question with Senator John F. Shafroth, chairman of the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. The Delegate from Hawaii, who was deeply inter-

ested, welcomed this new force to assist in pushing the bill, which had simply been neglected. On May 21, 1917, he presented still another resolution from the Territorial Legislature asking for it and on June 1 Senator Shafroth introduced the following bill:

*Be it enacted . . .* that the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii be, and it is hereby, vested with the power to provide that in all elections . . . female citizens possessing the same qualifications as male citizens shall be entitled to vote.

SEC. 2. That the said Legislature is further hereby vested with the power to have submitted to the voters of the Territory the question of whether or not the female citizens shall be empowered to vote. . . .

The bill was reported favorably by the committee and passed by the Senate without objection or even discussion on September 15. In the House it was referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage, which set April 29, 1918, for a hearing. Delegate Kalaniana'ole had been called back to Honolulu by business but was represented by his secretary and there were present Mrs. Park, who presided, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president of the National Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Pitman, the principal speaker. Judge John E. Raker was chairman of the committee, which did not need any argument but was interested in asking many questions of Mrs. Pitman. At the close of the hearing the committee voted unanimously to make a favorable report. The bill was passed June 3 without a roll call. It was signed by President Wilson on the 13th.

The matter was now in the control of the Hawaiian Legislature, which received petitions from a number of organizations of women to exercise its power to confer the suffrage without a referendum to the voters. This was recommended by Governor C. J. McCarthy and early in the session of 1919 the Senate took this action and sent the bill to the House. This body under outside influence refused to endorse it but substituted a bill to send the question to the voters. The Senate would not accept it and both bills were deadlocked.

The women were then spurred to action; old suffrage clubs were revived; one was formed in Honolulu of the native high class women and what is known as the "missionary set," a very brilliant group. Mrs. Dorsett made a tour of all the Islands to

arouse interest and on Mani, under the leadership of Mrs. Harry Baldwin, clubs were formed all over the island. A Hawaiian Suffrage Association was organized. At the next convention of the National Association a resolution was adopted that it be invited to become auxiliary without the payment of dues and the invitation was officially accepted with thanks.

The Federal Suffrage Amendment proclaimed by Secretary of State Colby Aug. 26, 1920, included the women of the Territories and it was thus that Hawaiian women became enfranchised. They voted in large numbers at the November elections that year.

#### THE PHILIPPINES.

The Philippine Islands came under the jurisdiction of the United States as a consequence of the Spanish-American war in 1898 and their government soon became an active question in Congress. There was a desire to permit their own people to participate in this to some extent and the National American Woman Suffrage Association, always on the watch tower, took immediate action toward having women included in any scheme of self-government. With the recent example before it of the most unjust discrimination against them in the admission of Hawaii as a Territory, the association under the presidency of Miss Susan B. Anthony petitioned the members of Congress to recognize the rights of women in whatever form of government was adopted. At its annual convention in 1899 impassioned speeches were made against taking away from Filipino women the position of superiority which they always had held under Spanish rule by giving the men political authority over them.

In 1900 Military Governor-General Otis ordered a re-organization of the municipalities. To decide who should have a vote in local affairs the Philippine Commission of the U. S. Senate summoned well informed persons and among them, in the spring of 1902, were Judge William H. Taft, Governor-General of the islands, and Archbishop Nozaleda, who had been connected with the Catholic church there for twenty-six years and archbishop since 1889. Both declared that the suffrage should be given to the women rather than to the men, the former saying: "The fact

is that, not only among the Tagalogs but also among the Christian Filipinos, the woman is the active manager of the family, so if you expect to confer political power on the Filipinos it ought to be given to the women. Following is part of the Archbishop's statement. (Senate Document, p. 109.):

The woman is better than the man in every way—in intelligence, in virtue and in labor—and a great deal more economical. She is very much given to trade and trafficking. If any rights and privileges are to be granted to the natives, do not give them to the men but to the women.

Q. Then you think it would be much better to give the women the right to vote than the men?

A. O, much better. Why, even in the fields it is the women who do the work; the men go to the cock fights and gamble. The woman is the one who supports the man there, so every law of justice demands that in political life they should have the privilege over the men.

Notwithstanding this and other testimony of a similar nature the Commission framed a Code giving a Municipal or local franchise to certain classes of men and excluding all women, taking away from them the privileges they always had possessed. The men soon began demanding their own lawmaking body and in response Congress passed an Act to take effect Jan. 15, 1907, to provide for the holding of elections in the Islands for a Legislative Assembly. The Act limited the voters to "male persons 23 years of age or over," thus again putting up the barriers against women and including them in the list of the disqualified as listed—"insane, feeble-minded, rebels and traitors."

The U. S. Government did, however, give women to the same extent as men all educational advantages, which heretofore had been denied them and their progress was very rapid. In 1912 Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, visited Manila on her trip around the world and was warmly received. A meeting was called at the Manila Hotel for August 15 and twelve women responded. After making an address she helped them form a club which they called Society for the Advancement of Women. Thirty attended the next meeting two weeks later and they took up active philanthropic work. In a little while most of the women of influence were members of it and it was re-organized as the Woman's Club



of Manila. Its work extended in many directions and it became one of the city's leading institutions. Other clubs were formed and they joined the General Federation of Clubs in 1915. There are between 300 and 400 clubs in the Islands (1920).

Meanwhile the men were not satisfied with their one-house Legislative Assembly largely under American control, but wanted more power. In response Congress provided for a Legislature of a Senate of 24 members and a Lower House of 90, all to be elected except two of the former and nine of the latter, who would be appointed by the American Governor-General to represent districts where elections were not held, the Act to go into effect in 1918. The suffrage was still confined exclusively to males, although in 1916 the Women's Club had organized fifty-seven Mothers' Clubs for the welfare of infants; had secured through women lawyers legal aid for over thirty poor women; had been instrumental in having 15,000 people make gardens to give variety to their fish and rice diet and done a vast amount of other valuable public work. The Act passed by large majorities, members voting for it who had persistently voted against the Federal Amendment to enfranchise the women of the United States.

The Philippines were from 1917 represented in Congress by an able and progressive Commissioner, Jaime C. De Veyra, an advocate of woman suffrage. His wife, a native of Iloilo, who had been prominent in civic work in the Islands, shared his views, and was a frequent visitor at the suffrage headquarters in Washington. In 1919, assisted by Miss Bessie Dwyer, vice-president of the Manila Women's Club, she gave beautifully illustrated addresses in Washington and New York, on the position of women in the Islands. In these and in interviews she said:

Philippine women have always been free and have always been held as equals of the men. In the little rural "barrios" you will always find some sort of woman leader. All over the islands they are highly considered. Even when old they exercise full sway over the family and have the last word in all financial matters. The married children still cling to the mother as adviser. The young women who marry go into partnership with their husbands and while the men handle the workers it is the women who do the paying and oversee things generally. They are engaged in all kinds of business for themselves and are employed by scores of

thousands. Many thousands carry work home where they can take care of their children, do the housework and be earning money.

They have the same opportunities in the professions as men, are successful physicians and lawyers and members of the Bar Association. Laws made for them have combined the best of Spanish and American precedents. They are guardians of their own children; married women may hold property; of that which accrues to a married couple, the wife is half administrator. These are vested rights and cannot be taken away.

A short time ago the question of woman suffrage was introduced into the Legislature, not by the initiative of American women but urged by Madame Apacibile, wife of one of the government secretaries. A petition signed by 18,000 women asking for a joint legislative hearing was sent to the law makers who granted it. Three Filipina women spoke, one the widow of the eminent Concepcion Calderon, a successful business woman, owning a fish farm and an embroidery enterprise. Others were Mrs. Feodore Kalon, Miss Almeda and Miss Pazlegaspi, the last two practicing lawyers. Only one man appeared in the negative. The president of the Senate, the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, is in favor of woman suffrage.

Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison recommended to the Legislature to give the suffrage to women, as it has the power to do. A bill was introduced and passed the Senate almost unanimously Dec. 7, 1919, but it was not acted upon by the House. As the Constitution of the United States is not in force in the Philippines the women were not enfranchised by the Federal Suffrage Amendment in 1920 but must await the action of their own Legislature.

#### PORTO RICO.

After Porto Rico came under the control of the United States as a result of the Spanish-American war in 1898 its political status was undetermined for a long time. Shortly before that war Spain had granted universal suffrage to all its men over 21. Congress confirmed this privilege as to the affairs of the island but they had no voting rights in those of the United States. After a few years the more progressive of the people began asking for the status of a Territory with their own Legislature. This agitation was continued for sixteen years before Congress took action and agreed on a bill which would admit the islanders to citizenship. As usual the chief difficulty was over the suffrage. There was a desire to have a slight educational and a small property qualifica-

tion but as a large majority of the men were illiterate and without property this aroused a protest, which was supported by the American Federation of Labor. On May 22, 1916, while the Porto Rican bill was under consideration in Committee of the Whole in the Lower House of Congress, the Republican floor leader, James R. Mann (Ills.), discovered that a majority of those present were Republicans and suffragists. He therefore proposed a clause giving the franchise to the women, which was passed by 60 to 37. He expected to put the Democrats in the position of voting it down the next day in regular session but when it came up Republicans joined with Democrats in defeating it by 80 noes to 59 ayes.

Finally when, under pressure, the committee was obliged to put in universal suffrage for the great mass of illiterate men, even the most ardent advocates of woman suffrage among the members felt that it would be unwise to add universal suffrage for women. In answer to the urgent request of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that this injustice should not be done to women, Senator John F. Shafroth, chairman of the Committee on the Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, wrote: "I would have been very glad to incorporate a provision including women but it would have killed the bill. I was notified by Senator Martine of New Jersey and others that they would not permit a provision of that kind to go into it and the parliamentary stage of the bill was such that any one Senator could have defeated it. As it was, it took two years to get the bill before Congress and fully twenty motions to have it considered and if either prohibition or woman suffrage had gone into it there would have been no bill for Porto Rico. We avoided the word 'male' in prescribing the qualifications of electors."

The Act, which received the approval of President Wilson March 2, 1917, provided that at the first election for the Legislature and other officers the electors should be those qualified under the present law, and thereafter voters should be citizens of the United States 21 years of age and have such additional qualifications as might be prescribed by the Legislature of Porto Rico. The election took place on July 16. While this Act was an improvement on the one which admitted Hawaii as a Territory

it left the many educated, tax paying women, the woman in business, the teachers in government and mission schools, the nurses in the hospitals, the social workers, wholly in the power of men.

About 1916 there was incorporated in Porto Rico an organization called La Liga Feminea de Puerto Rico, which worked energetically for the social uplift of the people and for the political enfranchisement of women. The official organ was *La Mujer del Siglo Veinte—The Twentieth Century Woman*. Early in the spring of 1917 Mrs. Geraldine Maud Froscher, an American living in Porto Rico, appealed to the National Suffrage Association for financial assistance for a campaign preparatory to the introduction of the woman suffrage bill in the Legislature that year. Literature was sent immediately and the association agreed to pay the expenses of Mrs. Froscher, who organized suffrage leagues in all towns of any considerable size, addressed women's clubs, interviewed legislators and distributed literature. In this work she had the able assistance of Mrs. Ana Roqué Duprey, the first president of the San Juan Suffrage League, editor of the above paper and later of *El Heraldo de la Mujer—The Woman's Herald*, with Mrs. Froscher as the American editor.

In August, 1917, at the first session of the new Legislature, a bill was introduced in the Lower House to give women the right to hold office but without the right to vote and one to give them equal rights. Later two more bills were introduced but none was passed. As Porto Rico is an unincorporated Territory of the United States, its women were not enfranchised by the Federal Suffrage Amendment in 1920. At three consecutive sessions of the Legislative Assembly a petition for woman suffrage has been presented.

## CHAPTER LI.

### PROGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

1900 - 1920.<sup>1</sup>

I consider it an honor to have been asked to take up the pen from the date 1900, when my dear friend and colleague, the late Helen Blackburn, laid it down after writing the chapter on Great Britain for Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage. I am particularly fortunate in that it falls to my lot to include the year 1918, when Victory crowned our fifty years' struggle in these islands to obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women.

Several circumstances entirely outside our power of control combined to promote the rapid growth of the movement at the beginning of the XXth Century. The chief of these were the South African war, 1899-1902, and the death of Queen Victoria in 1901. The war with the Transvaal was caused by the refusal of President Kruger and his advisers to recognize the principle that taxation and representation should go together. The so-called Uitlanders, who formed a large proportion of the population of the Transvaal and provided by taxation a still larger proportion of its revenue, were practically excluded from representation. This led to intense irritation and ultimately to war. It was, therefore, inevitable that articles in the press and the speeches of British statesmen dealing with the war used arguments which might have been transferred without the alteration of a single word to women's suffrage speeches.

I have described on pages 29 and 30 of *Women's Suffrage, a Short History of a Great Movement*, the strong impulse which had been given to the electoral activity of British women by the

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for this chapter to Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, J.P., LL.D., who has been prominently connected with the movement for women's suffrage in Great Britain for nearly fifty years and was President of the National Association from 1904, when it was re-organized, until after the victory was won in 1918.

Corrupt Practices Act of 1883, which made paid canvassing illegal and otherwise reduced electoral expenses. Very soon after it came into operation both the chief political parties organized bands of educated women to act as canvassers, election agents, etc., in contested elections. The war stimulated this electoral activity of women. A general election was held in 1900 and in the absence of husbands, sons and brothers in South Africa, many wives, mothers and sisters ran the whole election on their behalf. Several of these were well known anti-suffragists. Even Mrs. Humphry Ward herself, on the occasion of an important anti-suffrage meeting in London, excused her absence on the ground that her presence was required by the exigencies of the pending election in West Herts, where her son was a candidate. Suffragists again were not slow to point the moral—if women were fit (and they obviously were fit) not only to advise, persuade and instruct voters how to vote but also to conduct election campaigns from start to finish, they were surely fit to vote themselves.

The death of Queen Victoria in January, 1901, called forth a spontaneous burst of loyal gratitude, devotion and appreciation from all parties and all sections of the country. Every leading statesman among her councillors dwelt on the extraordinary penetration of her mind, her wide political knowledge, her great practical sagacity, her grasp of principle, and they combined to acclaim her as the most trusted of all the constitutional monarchs whom the world had then seen. How could she be all that they justly claimed for her, if the whole female sex laboured under the disabilities which, according to Mrs. Humphry Ward, were imposed by nature and therefore irremediable? Nevertheless, it must not be supposed, genuine as were these tributes to Queen Victoria's political sagacity, that her example immediately cleared out of the minds of the opponents the notion that women were fitly classed with aliens, felons, idiots and lunatics, as persons who for reasons of public safety were debarred from the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise.

The Parliament returned in 1906 had an immense Liberal majority. There were only 157 Unionist members in the House of Commons against 513 Liberals, Labour men and Nationalists, all of whom were for Home Rule and therefore prepared to sup-

port in all critical divisions the new administration which was formed under the Premiership of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman. The new House contained 426 members pledged to Women's Suffrage. The Premier was himself a suffragist but his Cabinet contained several determined anti-suffragists, notable among whom were Mr. Herbert H. Asquith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. James Bryce, chief secretary for Ireland (now Lord Bryce), who became British Ambassador to the United States in 1907. The new Prime Minister received a large, representative suffrage deputation in May, 1906, in which all sections of suffragist opinion were represented, and their case was laid before him with force and clearness. In reply he told them that they had made out "a conclusive and irrefutable case" but that he was not prepared to take any steps to realize their hopes. When asked what he would advise ardent suffragists to do he told them to "go on pestering." This advice was taken to heart by the group (a small minority of the whole) who had lately formed in Manchester the organization known as The Women's Social and Political Union, led by Mrs. Pankhurst.

An unforeseen misfortune was the death in 1908 of Sir H. C. Bannerman and the fact that his successor was our principal opponent in the Government, Mr. Asquith. It was not very long before he revealed the line of his attack upon the enfranchisement of women. He informed his party in May, 1908, that his intention was to introduce before the expiration of the existing Parliament a Reform Bill giving a wide extension of the franchise to men and no franchise at all to women. In the previous February a Women's Suffrage Bill which removed all sex disability from existing franchises had passed its second reading in the House of Commons but this apparently had no effect on Mr. Asquith. There were, however, some cracks in his armour. He admitted that about two-thirds of his Cabinet and a majority of his party were favourable to Women's Suffrage and he promised that when his own exclusively male Reform Bill was before the House and had got into committee, if an amendment to include women were moved on democratic lines, his Government, as a Government, would not oppose it. This was at all events an advance on the position taken by Mr. Gladstone upon his Reform Bill of 1884,

when he vehemently opposed a women's suffrage amendment and caused it to be defeated.

The emergence of what was afterwards known as "militancy" belongs to this period, dating from the General Election of 1906 and very much stimulated by Premier Bannerman's reply to the deputation in that year and by the attitude of Mr. Asquith. It will ever be an open question on which different people, with equal opportunities of forming a judgment, will pronounce different verdicts, whether "militancy" did more harm or good to the suffrage cause. It certainly broke down the "conspiracy of silence" on the subject up to then observed by the press. Every extravagance, every folly, every violent expression, and of course when the "militants" after 1908 proceeded to acts of violence, every outrage against person or property were given the widest possible publicity not only in Great Britain but all over the world. There was soon not an intelligent human being in any country who was not discussing Women's Suffrage and arguing either for or against it. This was an immense advantage to the movement, for we had, as Sir H. Campbell Bannerman had said, "a conclusive and irrefutable case." Our difficulty had been to get it heard and considered and this "militancy" secured. The anti-suffrage press believed that it would kill the movement and it was this belief which encouraged them to give it the widest possible publicity. The wilder and more extravagant the "militants" became the more they were quoted, described and advertised in every way. The sort of "copy" which anti-suffrage papers demanded was supplied by them in cartloads and not at all by law-abiding suffragists, who were an immense majority of the whole. This can be illustrated by an anecdote. The Constitutional suffragists had organized a big meeting in Trafalgar Square and had secured a strong team of first-rate speakers. The square was well filled and on the fringe of the crowd the following conversation was overheard between two press men who had come to report the proceedings. One said he was going away, the second asked why and the first answered: "It's no good stopping, there's no copy in this; these women are only talking sense!"

The earlier years of militant activity were in my opinion helpful to the whole movement, for up to 1908 the "militants" had



only adopted sensational and unusual methods, such as waving flags and making speeches in the lobby of the House and asking inconvenient questions at public meetings. They had suffered a great deal of violence but had used none. From 1908 onwards, however, they began to use violence, stone throwing, personal attacks, sometimes with whips, on obnoxious members of the Government, window smashing, the destruction of the contents of letter-boxes—in one instance the destruction of ballot papers cast in an election. Later arson practised for the destruction or attempted destruction of churches and houses became more and more frequent. All this had an intensely irritating effect on public opinion. "Suffragist" as far as the general public was concerned became almost synonymous with "Harpy." This cause which had not been defeated on a straight vote in the House of Commons since 1886 was now twice defeated; once in 1912 and once in 1913. The whole spirit engendered by attempting to gain by violence or threats of violence what was not conceded to justice and reason was intensely inimical to the spirit of our movement. We believed with profound conviction that whatever might be gained in that way did not and could not rest on a sure foundation. The women's movement was an appeal against government by physical force and those who used physical violence in order to promote it were denying their faith to make their faith prevail.

The difference made a deep rift in the suffrage movement. The constitutional societies felt bound to exclude "militants" from their membership and on several occasions issued strongly-worded protests against the use of violence as political propaganda. The fact that men under similar circumstances had been much more violent and destructive, especially in earlier days when they were less civilized, did not inspire us with the wish to imitate them. We considered that they had been wrong and that "direct action," as it is now the fashion to call coercion by means of physical force, had always reacted unfavorably on those who employed it. While the constitutional societies freely and repeatedly expressed their views on these points, the "militants" not unnaturally retorted by attempting to break up our meetings, shouting down our speakers and provoking every sort of disorder

at them. It was an exceptionally difficult situation and that we won through as well as we did was due to the solid loyalty to constitutional and law-abiding methods of propaganda of the great mass of suffragists throughout the country. We quoted the American proverb, "Three hornets can upset a camp meeting," and we determined to hold steadily on our way and not let our hornets upset us. Our societies multiplied rapidly both in numbers and in membership. For instance, the number forming the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies increased from 64 in 1909 to 130 in 1910 and went on increasing rapidly until just before the war in 1914 they numbered more than 600, with a revenue of over 42,000 pounds a year.

More important in many ways than the "militant" movement was the emergence at the General Election in 1906 of the Labour Party. Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Philip Snowden and others of its leaders were very strong supporters of women's suffrage and it was not long before the party definitely made the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men a plank in its platform. In anticipation of the first General Election of 1910, the N.U.W.S.S. addressed the leaders of the three British parties, Conservative, Liberal, and Labour, asking them what they were prepared to do for Women's Suffrage. Mr. Asquith gave his answer at an Albert Hall meeting in December, 1909. He reiterated his intention, if returned to power, of bringing in a Reform Bill, and he promised to make the insertion of a Women's Suffrage amendment an open question for the House of Commons to decide. He added: "The Government . . . has no disposition or desire to burke the question; it is clearly an issue on which the new House ought to be given an opportunity to express its views." This meant that the Government whips would not be put on to oppose the enfranchisement of women. Mr. Balfour replied to our memorial that it was a non-party question on which members of the Unionist Party could exercise individual freedom of action. Mr. Arthur Henderson, for the Labour Party, told us that it had already placed the enfranchisement of women on its programme. The Labour Party was not large but it was an important advantage to us to have even a small party definitely pledged to our support. There were two

General Elections in 1910, in January and December. The Liberal, Labour and Nationalist group lost heavily in the second of these elections, their majority being reduced from 334 to 124.

The Labour Party between these two elections had lost six seats but they were still forty strong, all definitely pledged to Women's Suffrage in the new Parliament which assembled in January, 1911. Our Bill had been carried on its second reading in 1910 by a majority of 110 but after the second General Election of 1910 it secured on May 5, 1911, a majority of 167; there were 55 pairs, only 88 members of Parliament going into the Lobby against us. The Bill on each of these occasions was of a very limited character; it proposed to enfranchise women-householders, widows and spinsters and would only have added about a million women to the Parliamentary register. It was called the Conciliation Bill, because it sought to conciliate the differences between different types of suffragists in the House of Commons, from the extreme Conservative who only cared for the representation of women of property, to the extreme Radical who demanded the enfranchisement of every woman. A committee was formed to promote the success of this bill in Parliament of which the Earl of Lytton was Chairman and Mr. H. N. Brailsford Hon. Sec. It was believed that the bill represented the greatest common measure of the House of Commons' belief in women's votes. The Labour Party were strongly in favour of a much wider enfranchisement of women but generously waived their own preferences in order, as they believed, to get some sort of representation for women on the Statute Book. Almost immediately after this large majority for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill in May, 1911, an official announcement was made by the Government that Mr. Asquith's promise of the previous November that an opportunity should be afforded for proceeding with the bill in all its stages would be fulfilled in the session of 1912.

We were then in the most favourable position we had ever occupied; the passing of the Women's Suffrage Bill in the near future seemed a certainty. The "militants" had suspended all their methods of violence in order to give the Conciliation Bill a chance, and, as just described, it had passed its second reading

debate with a majority of 167 and time for "proceeding effectively" with a similar Bill in all its stages had been promised. All the suffrage societies were working harmoniously for the same Bill and the Women's Liberal Federation were cooperating with the suffrage societies, when suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, Mr. Asquith dealt us a characteristic blow. In reply to a deputation from the People's Suffrage Federation early in November he announced his intention of introducing during the coming session of 1912 the Electoral Reform Bill which he had foreshadowed in 1908; he said that in this Bill all existing franchises would be swept away, plural voting abolished and the period of residence reduced. The new franchise to be created was, he added, to be based on citizenship and votes were to be given to "citizens of full age and competent understanding," but no mention was made of the enfranchisement of women. On being asked what he intended to do about women's votes, he dismissed the subject with the remark that his opinions on the subject were well known and had suffered no change, but he reiterated the promise of "facilities" for the Conciliation Bill in the 1912 Session.

The situation, therefore, was briefly this: An agitation of ever-growing intensity and determination had for some years been carried on by women for their own enfranchisement and no agitation at all had been manifested by men for more votes for themselves; the Prime Minister's response to this situation was to promise legislation giving far larger and wider representation to men and none at all to women. No wonder that he provoked an immediate outburst of militancy! Stones were thrown and windows smashed all along the Strand, Piccadilly, Whitehall and Bond Street, and members of the Government went about in perpetual apprehension of personal assault.

The indignation of the Constitutional suffragists and of the Women's Liberal Federation with Mr. Asquith was quite as real as that of the "suffragettes" but it sought a different method of expression. Some knowledge of this probably reached him, as for the first time in our experience all the suffrage societies and the W.L.F. were invited by the Prime Minister to form a deputation to him on the subject. What we were accustomed to was

sending an urgent demand to him to receive us in a deputation and to get his reply that he believed "no useful purpose would be served" by yielding to our request; but now, in November, 1911, he was inviting us to come and see him! Of course we went. His whole demeanor was much more conciliatory than it had ever been before. He acknowledged the strength and intensity of the demand of women for representation and admitted that in opposing it he was in a minority both in his Cabinet and in his party; finally he added that, although his personal opinions on the subject prevented him from initiating and proposing the change which women were pressing for, he was prepared to bow to and acquiesce in the considered judgment of the House of Commons, and he stated that this course was quite in accordance with the best traditions of English public life. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, of which I was the mouthpiece, then put the following questions:

- (1) Is it the intention of the Government that the Reform Bill shall go through all its stages in 1912?
- (2) Will the Bill be drafted in such a way as to admit of amendments introducing women on other terms than men?
- (3) Will the Government undertake not to oppose such amendments?
- (4) Will the Government regard any amendment enfranchising women, which is carried, as an integral part of the Bill be defended by the Government in all its later stages?

To all these questions, as they were put severally, Mr. Asquith replied "Yes, certainly."

Mr. Lloyd George, who was present, was pressed by the deputation to speak but did so only very briefly. He was known as an opponent of the Conciliation Bill but had voted for it in 1911 because it was so drafted as to admit of free amendment. He made no secret of his conviction that the wider enfranchisement afforded by amendment of the Government measure would, to use his own expression, "torpedo" the Conciliation Bill. Almost immediately after the deputation thus described he sent the following message to the N.U.W.S.S.: "The Prime Minister's pronouncement as to the attitude to be adopted by the Government towards the question seems to make the carrying of a

Women's Suffrage Amendment to next year's Franchise Bill a certainty. I am willing to do all in my power to help those who are labouring to reach a successful issue in the coming session. Next year provides the supreme opportunity and nothing but unwise handling of that chance can compass failure."

There was plenty of unwise handling, but not, as I am proud to think, from the constitutional suffragists. The first was the wild outburst of "militancy" already referred to. Mr. Lloyd George was pursued by persistent interruption and annoyance deliberately organised by the Women's Social and Political Union. A meeting he addressed at Bath, mainly devoted to advocacy of Women's Suffrage, on Nov. 24, 1911, was all but turned into a bear garden by these deliberately planned and very noisy interruptions. Not to be outdone in "unwise handling" Mr. Asquith next had his innings. He received an anti-suffrage deputation on Dec. 14, 1911, about three weeks after he had received the suffragists, and in the course of his remarks to them he said: "As an individual I am in entire agreement with you that the grant of the Parliamentary Vote to women in this country would be a political mistake of a very disastrous kind." This went far to invalidate the fair-seeming promises to us given about three weeks earlier. How could a man in the all-important position of Prime Minister pledge himself to use all the forces at the disposal of the Government to pass in all its stages through both houses a measure which might include the perpetration of "a political mistake of a very disastrous kind"? A member of Mr. Asquith's own party who took part in the anti-suffrage deputation interpreted this expression of his chief as an S.O.S. call to his followers in the House to deliver him from the humiliation of having to fulfil the promises he had given us. Every kind of intrigue and trick known to the accomplished parliamentarian was put into operation. Every Irish Nationalist vote was detached from support of the Bill. A description of one of these discreditable devices, among them an attempt to hold up the N.U.W.S.S. to public contempt as purveyors of "obscene" literature, will be found in a book by myself called *The Women's Victory and After*, published in 1920.

The first result of these intrigues was the defeat of the Con-

ciliation Bill, by 14 votes only, on March 28, 1912. This was hailed as an immense triumph by the anti-suffragists, as indeed in a sense it was, for exactly the same bill had been carried by the same House in 1911 by a majority of 167; but it was a triumph which cost the victors dear, especially when the tricks and perversions of truth came to light by which it had been achieved. From this time forward public opinion was more decided in our favour and the general view was that the Government had treated us shabbily.

The progress made by the Government in pressing forward their Electoral Reform Bill was not rapid. When it was at last introduced it was discovered to be not a Reform Bill, but in the main a Registration Bill. In the second reading debate Mr. Asquith described his Bill as one to enfranchise "male persons only," and said in regard to women that he could not conceive that the House would "so far stultify itself as to reverse the considered judgment it had already arrived at" earlier in the session. It was a "considered judgment" to defeat the Bill by 14 votes in 1912 but not a "considered judgment" to have it carried by 167 in 1911! Sir Edward Grey felt strongly that the House had placed itself in a very undesirable position, but the Conciliation Bill was defeated and Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George and the leading suffragists in the Government continued to assure us that the inclusion of Women's Suffrage through an amendment of the Government Bill presented us with by far the best prospect of success we had ever had. We worked as we had never worked before to secure the success of this amendment or series of amendments. The session of 1912 had lasted from January to December without the committee stage of the Government Bill being reached. This interminable session overflowed into 1913 and the debate on the suffrage amendments of the Government Bill was dated to begin on January 24th of that year. On January 23rd, however, in reply to a question, the Speaker [Mr. Lowther] indicated that he would probably be compelled to rule that if the Bill were amended so as to include the enfranchisement of women, he might feel obliged to rule that in this form it was not the same bill of which the second reading had been carried in July, and

it would, therefore, have to be withdrawn and re-introduced! This ruling he confirmed on the following Monday, January 27th. Therefore, every one of the fair promises which Mr. Asquith had given us in November, 1911, proved to be absolutely worthless.

I do not accuse Mr. Asquith of anything worse at this stage than blundering. He was manifestly confounded and distressed by the Speaker's ruling. Whether this were due to the naming of the Bill or to Mr. Asquith's own speech on the second reading, "This is a bill to enfranchise male persons only, etc.", we were not able to discover; but the net result was that he found himself in a position in which it was impossible for him to fulfil the promises he had given us. Under these circumstances he did not take the only honorable course open to him, i.e., of sending for us once more and asking us what we should consider a reasonable equivalent for these unredeemed promises. He had made these promises five years back and had repeated them from time to time ever since. Now they were null and void. The only reasonable equivalent would have been the introduction of a Government Reform Bill which included the enfranchisement of women. Probably Mr. Asquith knew that this was what we should urge; for he not only did not send for us but he refused to see us or consult us in any way. He tossed us, without our consent, the thoroughly worthless substitute of a day for a Private Member's Bill, such as we had had experience of time and again ever since 1870. The N.U.W.S.S. indignantly rejected this offer and took no interest in the proposed Bill, which was, however, introduced and given a day for second reading in May, 1913, when it was defeated by a majority of 47.

This discreditable series of incidents did far more harm to the Government than to the suffrage cause, as was very conclusively shown in the press. "Punch," for instance, had a cartoon on Feb. 5, 1913, representing a dance in which Mr. Asquith figured as a defaulting partner in a corner and trying to escape from an indignant woman who said, "You've cut my dance!" This was indicative of the general trend of public opinion.

In the previous year the N.U.W.S.S. had placed a new interpretation on its election policy. This was to support in elections



irrespective of party "the best friend of Women's Suffrage." After the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in 1912 when 42 so-called "friends" voted against it, we resolved in the future that the best friend was a man who was not only personally satisfactory but who also belonged to a party which had made Women's Suffrage a plank in its platform. This meant support for the Labour Party and for the development of this policy we raised a special fund called the Election Fighting Fund and took active steps in canvassing and speaking for Labour men whenever they presented themselves as candidates for vacant seats. Our movement had now become the storm centre of English politics. A well known labour leader wrote of the political situation in February, 1913, as follows: "The Women's Suffrage question will now dominate British politics until it is settled. It has within the last few weeks killed a great Government measure and it has done more than that. It has made it impossible for this or any succeeding Liberal Government to deal with franchise reform without giving votes to women. The Labour Party will see to that."

In 1913 the N.U.W.S.S. organised the greatest public demonstration it had ever made. We called it The Pilgrimage. It meant processions of non-militant suffragists, wearing their badges and carrying banners, marching towards London along eight of the great trunk roads. These eight processions, many of them lasting several weeks, stopped at towns and villages on their way, held meetings, distributed literature and collected funds. It was all a tremendous and unprecedented success, well organised and well done throughout. (Described in detail in *The Women's Victory*.) The Pilgrimage made a very great impression and was favourably commented on in the organs of the press which had never helped us before. We finished The Pilgrimage with a mass meeting in Hyde Park on July 26, where we had seventeen platforms, one for each of our federations. We asked Mr. Asquith and the leaders of other political parties to receive a deputation from The Pilgrimage the following week. They all accepted with the exception of Mr. John Redmond. When Mr. Asquith received us his demeanor was far less unfriendly than it had ever been before. He admitted

that the offer of a Private Member's Bill was no equivalent for the loss of a place in a Government Bill. He said: "Proceed as you have been proceeding, continue to the end," and said if we could show that "a substantial majority of the country was favourable to Women's Suffrage, Parliament would yield, as it had always hitherto done, to the opinion of the country."

In May, 1914, suffrage ground was broken in the House of Lords by Lord Selborne and Lord Lytton, who introduced a bill on the lines of the Conciliation Bill, the latter making one of the most powerful speeches in our support to which we had ever listened. The Bill was rejected by 104 to 60, but we were more than satisfied by the weight of the speeches on our side and by the effect produced by them. Another important event which greatly helped our movement in 1914 was the protest of the National Trade Union Congress on February 12th against the Government's failure to redeem its repeated pledges to women and demanding "a Government Reform Bill which must include the enfranchisement of women." This was followed by resolutions passed at the annual conference of the National Labour Party re-affirming its decision "to oppose any further extension of the franchise to men in which women were not included."

There must, according to law, have been a General Election in 1915 and the remarkable progress of the women's cause made us feel confident that a Parliament would be elected deeply pledged to our support. Our friends were being elected and our enemies, including that worst type of enemy, the false friend and the so-called Liberal afraid of his own principles, were being rejected at by-elections in a manner that foreshadowed a great gain to suffrage forces at the General Election. Then suddenly, destroying all our hopes of success and jeopardizing the very existence of representative government and all forms of democracy throughout the world, came the outbreak of war; the entry of our own country and the resulting concentration of the vast majority of the British people, whether men or women, in the gigantic national effort which the successful resistance of such a foe demanded. August 4, 1914, was a heart-breaking day for us. Nevertheless, suffragists from the first faced the facts and saw clearly what their duty was. The "militants" instantly

abandoned every sort of violence. A large number of the more active members of their societies formed the Women's Emergency Corps, who were ready to undertake all kinds of national work which the exigencies of the situation demanded. The N.U.W.S.S. Executive Committee meeting on August 3, the day before our own country was actually involved, resolved to suspend immediately all political propaganda for its own ends. Under normal circumstances we should have summoned a Council meeting to discuss the situation and to determine the course to be taken by the Union. This being impossible owing to difficulties connected with railway communication we consulted our societies, then numbering over 500, by post, placing them in possession of our own views, viz.: that ordinary political work would have to be suspended during the war and suggesting that our best course would be to use our staff and organising capacity in promoting forms of work designed to mitigate the distress caused by the war. We felt that our members would desire to be of service to the Nation and that the N.U.W.S.S. had in their organisation a special gift which they could offer to their country. This view was endorsed by our societies with only two dissenting.

On receiving this practically unanimous backing we further proceeded to recommend distinct forms of active service. The Local Government Board had addressed a circular to Lord Mayors and Mayors and Chairmen of Town and County Councils directing them at once to form Local Relief Committees to deal with any kind of distress caused by the war. We suggested to our societies that they should offer their services to help, each in its own district, in this national work. We also opened in different parts of the country forty workrooms in which women thrown out of work by the war found employment. We established bureaux for the registration of voluntary workers and gradually our work spread in all directions; help for the Belgian refugees, the starting of clubs and canteens for soldiers and sailors, clubs for soldiers' wives, work in connection with the Sailors' and Soldiers' Families Association, patrol work in the neighborhood of soldiers' training camps, Red Cross work, conducting French classes for our men in training. A very large

number of our societies concentrated on maternity and child welfare work; others in country districts took up fruit picking and preserving in order to conserve the national food supplies. It is really impossible to mention all our various activities. These were included under a general heading adopted at a Provincial Council meeting held in November, 1914, urging "our societies and all members of the Union to continue by every means in their power all efforts which had for their object the sustaining of the vital energies of the Nation so long as such special efforts may be required."

The war work with which the name of the N.U.W.S.S. is most widely known was the formation of the Scottish Women's Hospitals for Foreign Service. This was initiated and organised by the Hon. Sec. of our Scottish Federation, Dr. Elsie Inglis, and was backed by the whole of the N.U.W.S.S. (See *Life of Dr. E. Inglis* by Lady Frances Balfour.) Meeting at first with persistent snubbing from the Royal Army Medical Corps and the British Red Cross, Dr. Inglis formed her first hospital at the Abbaye de Royaumont about thirty miles from Paris, officered entirely by women. Other units on similar lines quickly followed in France and Serbia. Their work was magnificent and was rapidly recognised as such by the military authorities and by all who came in contact with it. These hospitals probably produced by the example of their high standard of professional efficiency and personal devotion a permanent influence on the development of the women's movement in those countries where they were located. They received no farthing of government money but raised the 428,856 pounds, which their audited accounts show as their net total to August 3, 1919, entirely by private subscription from all over the world including, of course, the United States.

The N.U.W.S.S. were very early in the field of women's national work during the war because their members were already organised and accustomed to work together, but it is no exaggeration to say that the whole of the women of the country of all classes, suffragist and anti-suffragist, threw themselves into work for the nation in a way that had never been anticipated by those who had judged women by pre-war standards. Into

munition work and all kinds of manufacturing activity they crowded in their thousands. They worked on the land and undertook many kinds of labour that had hitherto been supposed to be beyond their strength and capacity. By what was called the Treasury agreement of 1915 the Trade Unions were induced to suspend the operation of their rules excluding the employment of female labour. They bargained that women should be paid the same as men for the same output and the Government agreed not to use the women as a reservoir of cheap labour. Thus industrial liberty was ensured for women at least so long as the war should last.

All these things combined to produce an enormous effect on public opinion. Newspapers were full of the praises of women; financiers, statesmen, economists and politicians declared that without the aid of women it would be impossible to win the war. The anti-suffragism of Mr. Asquith even was beginning to crumble. In speaking of the heroic death of Edith Cavell in Belgium in October, 1915, he said: "She has taught the bravest men among us a supreme lesson of courage; yes . . . and there are thousands of such women and a year ago we did not know it." Almost the whole of the press was on our side. The general tone was that it would be difficult to refuse woman a voice in the control of affairs after the splendid way in which she had justified her claim to it. We old suffragists felt that we were living in a new world where everyone agreed with us. Nevertheless, I do not believe we should have won the vote just when we did if it had not been that, through the action of the Government itself, it was absolutely necessary to introduce legislation in order to prevent the almost total disfranchisement of many millions of men who had been serving their country abroad in the Navy and Army, or in munition or other work which had withdrawn them from the places where they usually resided.

It may be necessary to explain to non-British readers that by far the most important qualification for the Parliamentary franchise in this country before 1918 was the occupation of premises, and before a man could be put on the register of voters it was necessary for its owner to prove "occupation" of these premises

for twelve months previous to the last 15th of July. Seven out of every eight voters were placed on the register through this qualification. It was not a property qualification, for the tiniest cottage at a shilling a week could qualify its occupier for a vote if he had fulfilled the condition just described; and a man might be a millionaire without getting a vote if he were not in occupation of qualifying premises. Before the war the register of voters was kept up to date by annual revision. The war, however, made this difficult and the Government in 1915 gave directions that this annual revision should be abandoned. As the war went on, the existing register, therefore, rapidly became more and more out of date. Millions of the best men in the country had become disqualified through their war service by giving up their qualifying premises. The House of Commons again and again postponed the date of the General Election but the occasional by-elections which took place proved that there was no register in existence on which it would be morally possible to appeal to the country. The old, the feeble, the slacker, the crank, the conscientious objector would all be left in full strength and the fighting men would be disfranchised. A Parliament elected on such a register would, Mr. Asquith declared, be wholly lacking in moral authority. Therefore, by sheer necessity the Government was forced to introduce legislation dealing with the whole franchise question as it affected the male voter.

A Coalition Government of the Liberal, Conservative and Labour Parties had been formed in 1915. This improved suffrage prospects, for many of the new men joining the Government, more especially Lord Robert Cecil, the Earl of Selborne and the Earl of Lytton, were warm supporters of our cause; while in making room for these newcomers, Mr. Asquith found it possible to dispense with the services of men of the type of Sir Charles Hobhouse, Mr. A. J. Pease and others who were our opponents. The formation of a Coalition Government helped us in another way. Neither of the great parties, Conservative and Liberal, had been unanimous on the women's question and the heads of these parties lived in terror of smashing up their party by pledging themselves to definite action on our side. Mr. Gladstone had broken up the Liberal Party in 1886 by advocating

Irish Home Rule, and Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain had broken up the Conservative Party by advocating Protection in 1903-4. Each of these had, in consequence, a prolonged sojourn in the wilderness of Opposition. But now a Government was formed in which all the parties were represented except the Irish Nationalists, who had refused to join, and therefore our friends in both the old parties could give free rein to their disposition to make Women's Suffrage a reality without dread of bringing disaster on their organisations. The attitude of the N.U.W.S.S. and seventeen other Constitutional Suffrage Societies who had united to form a Consultative Committee, was quite clear as to the line we should take under these circumstances. In various ways and by repeated communications, letters, memorials and deputations we kept the Government informed that if their intentions with regard to the new register were limited simply to replacing upon it the names of the men who had lost their vote through their patriotic service, we should not press our own claim; but if on the other hand the Government determined to proceed by creating a new basis for the franchise, or changing the law in any way which would result in the addition of a large number of men to the register, without doing anything for women, we should use every means in our power within the limits of lawful agitation to bring the case for the enfranchisement of women before Parliament and the country.

Mr. Asquith answered a communication from us on these lines in May, 1916, with the greatest politeness but said that "no such legislation was at present in contemplation." However, within the next fortnight it was in contemplation and the Government made repeated attempts to deal with the situation by the creation of a special register. All the attempts were rejected by the House of Commons, which evidently wanted the subject dealt with on broader and more comprehensive lines. On August 14 Mr. Asquith, in introducing yet another Special Register Bill, announced his conversion to Women's Suffrage! This was an advent of great importance to our movement, for it virtually made the Liberal Party a Suffrage Party, but the Parliamentary difficulty was not removed, for the Government was still nibbling at the question by trying to deal with it by little amend-

ments to the law relating to the registration of voters. At last a way out was devised. Mr. Walter Long, president of the local government board, a typical conservative country gentleman and at that time an anti-suffragist, made the suggestion that the whole question of Electoral Reform, including the enfranchisement of women, should be referred to a non-party Conference, consisting of members of both Houses of Parliament and presided over by the Speaker. Mr. Asquith concurred and Parliament agreed. Women's Suffrage was only one of many subjects connected with Electoral Reform which had to be dealt with by the Conference but it is not too much to say that if it had not been for the urgency of the claim of women to representation the Conference would never have been brought into existence.

The members of this Conference were chosen by the Speaker, who was careful to give equal representation to suffragists and anti-suffragists. Sir John Simon and Sir Willoughby Dickinson, members of the Conference, were very active and skilful in organising the forces in our favour. The Conference was called into being in October, 1916, and began its sittings at once. A ministerial crisis which occurred in December resulted in the resignation of Mr. Asquith and the appointment of Mr. Lloyd George as his successor. The Speaker enquired of the new Prime Minister if he desired the Conference to continue its labours. The reply was an emphatic affirmative. The Conference reported on January 27, 1917. Everyone knows that it recommended by a majority, some said a large majority, the granting of some measure of suffrage to women. Put as briefly as possible the franchise recommended for women was "household franchise," and for the purposes of the bill a woman was reckoned to be a householder not only if she was so in her own right but if she were the wife of a householder. An age limit of thirty was imposed upon women, not because it was in any way logical or reasonable but simply and solely in order to produce a constituency in which the men were not outnumbered by the women.

Some few weeks earlier we had heard on unimpeachable authority that the new Prime Minister was "very keen and very



practical" on our question and was prepared to introduce legislation upon it without delay. He no doubt remembered how emphatically he had told us in 1911 of the extreme value of the promises which had been made to us by Mr. Asquith, and how in our meeting in the Albert Hall in the following March he had referred to the doubt which some suffragists had expressed upon the worth of these promises as "an imputation of deep dishonour which he absolutely declined to contemplate." He had in 1911 put into writing and sent as a message to the *Common Cause*, the official organ of the N.U.W.S.S., a statement of his conviction that Mr. Asquith's promises made the carrying of a Women's Suffrage amendment to next year's franchise bill a certainty and he had offered his personal help to bring this about. It has already been described how all these confident hopes had been brought to nought; but now, December, 1916, within a fortnight of becoming Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George let us know that he was not only ready but keen to go forward on practical lines. When Parliament met we asked the Prime Minister to receive a large and representative deputation of women who had worked for their country during the war. Our object was to ask him to legislate at once on the lines recommended by the Speaker's Conference but we were pushing an open door.

The new Prime Minister had arranged to receive us on March 29, 1917, and on the 28th Mr. Asquith had moved a resolution in the House of Commons, and his motion had been agreed to by 341 votes to 62, calling for the early introduction of legislation based on the recommendations of the Speaker's Conference. When our deputation waited on Mr. Lloyd George the following day he was able to inform us that he had already instructed the Government draftsman to draw up a bill on these lines. The debate in the House on March 28 had turned mainly on Women's Suffrage and the immense majority in support of Mr. Asquith's motion was rightly regarded as a suffrage triumph. Every leader of every party in the House of Commons had taken part in the debate and had expressed his support of the enfranchisement of women. The Government whips had not been put on and throughout the debates which followed the Bill was not treated

as a Government but as a House of Commons measure. The victory, therefore, was all the more welcome to us because it was the result of a free vote of the House. Mr. Asquith's retraction of his former errors was quite handsome. He said, among other things, that his "eyes which for years in this matter had been clouded by fallacies and sealed by illusions at last had been opened to the truth." It required a European War on the vastest scale that the world had ever known to shake him out of his fallacies and illusions, and many of us felt that it would have been better if a less terrible convulsion had sufficed to awaken him, but still, now he was awakened, he was prompt in owning he had been in the wrong and therefore no more was to be said. The subsequent stages of this Representation of the People Bill were a series of triumphs for the suffrage cause. The second reading debate was taken on May 22d and 23d and again turned almost entirely on the women's question; the majority was 329 to 40. When the Bill was in Committee and the clauses enfranchising women were taken up on June 19 the majority was 385 to 55, or exactly seven to one. On June 20 a last division was made, when the number of anti-suffragists was only 17.

Our friends in the Speaker's Conference had so often impressed on us the danger of departing, even in the direction of obvious improvement, from its recommendations that we had carefully abstained from urging any deviation from them; but when the immense majorities just quoted showed that the Bill and our clauses in it were safe beyond a peradventure, we did press very strongly that the same principle should be applied to Municipal suffrage for women which had already been sanctioned by the House for the Parliamentary Suffrage, namely, that the wives of householders should be recognized as householders, which would entitle them to vote. On November 15 an amendment to this effect was moved but was not accepted by the Government. There were vigorous protests in our favour from all parts of the House and the debate on it was adjourned. During the interval the N.U.W.S.S. and other societies with whom we were cooperating bombarded the leader of the House and the Minister in charge of the bill with letters and telegrams

in support of the amendment. These produced a good effect and on November 20, Government opposition having been withdrawn, the amendment was agreed to without a division. Thus without the existence of a single woman voter but on the strength of her coming into existence within the next few months, the women on the Municipal registers of Great Britain and Ireland were increased in number from about one million to over eight-and-a-half millions. And yet Lord Bryce and the other anti-suffragists assured us that the vote would make no difference!

In the House of Commons a third reading of the Representation of the People Bill was taken on December 7 without a division. The Bill was now safely through the Commons but its passage through the Lords had yet to be undertaken. The second reading debate began on December 17 and lasted two days. No one could predict what would happen; Lord Curzon, president of the Anti-Suffrage League, was leader of the House and chief representative of the Government. The Lord Chancellor [Lord Finlay], who is in the chair in House of Lords' debates, was an envenomed opponent. Among other influential Peers whom we knew as our enemies were Lord Lansdowne, Lord Halsbury, Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Lord Bryce. On the other hand we could count on the support of Lord Selborne, Lord Lytton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Lord Courtney and Lord Milner. We looked forward to the debate and the divisions in the Lords with considerable trepidation. The Lords have no constituents, they have no seats to fight for and defend. It is therefore impossible to influence them by any electioneering arts but we sent to all the Peers a carefully worded and influentially signed memorandum setting forth the chief facts and arguments in our favour. The second reading of the Bill was taken in the Lords without a division, the most important speech against it being Lord Bryce's; he insisted again and again that the possession of a vote made no difference. Lord Sydenham had the courage (!) to assert that the suffrage movement had made no progress in America, and, while admitting that it had lately been adopted in the State of New York, no doubt thought that he was giving a fair description when he said: "In America . . . fourteen States have refused the franchise to women and two, Mon-

tana and Nevada, have granted it. The population of the fourteen States is 43,000,000 and that of the two States is 500,000." (Twelve States had fully enfranchised their women.)

The real fight in the House of Lords began on Jan. 8, 1918, when the committee stage was reached. The debate lasted three days and on Clause IV, which enfranchised women, Lord Selborne made an extraordinarily powerful and eloquent speech in its favour. The House was filled and the excitement on both sides was intense. As we were sitting crowded in the small pen allotted to ladies not Peeresses in the Upper House on January 10th we received a cable saying the House of Representatives in Washington had accepted the Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution by the necessary two-thirds majority. This we hailed as a good omen. No one knew what Lord Sydenham thought of it! The most exciting moment was when Lord Curzon rose to close the debate. The first part of his speech was devoted to a description of the disasters which he believed would follow from the adoption of women's franchise but the second part was occupied by giving very good reasons for not voting against it. He reminded their Lordships of the immense majorities by which it had been supported in the House of Commons, by majorities in every party "including those to which most of your Lordships belong. . . . Your Lordships can vote as you please; you can cut this clause out of the Bill—you have a perfect right to do so—but if you think that by killing the clause you can also save the Bill, I believe you to be mistaken. . . . The House of Commons will return it to you with the clause re-inserted. Will you be prepared to put it back? . . . " Before he sat down Lord Curzon announced his intention of not voting at all, for the reason that if he had done otherwise he "might be accused of having precipitated a conflict from which your Lordships could not emerge with credit." The division was taken almost immediately after the conclusion of this speech. Both of the Archbishops and the twelve Bishops present voted for the bill. Our clause was carried by 134 votes to 71, and Women's Suffrage was, therefore, supported in the Lords by nearly two to one. The Lords inserted in it among other things Proportional Representation. It was on this and not on women's suffrage that the final contest took place when it was

returned to the Commons, but at last the long struggle of women for free citizenship was ended, having continued a little over fifty years. The huge majorities by which we had won in the House of Commons had afforded our ship deep water enough to float safely over the rocks and reefs of the House of Lords. The Royal Assent was given on Feb. 6, 1918.

The first election at which women voted was held on December 14. Our friends in the Speaker's Conference had aimed at producing a constituency numbering roughly about 10,000,000 men and 6,000,000 women. The actual numbers of both sexes enfranchised by the Act of 1918 turned out to be considerably in excess of this calculation. A Parliamentary return published in November, 1918, showed the following numbers of men and women on the register.

	<i>Men.</i>
	12,913,166
Naval and Military Voters.....	3,896,763
	16,809,929
	<i>Women.</i>
	8,479,156
Naval and Military Voters.....	3,372
	8,482,528

At the annual Council meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies held in March, 1918, its object was changed by formal vote. It was no longer necessary to concentrate on Women's Suffrage and we adopted as our object "To obtain all such reforms as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women." No change of name was made until the following year when a revised constitution was adopted and the name was modified in accordance with our present object. We have now become the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship and we hope that the letters N. U. S. E. C. will soon become as familiar and as dear to our members as N. U. W. S. S. were in the old days. At the same meeting I retired from the presidency and my friend and colleague, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, was elected in my place.

<sup>1</sup> In 1907 Acts of parliament for England, Wales and Scotland (and one for Ireland in 1911) made women eligible as members of Town, County, Burgh and Borough Councils and as chairmen of these bodies, including the right to be Mayors and Provosts, Aldermen and Baillies, with the limitation that women appointed to an office carrying with it the right to be Justices of the Peace should be incapacitated from so acting. These Acts though non-contentious in the party sense required fourteen years' strenuous work to secure their adoption as Government measures. This was achieved during Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman's premiership, the necessary legislation being announced in the King's Speech as part of the Government programme.

In 1918 the Qualification of Women Act for the United Kingdom made women eligible to the House of Commons. The Bill passed almost without opposition through both Houses and became law in the week ending November 16. As the General Election took place on December 14 there was little time for preparation, nevertheless, there were seventeen women candidates and one, the Countess Makievicz, a Sinn Feiner, was elected but refused to take her seat. The fact that her husband was a foreigner made it doubtful whether she would have been allowed to do so, though an Irishwoman by birth. In 1919 Viscountess Astor was elected for Plymouth.

In 1919 the Sex Disqualification Removal Act for the United Kingdom went some way but not the whole way towards the fulfilment of the pledge given by the Coalition Government of Mr. Lloyd George in December, 1918, "to remove existing inequalities in the law as between men and women." A much more complete bill had been introduced by the Labour Party early in the session, which passed through all its stages in the House of Commons notwithstanding Government opposition but was defeated in the House of Lords and the Government changeling substituted. This Act, though it did not give women the parliamentary vote on the same terms as men nor admit them to the civil service on equal

<sup>1</sup> Accompanying this chapter was a complete list of laws in the interest of women enacted by the Parliament beginning in 1902, prepared by Miss Chrystal Macmillan, M.A., B.Sc. The lack of space which has compelled the omission of similar laws from all of the State chapters makes it necessary in this one. Three of importance politically are given.—Ed.

terms, and though the clause specifically conferring on them eligibility to the House of Lords was cut out, contained, nevertheless, important provisions in the direction of equality. It allowed them to sit on juries, be Justices of the Peace, sworn in as police officers, enter the legal profession and made it possible for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to admit women to membership and degrees on equal terms with men.

The only important advance in education after 1900 was the throwing open to women by the Governing Body of Trinity College, Dublin, of degrees, membership and all privileges pertaining thereto in 1903. All the universities in the United Kingdom, with the exception of Oxford and Cambridge, have been for many years open to women and in November, 1919, a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into their financial resources and into the administration and application of these resources. On the commission, Miss Penrose of Somerville College, Oxford, and Miss B. A. Clough of Newnham College, Cambridge, the women's colleges, were appointed as members. An Act of Parliament later enabled both universities to grant membership, degrees and all privileges to women. Oxford availed itself of these powers without delay. Cambridge in December, 1920, refused to do so by a large vote, but it will ultimately have to open its doors.

## CHAPTER LII.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN BRITISH COLONIES.

In granting the complete franchise to a part of her women in 1918 Great Britain followed all of her self-governing colonies, which, with the exception of South Africa, had given the full suffrage on the same terms as exercised by men. New Zealand, Australia and Canada gave Municipal suffrage at early dates, extending from 1867 in New South Wales to 1894 in the North-west Territories of Canada.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

New Zealand was the first country in the world to give full suffrage to women, its Parliament in 1893 conferring the franchise on all persons over 21. In case of women, however, this did not include the right to sit in Parliament, and, although efforts to secure this right were made at intervals during all the following years, the bill for it several times passing the Lower House, they were not successful until 1919. The unvarying record has been that the registration and vote of women have nearly averaged those of men and in some instances have exceeded them. In the election of 1919 the registration of men was 355,000; of women, 328,320. New Zealand is noted for its advanced legislation.

#### AUSTRALIA.

In 1901 the six States of Australia federated in a commonwealth with a National Parliament and one of its earliest acts in June, 1902, was to confer the complete universal suffrage on women and eligibility to this body. About 800,000 women were thus enfranchised. This action had been preceded by the granting of the State suffrage by the Legislatures in South Australia in 1894 and in West Australia in 1899 and this was done in New South Wales in August, 1902. Women received the State suf-



frage in Tasmania and Queensland in 1905, Victoria in 1908. South Australia was the only one that gave the right to sit in the Legislature with the State suffrage. This eligibility was not conferred until 1919 in New South Wales and Victoria; 1920 in West Australia and does not yet exist in Tasmania and Queensland. One must be a property owner to be a municipal voter or office holder.

Australia has largely substituted advanced legislation for women for the English Common Law. The statistics relating to the voting of women follow closely those of New Zealand. There never has been a proposal to take away the political privileges of women, which could be done by an Act of Parliament. On the contrary during the years when the contest for woman suffrage was being carried on in Great Britain its Parliament was more than once urged by that of Australia to grant it. In 1917, when the struggle was at its height, the strongest possible memorial was adopted by the National Parliament of Australia, which said:

Appreciating the blessings of self-government in Australia through adult suffrage, and appreciating the desire of Your Majesty's Government to vindicate the claims of the small nations to self-government, we are confident that Your Majesty will recognize the justice of the same claim in the case of the small nation of women in Your Majesty's kingdom—women who, in this great crisis in the history of the British Empire . . . have proved themselves as worthy soldiers as those on the battlefield, and as worthy of the protection of the ballot, which is conceded to men. . . . We are deeply interested in the welfare of the women of the Empire and we again humbly petition Your Majesty to endow them with that right of self-government for which they have petitioned for nearly three-quarters of a century.

The most prominent statesmen of Australia and New Zealand in their visits to Great Britain, Canada and the United States have given testimony as to the benefits of woman suffrage.

#### DOMINION OF CANADA.

When Volume IV of this History was written in 1900 four pages sufficed for an account of woman suffrage in Canada. It was confined to a Municipal or School franchise or both in the Provinces for widows and spinsters, and in some of them married women were included. This privilege began in Ontario in 1884

and the situation remained unchanged until 1916, when the World War, which brought the full enfranchisement of women in many countries, began to have its effect in Canada. For the large amount of valuable material from which the following brief résumé is made the History is indebted to Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen, a leader of the woman suffrage movement. Its foundation was laid in 1878 and following years by the mother of Dr. Gullen, the pioneer woman physician, Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, a friend and contemporary of Susan B. Anthony.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stowe was a founder and the first president of the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association, which secured many privileges for women.

The first woman suffrage society was organized in 1883 in the city council chamber of Toronto with the Mayor in the chair. Mrs. Donald McEwan was made president and other officers were Dr. Stowe, Miss Mary McDonnell and Dr. James L. Hughes, afterwards Inspector of Schools. Petitions were sent to the Dominion Parliament and bills presented but when in the late 90's the Electoral Act was changed to make the voters' list for its members coincide with the lists in the Provinces, the latter became in a large measure the battle ground, although the efforts for a national law were not discontinued. The movement for Prohibition had a strong influence in the granting of woman suffrage in the Provinces and it was hastened by the splendid war work of the women.

The first Provincial Legislature to enfranchise women was that of Manitoba, Jan 27, 1916. A convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union as early as July, 1902, passed a resolution to press the work for it and later in the year the Labor Party endorsed equal suffrage through its paper, *The Voice*, and its officers affiliated with the suffrage club. Dr. Amelia Yeomans was a devoted worker. In 1906 when there was a prospect that the Municipal vote would be taken away from married women property owners, the Liberal party convention made its retention a plank in their platform but the Conservative Legislature abolished it. In 1907 it was restored. In 1913 the women succeeded in getting a full suffrage bill before one House

<sup>1</sup> See *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. III, page 832.

of the Legislature, which was defeated by 21 to 14 votes. The next year the Liberal Party pledged itself to give the complete franchise if it won the election. It did so and the women rolled up a big petition as a backing. Premier Norris and the Cabinet supported the bill. The Executive Board of the Political Equality League were invited to seats on the floor of the House the day of the third reading and the bill giving women equal suffrage and eligibility was passed amid great enthusiasm by unanimous vote.

The suffragists of Alberta began extensive work in 1910 to have the Municipal franchise possessed by widows and spinsters extended to married women and the agitation was continued to include the full suffrage. Following the example of Manitoba Premier A. L. Sifton announced on Feb. 24, 1916, before the Legislature opened, that the Government would introduce a woman suffrage bill of the widest scope. The bill passed in Alberta in March with the full approval of press and people and the suffragists met at once in the home of Mrs. Nellie McClung at Edmonton to arrange for taking up their new duties. Mrs. O. C. Edwards had been a ceaseless worker here and in Saskatchewan. In 1914 the first woman Judge in Canada, Mrs. Jamieson, president of the Local Council of Women of Calgary, was appointed by the Attorney General as Commissioner of the Juvenile Court. In February, 1918, two women, Mrs. L. M. McKinney and Miss Roberta McAdams, a Lieutenant on the staff of the Canadian military hospital in Orpington, Kent, were elected to the Legislature, the first women legislators in the British Empire.

In 1910 the women of Saskatchewan sent in petitions, some of them endorsed by city councils, asking Municipal suffrage for married women, but the Government refused it. In opening the Legislature on Mar. 14, 1916, Lieutenant Governor Lake said: "In future years the one outstanding feature of your program will be the full enfranchisement of women." The suffragists of the Province had been organized about five years and the president of the Franchise Board, Mrs. F. A. Lawton, had presented to Premier Scott a petition signed by 10,000 names to show that public sentiment was in favor of this action. He answered that he could give them a definite answer and, as he had already announced, their request would be granted. He said that although

Manitoba had been the first to give women the suffrage those of Saskatchewan would be the first to have a chance to use it. At an early and full meeting of the Legislature a number of members spoke in favor of it and it passed practically without opposition. In 1919 Mrs. M. O. Ramsden was elected to the Legislature.

In 1902 a petition for woman suffrage was presented to the Government in British Columbia and refused. Another effort was made in 1903 but the subject was not brought before the Legislature until 1906, when it defeated a bill. In 1908 it took away the Municipal franchise from women householders. The women's clubs in Victoria secured 1,000 names in three days protesting against this action. Mr. Naden, Liberal member from Greenwood, introduced a bill restoring it, supported by his party, but it was defeated. The Council of Women, at its November meeting, adopted a resolution "to do all in its power to promote the woman suffrage cause." It was the first Local Council in Canada to endorse this cause and later held two public meetings in its interest. In 1910 extensive work was done to regain the Municipal franchise. In 1911 nine important amendments to the very reprehensible laws concerning women and children were submitted to the Legislature by the Council through the Attorney General and one was passed. In the autumn the Political Equality Club was re-organized in Victoria, Mrs. Gordon Grant, president, and in December at a Provincial Conference in Vancouver she assisted in organizing one there; Mrs. Lashley Hall, president—later Mrs. C. Townley—and Miss Lily Laverock, secretary. The two societies organized a large deputation to wait upon the Attorney General and solicit better property laws for women, equal guardianship of children for mothers, the right taken away from fathers to dispose of their guardianship by will and other equally needed laws. They also memorialized the Legislature for the full Provincial suffrage for women. On Feb. 15, 1913, fifty women in the Province presented a petition of 10,000 names to the Premier, asking that suffrage on equal terms with men be given to women and on the 19th he answered that as a matter of Government policy it was impossible.

The agitation increased and continued until the full enfranchisement of women in the three great Provinces to the east

brought the question to a climax. Even then, however, it was not allowed to be settled by the Legislature, as it had been in those Provinces, but on April 14, 1916, Premier Bowser stated that the Elections Act, which provided for allowing a vote to soldiers over 18, would include women and would be submitted to a referendum of the electors. This was done by the Legislature, which met May 31, and the election took place September 15. The amendment was carried by an immense majority in every district, about two to one, and later this was increased by the large favorable majority of the absent soldiers, who were entitled to vote. It went into effect March 1, 1917. The area of Canadian territory in which women were now enfranchised extended from Ontario to the Pacific Ocean. In 1919 Mrs. Ralph Smith, widow of the Minister of Finance, was elected to the Legislature and in 1921 she was made Speaker, the first instance on record.

The struggle for woman suffrage in Canada was now centered in the Province of Ontario, where it began in 1883, and it was largely carried on during much of the time by the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association, which had been incorporated in 1889. Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen became its president in 1903, after the death of her mother, Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, and held it until 1911. While its principal object was the Dominion or National franchise for all women it was for years at the head of the effort for the Provincial suffrage in Ontario. In 1905, in connection with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, it organized a very representative deputation to wait upon the Premier to ask that the Municipal vote possessed by widows and spinsters be extended to married women. He said that 'neither he nor any other statesman had placed woman where she was; that the Infinite was at work and woman being a part of the Divine plan her place was assigned by a greater power.' In 1906 a deputation from the association, headed by Dr. Stowe Gullen, with Dr. Margaret Gordon and Mrs. Flora McDonald Denison as speakers, called on the Mayor and Council of Toronto and asked them to pass a resolution for the extension of this Municipal franchise. They did so and sent it by this deputation to the Legislature. As a result a bill for it was introduced and after a day's fun and sarcasm in the House it was defeated by 69 to 2.

In 1907 the Dominion Association at its annual meeting changed its name to the Canadian Suffrage Association. In 1908 it decided not to memorialize the Government but to make greater efforts to organize and for this purpose Mrs. Denison, vice-president and official organizer, visited Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. On March 24, 1909, the association sent a deputation of 1,000 of its members to the House of Parliament to ask for full suffrage for the women of Ontario. Dr. Stowe Gullen presented with a strong argument a petition which represented 100,000 names and many important organizations, among them the Women's University Clubs, Women Teachers' Association, Medical Alumnae of the University of Toronto, Progressive Club, Trades and Labor Council, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Dominion Temperance Association. There were prominent men and women speakers. Sir James Whitney, the Premier, answered adversely. The crowds were so great that Cabinet ministers could not gain admittance but all this demonstration resulted in no action. Allan Studholme, Labor member from East Hamilton, introduced a bill for woman suffrage, which was defeated.

In 1910 all the members throughout the Province were written to or interviewed by suffragists, but the woman suffrage bill of the labor members was defeated. Through the efforts of Mrs. Denison, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and Mrs. Philip Snowden of England came to Toronto and lectured in Massey Hall to immense audiences. Dr. Gordon attended the annual meeting of the National Council of Women in Halifax and presented a motion that "the Council place itself on record in favor of the enfranchisement of women." This was seconded by Dr. Rachel Todd in behalf of the Medical Alumnae, University of Toronto. After much discussion it was carried and this large and influential organization was brought into the movement. The Local Council of Toronto adopted a resolution to the same effect.

In 1911 the association organized another deputation to wait upon the Premier March 4, who were introduced by William Munns, the secretary. The bill introduced by Mr. Studholme, seconded by W. Proudfoot, Liberal from Center Huron after three days' discussion was lost. Before the Provincial elections

the association sent a letter to all candidates and twenty-five answered that they would vote for woman suffrage if elected. In June Dr. Stowe Gullen resigned the presidency and Mrs. Denison was chosen in her place and Mrs. William Munns was elected secretary. Mrs. Denison, who was an ardent suffragist, an indefatigable worker and a fine organizer, edited a page in the Toronto *Sunday World* each week devoted to woman suffrage, which was of immeasurable value. She represented the association at the meetings of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen in 1906 and in Budapest in 1913. This last year she organized a delegation and went with them to take part in the suffrage parade in Washington, D. C., March 3.

In 1912 three suffrage bills were introduced. A resolution was moved by Mr. Marshall, Liberal, from Lincoln, seconded by Mr. Bowman, Liberal whip, but no bill was passed. Bills were presented every year only to be voted down by the Conservative Government. N. W. Rowell, the Liberal leader, pledged the support of his party in a non-partisan measure but in vain.

In 1912 Mrs. Denison secured for a deputation an interview with Sir Robert L. Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, to ask that the Dominion Parliament should grant a national franchise to women. He stated the difficulties in the way, as the Election Act provided that the Provincial lists of voters were in force for the election of the members of the Dominion Parliament and if the Provinces did not first grant the suffrage to women the cost and work would be required of preparing new lists of the women voters. He said that each Province must enfranchise its women before the Federal Government could act and no Province had done so at this time.

In 1914 Dr. Gordon, president of the Toronto Suffrage Society, organized an influential deputation from its members which asked the city council to submit to the voters at the approaching local election the question of extending to married women the Municipal franchise now possessed by widows and spinsters simply to ascertain their opinion. This was done and the measure was carried by a majority of 13,713. During 1914, 1915 and 1916 Dr. Gordon sent a letter to the councils of the other cities, towns, villages and rural communities asking them to hold a referendum

or to pass a resolution in favor of this extension and send it to the Government. The letters were followed by a successful campaign in the municipalities by the society. As a result 33 referenda were held, all giving favorable majorities, and about 160 other municipal governments memorialized the Ontario Legislature in favor. Dr. Gullen published an open letter describing these efforts. They had no effect on the Legislature nor did it make any concessions to the women even in the way of much needed better laws, for which they petitioned.

At the annual meeting of the Canadian Suffrage Association, October 30 Mrs. Denison resigned the presidency and Dr. Gordon was elected. On the 31st the members put on record the work of its beloved founder and one of the originators of the National Council of Women by presenting a bronze bust of Dr. Emily Howard Stowe to the city of Toronto. It was officially received by the Mayor and placed in the main corridor of Municipal Hall, the first memorial of this kind to any woman in Canada.

This year the National Council of Women took a firm stand and urged that each Province fully enfranchise its women and asked the Dominion Parliament to grant the Federal vote to women. In 1915 the Ontario society sent another deputation to the Legislature to ask for the Municipal franchise and reminded the Premier, Sir William Hearst, of the favorable verdict that had been given by the voters. He answered that "it had not been proved that the influence of women for good would be increased by the possession of the franchise." When asked if he would submit the question of their full suffrage to the voters of the Province he replied that this would mean only a vote by the men and he was most desirous to ascertain the wishes of the women! No attention was paid to either request. In 1916 the association again went to the Legislature with a petition but Mr. Studholme's bill was defeated. This year came the complete enfranchisement of women in all the Provinces between Ontario and the Pacific Ocean. The women of Canada had given their full share of the work and sacrifices demanded by the war for two years but in the Province of Ontario not the slightest recognition had been shown of their right to a voice in the Government.

The franchise societies and the W. C. T. U. canvassed the



whole Province, circulating a monster petition for the full Provincial franchise. A group of women in Toronto organized an Anti-Suffrage Association and called a public meeting at which the suffragists were denounced for "pressing their claims when all the thought and effort of the Government should be given to the demands of the war." Up to 1917 neither the Liberal nor Conservative party had shown the least favor to woman suffrage but now the former, which was out of power, made it a plank of its platform and its leader, N. W. Rowell, on February 20 at the opening of Parliament moved an amendment to the speech from the throne providing for the full enfranchisement of women in Ontario. It was declared out of order by Premier Hearst. A few days later J. W. Johnson of Belleville, a private member, introduced a bill for woman suffrage. On February 27 this bill was indorsed for the Conservative Government by Premier Hearst, who said: "Having taken our women into partnership with us in our tremendous task I ask, 'Can we justly deny them a share in the government of the country, the right to have a say about the making of the laws they have been so heroically trying to defend?' My answer is, 'I think not.'"

Thus without discussion this act of justice for which women had petitioned since 1903 was granted by a single word. Mr. Rowell and the Liberals united with the Conservatives and the bill was passed Feb. 27, 1917. Although passed by a Union Government it was largely due to the incessant efforts of the Liberal members in the past.

While in Quebec and a few of the small Provinces the suffrage was still withheld from women it now so largely prevailed that their national enfranchisement by the Dominion Parliament seemed the next inevitable step. During 1917 Sir Robert Borden made a visit to England and the war front. Although it was estimated that in some of the Provinces one man in every fourteen had enlisted, he returned fully convinced that "conscription" would be necessary and this would require a referendum to the voters. Quebec would vote solidly against it, as would certain elements in the other Provinces. A Fusion party was formed in the Parliament and under tremendous pressure a War Time Election Act was passed in September. It disfranchised during

the war Doukhobors and Mennonites, conscientious objectors, those born in enemy countries not naturalized before 1902 and some others. It enfranchised certain women in all the Provinces and Yukon and the Northwest Territories, which send a member to the Parliament, in the following words: "Every female who, being a British subject and qualified as to age, race and residence as required of a male, is the wife, widow, mother, sister or daughter of any person, male or female, living or dead, who is serving or has served without Canada in any of the military forces, or within or without in any of the naval forces of Canada or Great Britain in the present war. . . ."

It was estimated that this Act would enable about 600,000 women to vote when the question of "conscription" was submitted and leave about 1,000,000 unable to do so although having the Provincial franchise. It raised a storm of protest from those who were not included and who doubted that this arbitrary action would result in securing conscription. Sir Robert Borden had no doubts but based his faith on the belief that those women having relatives in the war would vote to compel other men to go and he said at the time: "We are now verging on the point at which women must be entitled to the same voice in directing the affairs of this country as men, and as far as I am concerned I commit myself absolutely to that proposition, but in working it out it is necessary to take into account certain considerations." With this concession the women had to be satisfied. The general campaign came on in November 1917, with "conscription" the issue on which the Government appealed for return to power. The election took place in December and the Union Government carried the four Western Provinces, Ontario and New Brunswick, receiving almost the full vote of the women. The Opposition carried Quebec, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

During the campaign the Premier several times pledged himself and his Government to equal suffrage for women and it was generally recognized that if they were re-elected this pledge would be redeemed at an early date. This action was urged by the Labor members. On Feb. 15, 1918, the Government announced the extension of the full suffrage to the women of Canada as a part of its policy and its consideration of the measure at the

approaching session of Parliament. Later the War Cabinet invited all of the large organizations of women in the Dominion to send representatives to a conference with the Government in Ottawa on March 1. There was a very large response and the delegates were welcomed by the Governor General, the Duke of Devonshire, with a tribute to the conduct of women during the war. The President of the Privy Council, N. W. Rowell, outlined the work of the Conference and the confidence felt by the Government in the continued assistance of women. They were assured by various members of the Government of the desire for their suggestions on all matters connected with the carrying on of the war. The conference lasted for a week and the women submitted their recommendations, the first of which was that women should be permitted to take a fuller share in the responsibilities of government. All of these were respectfully and cordially received by the members of the Cabinet.

The Parliament opened on March 18. The Duke of Devonshire read the speech from the throne to galleries crowded with women and said in the course of it: "A bill for extending the franchise to women, with suitable provisions respecting naturalization, will be submitted and commended to your consideration."

Sir Robert Borden introduced the bill March 21 and an extended discussion took place in the House on the 23rd. There was no real opposition, although the members from Quebec were not friendly, saying that it was not wanted there by men or women. Sir Wilfred Laurier favored woman suffrage but thought it should be conferred only by the Provinces. The Premier spoke at length in moving the second reading. It passed without division and again on the third reading April 12, 1918, when the full Parliamentary or Federal suffrage was conferred on every woman who fulfilled the following conditions: (1) Is a British subject; (2) is of the full age of 21 years or upwards; (3) possesses the qualifications which would entitle a male person to vote at a Dominion election in the Province in which the woman is seeking to vote, provided that a married woman or a daughter living at home with her parents shall be deemed to have any necessary property or income qualifications if her husband or either of her parents is so qualified. A woman is banned

if married to an enemy alien. This Act superseded the War Time Election Act.<sup>1</sup> The following year this Parliament passed an Act enabling a wife to retain her nationality.<sup>2</sup>

In New Brunswick in 1908, led by Mrs. Fiske, Mrs. Hathaway and Miss Peters, the suffragists memorialized the Legislature to extend the full suffrage to women but a bill for this purpose was defeated. In 1909 a bill to give it to taxpaying widows and spinsters passed the Upper House and after much discussion in the Lower House was postponed. In 1915 married women were included in the Municipal franchise possessed by widows and spinsters. These efforts were continued from year to year and finally after the Dominion franchise had been conferred, the Elections Act was amended by the Legislative Assembly on April 17, 1919, to confer complete universal suffrage on women.

On May 20, 1919, the Council of Yukon Territory amended its Election Law to read: "In this Ordinance, unless the context otherwise requires, words importing the masculine gender include females and the words 'voter' and 'elector' include both men and women . . . and under it women shall have the same rights and privileges as men."

Bills to give the full suffrage to women in Nova Scotia were many times defeated. In 1916, when all the western provinces were enfranchising their women, the Lower House of the Legislature passed a bill for it and later rescinded it on the excuse that it was not desired by the women. This put them on their mettle and they took action to convince the lawmakers that they did want it. The suffrage society was re-organized and a resolution was adopted by the executive board of the Local Council of Women and sent to every member of the Legislature. A joint independent committee was created with Mrs. Charles Archibald chairman and suffrage groups were formed within many organizations of women. All the members of the Government were interviewed and many promised support and the two Government

<sup>1</sup> On Dec. 6, 1921, Miss Agnes McPhail was elected to the House of Commons for Southeast Grey.

<sup>2</sup> This Act was heralded far and wide, as it was unprecedented. In 1920, giving as a reason that the Act had been only a war measure, it was repealed bodily by the Parliament and the old Act substituted with a few amendments that did not by any means give the privileges afforded by the new one. It was generally believed that this was done under the direct influence of England.

newspapers were favorable. Before the committee had time to put in a bill one was drafted by Supreme Court Justice Russell and introduced by R. H. Graham. The women filled the galleries at its second reading and it passed without opposition and was referred to the Law Amendments Committee, of which the Attorney General was chairman. It gave a public hearing and the women crowded the Assembly Chamber upstairs and downstairs and nine short speeches were made by women. The Premier and Attorney General said it was the best organized hearing and best presented case that had come before a House Committee in twenty-five years. The Bill was left with the committee with the assurance that it would be well cared for—and then it was postponed indefinitely! The excuse was that there had been no demand from the country districts! By another year, however, it was too late for such tactics and when Lieutenant Governor McCallum Grant opened the Legislature with the speech from the throne on Feb. 21, 1918, he announced that the electoral franchise would be given to women. The amended Franchise Act went through the Lower House without opposition; had its second reading in the Senate April 29 and the third May 3, and received the royal assent May 23. This added the State suffrage to the Federal, which had been conferred the preceding month.

Widows and spinsters in the Province of Quebec had Municipal and School suffrage from 1892. In 1903 in the city council of Montreal an amendment to the charter was moved to take it away. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union held several large public meetings to oppose such action addressed by prominent men. The press published articles and letters of protest and it was voted down. In 1910 the first suffrage society was formed in Montreal with Mrs. Bullock president. In 1914 a deputation of Montreal women presented a petition to the Premier, Sir Lorner Guoin, asking that women might sit on school boards and that the Municipal franchise be extended to married women. No action was taken. After the Federal Suffrage was granted in 1918 by the Dominion Parliament, which included the women of Quebec, a bill was introduced in its Legislature to grant them the Provincial franchise, which was voted down. Similar bills were defeated in 1918 and 1920 and Quebec remains the only Province in

Canada where women do not possess the State franchise in addition to the National.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND.

When the Provinces of Canada united in a Confederation Newfoundland was the only one that declined to enter it and remained independent. Therefore, when the Dominion suffrage was conferred by the Parliament in 1918 it did not include the women of this island. This was keenly felt by many of them and they made efforts to have its Legislature grant them the Provincial franchise but without success. In 1921 the Woman Suffrage League determined to make an organized effort and collected a petition of 10,000 names, representing every district, and presented it to the Legislature. From the first the Premier, Sir Richard Anderson Squires, was hostile and this was the case with most of the Cabinet, but Minister of Marine Coaker showed a friendly spirit; Minister of Justice Warren introduced the bill and Mr. Jennings, chairman of the Board of Public Works, agreed to bring it up for action. After the sending of many deputations to the Executive Members of the Government the women were astonished at being told one day that these members had held a meeting and it had been arranged that the Premier himself should introduce the bill as a Government measure. Seven went with Mr. Jennings by pre-arrangement to the Premier's office and meeting Mr. Coaker he said: "Your bill goes through all right, the Premier has his orders." Some provisions had been attached to the bill—non-eligibility to office, no voting power until the next general election and an age limit of 30 years. The Premier promised to have the Government reduce this to 25 and they were compelled to agree. Then he impressed upon them that the bill would go through as a Government measure, declaring: "I will pass it this session, whether the House closes in one month or three—what I say goes!"

Some time afterwards the women read in an account of the House proceedings that the Premier had said in answer to a question that the bill was not a Government measure. An official letter was at once sent from the Woman Suffrage League, reminding him of his promise, to which he made no answer.

They obtained an interview with him at which he treated them very discourteously and denied all responsibility for the bill after its second reading. They could get no satisfaction from any member of the Government. The bill was not reported from the committee for weeks and when at last brought before the House in August it was turned over to a Select Committee of five, three of them pronounced anti-suffragists, and was not heard of again.

#### SOUTH AFRICA.

At the present time South Africa has the distinction of being the only English-speaking nation that has not enfranchised its women. There seems to have been some agitation for a vote by the Boer women in early days but a "movement" for it was definitely begun in 1895, when at the annual conference of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Cape Colony at Kimberley, woman suffrage was made one of their official departments of work. In 1902 a Woman's Enfranchisement League was formed in Durban, Natal, and in a few years one in Cape Town, Cape Colony, followed by others in seven or eight towns. In 1904 M. L. Neithling moved in the Legislative Council of Cape Colony a resolution to enfranchise widows and spinsters with the required property and educational qualifications, which was discussed but not voted on. In 1907 Dr. Viljoen presented one to extend the suffrage to women on the same terms as to men. The division showed 24 in favor of it, twelve from each party.

In 1909 the Enfranchisement Leagues of Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria united in sending four delegates to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance meeting in London. This year representatives of Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State met in a national convention to prepare a constitution for the Union of South Africa and the suffrage leagues sent a numerously signed petition asking that it include the franchise of women. This was rejected and they were told to "await a more convenient season." The women were much aroused and early in 1910 the Women's Citizen Club of Cape Town and the Women's Reform Club of Johannesburg were formed. In the summer of 1911 Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt,

president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, accompanied by Dr. Aletta Jacobs, president of the National Association of The Netherlands, made a tour of 4,000 miles in South Africa, remaining 76 days. They were present when the delegates from eleven suffrage societies met and organized the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa and it soon had twenty-two branches. The visits of the international president with the suffragists of the different localities gave them much courage and inspiration and thenceforth she was in close touch with them, conferring and advising.

The new association presented a monster petition to the Parliament in 1912 and Mr. Andrews of the Transvaal introduced a woman suffrage bill, which after two days' debate was defeated by 70 to 30 votes. In 1914 Mr. Wyndham's bill did not reach a vote. In 1917 Mr. Rockey's was defeated by 63 to 28. In 1918 a woman suffrage clause in the new Electoral Bill was defeated by 54 to 39. All this time the splendid service and sacrifice of the women during the long years of the war was being lauded, while St. Paul's definition of their "sphere" was being quoted as a reason for not giving them the suffrage.

In January, 1919, a conference took place in Cape Town and it was decided that the three suffrage associations unite immediately and form a standing committee of their parliamentary secretaries through which intensive work could be done with the Parliament. On April 1 Mr. Wyndham introduced the following motion: "In the opinion of this House the sex qualification for the exercise of the parliamentary franchise should be removed." It simply affirmed the principle but was strenuously debated without regard to party lines and finally carried by a vote of 44 to 42. No further action was taken. Mrs. Laura Ruxton, parliamentary secretary, attended the convention of the Government Party to present the question, addressed it and the resolution to put a woman suffrage plank in the platform was carried by 72 to 58. The Unionist, Labor and South African parties accepted it, the Nationalist Party alone refusing it. At a banquet in Bloemfontaine Premier Botha appealed to the Parliament, saying that in view of the great services of women during the war the men would be compelled to give them the franchise. He died soon



afterwards and petitions from the most representative citizens then began to pour in upon his successor, General Smuts.

In 1920 Daniel McLaren Brown presented a resolution that in the opinion of this House the time has arrived when the right of voting for members of Parliament and the Provincial Councils should be extended to women. After a two days' debate it passed on May 3 by 66 ayes, 39 noes, a majority of 27 as against two a year before. Mr. Brown then introduced a bill conferring this right. A deputation of 500 women carried an immense petition for it to the Parliament and it passed first reading by 66 to 47. Although Premier Smuts had supported it as "a great and necessary reform" and promised it every chance he declined to make it a Government measure or give any facilities for second reading. Mr. Brown and his House Committee and the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Mullineux, worked valiantly for the bill but it got no further, although eight of the Cabinet ministers were in favor of it and the Government Party had endorsed it. It is the almost insurmountable objection to the colored vote which is the chief factor in preventing women's enfranchisement.

The Parliament of Rhodesia gave full State suffrage to women in April, 1919, and that of the British East African Protectorate in July, 1919. In both this carried eligibility to office and a woman was elected to the Parliament of Rhodesia in 1920. In several of the States women have the Municipal franchise and have been elected to the city council.

#### INDIA.

There has been remarkable progress in the enfranchisement of women in India, although it has been for the most part since 1920, with which this volume of the History closes. The Women's Indian Association ranks with other women's organizations in the British Dominions and has branches throughout the country. There are many political reform organizations and almost without exception they are willing to include women in any rights obtained. Increased opportunities for their education have been opened and there are hundreds of women university graduates. In several cities the limited municipal vote that men have is shared by women and they are eligible to the council. In 1917

Great Britain announced that self-government would be given to the people of India and the Women's Indian Association and other agencies began a strenuous campaign to have women included. In 1918 the Women's Indian Association had suffrage resolutions introduced in many provincial conferences and national congresses of men and they were usually passed by large majorities. The British Parliament sent a committee to India to collect evidence as to the amount of franchise that should be included in the proposed Government Bill and distinguished men and women appeared before it in behalf of women, among them Mrs. Annie Besant, president of the National Home Rule League of India, which was strongly in favor of woman suffrage. Contrary to all the evidence the committee reported against it. Mass meetings of women in India were held in protest. In 1919 eminent women and men were sent to London to present the case to Parliament. They were cordially greeted by the British suffragists and given every possible assistance. A petition was sent to the Government of India Committee by the Women Citizen's Union of the British Dominions, where in all but South Africa women were now fully enfranchised.

All were in vain and woman suffrage was not included in the India Reform Bill but the question was left to the decision of the governing bodies that had been created. The women then had to begin campaigns throughout India, mass meetings, petitions, even processions and lobbying. In May, 1921, the Madras Presidency, one of the largest divisions of the country, gave the complete franchise to women and it was followed soon afterwards by the great Bombay Presidency, whose Legislative Council voted for it by 52 to 25, and by that of Burmah. Each State has its Legislative Council and a number of these have given the vote to women. The movement is active for it throughout India.

## CHAPTER LIII.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN MANY COUNTRIES.

When Volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage was written in 1900 four pages contained all the information that could be obtained in regard to woman suffrage outside of the United States and Great Britain and her colonies. At the time the first International Council of Women was held in Washington, in 1888, under the auspices of the National Woman Suffrage Association of the United States, Great Britain was the only other country that had an organization for this purpose. At the writing of the present volume in 1920 there are comparatively few countries in the world having a constitutional form of government where women are not enfranchised. The only two of influence in Europe are France and Italy; the others are Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey. Women do not vote in Oriental countries. This is also true of Mexico, Central and South America.

#### FINLAND.<sup>1</sup>

The first country in Europe to give equal suffrage to women was Finland in 1906, when it was a Grand Duchy of Russia with its own Diet or Parliament, whose bills required the sanction of the Czar to become laws. Girls were admitted to the full privileges of the university in 1878 and in the student organization they were on a footing of perfect equality. Important positions and even places in the civic administration were open to women. As early as 1863 the Diet gave the local or Municipal vote to taxpaying women in the country and in 1872 to those in the towns, but not eligibility to office. In 1897 the Finnish Women's Association presented a petition to the Diet for full

<sup>1</sup> The History is indebted for the material in this division to Miss Annie Furuhjelm of Helsingfors, member of Parliament, vice-president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and president of the Woman's Alliance Union of Finland formed in 1892.

suffrage, which did not reach second reading. Its president, Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg, had attended the World's Congress of Women during the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and become intimately acquainted with Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. May Wright Sewall and other noted suffragists in the United States. In 1899 the sword of Russia descended, the constitution of Finland was wrecked and her autonomy, religion, customs, language, everything sacred was threatened.

The real movement for the full enfranchisement of women began in 1904, when bills were introduced in the Diet. In the autumn the president of the Woman's Alliance Union, Miss Annie Furuhjelm, returned from the inspiration of the great International Council of Women in Berlin and the forming of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. With the political oppression now existing the women were feeling a strong desire to share in the responsibility for the fate of the country. Under the auspices of the Union the first public meeting for woman suffrage was held in Helsingfors on November 7, attended by more than a thousand women of all classes and all parties. Resolutions were passed that the complete suffrage should be extended to every citizen and a petition demanding it should be sent to the Diet. For the first time the Union included eligibility to office in its demands. Forty-seven addresses of sympathy signed by hundreds of women were received from different parts of the country. From this time the Union devoted all its energies to the movement for the franchise.

In another year the Russo-Japanese War was over and Russia was in the midst of a revolution. In October, 1905, the long pent-up forces of Finland broke the barriers and a "national strike" was inaugurated. Women were members of the central committee elected at a mass meeting to manage it. Those in the highest ranks of society had for the past year been members of a secret organization extending over the country raising funds, smuggling literature and daily risking their lives. For five days not a wheel turned and no work was done except under the most urgent necessity. There was perfect order and at intervals deputations of men and women went to the Russian Governor General in Helsingfors asking for the restoration of Finnish

autonomy. At last the Government at St. Petersburg yielded, as all its forces were required in Russia. Meetings of women were then held in all parts of the country to elect delegates to another mass meeting in Helsingfors on December 7, where amid great enthusiasm a resolution was carried demanding full suffrage and eligibility for every citizen twenty-four years old.

On May 28, 1906, this reform was passed by the Diet without objection. It was taken to the Czar by the eminent Senator Mechelin, who assured him that the nation demanded it, and he gave his assent. The Diet consisted of four chambers—nobles, clergy, burghers (taxpayers in towns and cities) and peasants who were landowners. It was now reorganized in a single chamber of 200 members. The first election took place March 15, 16, 1907, and 19 women were chosen, among them the Baroness Gripenberg by the Old Finnish Party. Miss Furuhjelm belongs to the comparatively small National Swedish Party, which elects few candidates. She was elected in 1913 and has been continuously re-elected. Following are the numbers of women members of Parliament: 1907—19; 1908—25; 1909—21; 1910—17; 1911—14; 1913—21; 1916—24; 1917—18; 1919—17. From the beginning the women members have introduced bills for much needed reforms, for the care of children, protection of wives and mothers, benefit of working women and many for social welfare. While the Czar was in power these were all vetoed. Since then, with their small number and the great questions that have pressed upon the Parliament, they have found it difficult to secure domestic legislation but they have united with the men in passing many bills of a political nature.

In 1917 a law gave to every man and woman 21 years old Municipal suffrage, without paying taxes, and eligibility to office and a number of women have been elected to city and rural councils. The Czar had hitherto vetoed this bill. In 1919, after a period of the greatest strife and sorrow, caused by the World War, Finland severed all connection with Russia and became an independent republic. In a new constitution adopted at this time the word "citizen" was used instead of "man" and all legal disqualifications of women were removed. Both the men and women of Finland at last are free.

## NORWAY.

The second country and the first independent Government in Europe to enfranchise women was Norway. With characteristic caution and conservatism this was done by degrees, beginning with the Municipal vote for taxpayers, followed by the complete franchise, and then the removal of the taxpaying qualification for the former and at last for the full suffrage. The president of the National Association through all the years has been Mrs. F. M. Qvam of Stenkjaer, county of N. Trondhjem, to whom the women have given undivided allegiance. The History is indebted to Mrs. Qvam for most of the following information. In sending it she wrote: "The last twenty years are like an Adventure of a Thousand Nights for suffragists. What was sown and seemed lost has sprouted and brought the greatest victories around the world. May women now be able to do at least a little of the good that the workers for the suffrage have dreamt that it would bring to the nations." Its results in Norway certainly have realized that dream, as they have effected many beneficial changes in the laws.

The first demand for woman suffrage at a public meeting, so far as known, was made in 1869 by Mr. Qvam, a barrister. The pioneer of the organized movement was Miss Gina Krog, who, after having written and lectured on the subject for years, founded the Christiania Woman Suffrage Union in 1885. She was moved to do this by reading the early volumes of the History of Woman Suffrage, published about this time and sent by Miss Susan B. Anthony to the university at Christiania. Miss Krog edited *Nylande*, a monthly devoted to the interests of women, and continued as president twelve years. She was succeeded by Miss Rogstad. In 1886 bills were presented to the Parliament in connection with an extension of the male suffrage. In 1888 the first large public meeting was held. These were continued, petitions were collected, bills were presented at every session, one in 1893 receiving a majority but not the necessary two-thirds. Women from other parts of the country became interested and on Feb. 12, 1898, the National Woman Suffrage Association was organized; Mrs. Qvam was elected president.

The association is still doing a vast amount of work in the interest of women and children. There was never an active working membership in the association of more than 2,500 but whenever petitions were needed for an advanced step the signatures poured in by the thousands and the Executive Committee was always assured of a large support. In 1899 the names signed to a petition for equal suffrage numbered 12,000.

As the grant of universal suffrage to men had been made only the preceding year it was too much to expect it for women at once but through the assistance of Liberals and Radicals with the help of many Conservative members, and the efforts of women themselves, the Municipal suffrage was given by the Parliament in May, 1901, to the following: All who pay taxes to State or Municipality on an income of 400 kroner in the towns and 300 (about \$71) in the country districts, or have complete or partial joint property with a husband who pays such tax. The amount was so small that a considerable proportion received this vote. It carried eligibility to the municipal councils and this year 98 women were elected and 160 "substitutes." The National Executive Committee conducted an active campaign of literature and lectures to rouse the women to exercise their new privilege, and it continued to ask for the full suffrage. In 1905 the momentous question arose of separation from Sweden. The women made every effort to be permitted to vote in the referendum but in vain. The National Suffrage Association then undertook the task of obtaining the personal signatures of women to a petition in favor of separation and on August 22 the Executive Committee presented it with an address to the president of the Storthing with the statement that it was signed by 300,000 women, a very large proportion of the adults. All the members arose in tribute to the women.

As a result of this action by the National Association its petition in 1906 was received with much sympathy. During the summer before the next Storthing was to be elected the Executive Committee carried on a most strenuous campaign. The president and other members went to the political meetings of all parties to secure endorsement. They called attention to the granting of universal suffrage to women by the Parliament of Finland

in May of that year. The fifty branches throughout the country held meetings and sent appeals. In August, when the campaign was at its height, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance held a most successful congress in Copenhagen, which was enthusiastically commented on by the Danish press and that of Norway adopted an entirely different attitude from this time. The Lefts and the Socialists, who had put the plank in their platforms, elected a majority of the Storting but from January to June the women were in the greatest suspense and those in the different constituencies were working on their members. Finally on June 14, 1907, after only two hours' debate, the complete franchise with full eligibility was conferred on women by 96 to 23 votes, only 82 being needed.

This grant was made to the taxpaying women who had the Municipal franchise and it was then the work of the National Association to have it made universal. On June 7, 1910, it succeeded in having the taxpaying qualification removed for the Municipal suffrage, and on June 11, 1913, a paragraph was added to the constitution which provided that "all men and women 25 years of age, who have been domiciled in Norway five years shall be entitled to the complete franchise and eligibility." Over half the total number of voters are women. Women may be Premier, State officers, Judges, magistrates, sheriffs, professors in the university, even the theological department, and are eligible to all public offices with equal pay. The constitutional arrangement for electing members of Parliament has been an obstacle to the election of women but it has now been remedied. Five had been elected as "substitutes" or "proxies" to take the place of absent members. Hundreds have been elected to city councils and to juries, which are elected for fixed periods. The only positions from which they are excluded are those of a military character, the Cabinet, the diplomatic corps, the clergy and officials of the State church.

#### DENMARK.

Although Danish women had long had the highest educational advantages and considerable freedom under the laws they had no suffrage up to the time the International Woman Suffrage



Alliance held its congress in Copenhagen in 1906. The following women had gone to the meeting in Berlin in 1904 when this Alliance was organized: Mrs. Johanne Münter, Mrs. Charlotte Norrie, Mrs. Vibetha Salicath, Mrs. Charlotte Eilersgaard, Misses Rasmussen, Eline Hansen and Anna Hude. They reported its proceedings to the Woman Suffrage Association of Denmark, formed in 1899, of which Mrs. Louise Norlund was president, and it then affiliated with the Alliance and invited it to hold its next congress in Copenhagen. At the time it met this association comprised fourteen societies and they had worked chiefly for the Municipal franchise. In 1906 the Kvindesamfund, organized in 1871 to work for the general cause of women and advocating the franchise, adopted as part of its regular program Municipal and full suffrage and joined the Woman Suffrage Association. As early as 1888 it had presented to the Rigsdag a petition by women all over the country asking the Municipal franchise for single women, which the Lower House was willing to grant but the Upper House ignored. The interest died out for awhile but in 1904 and 1905 the Lower House again favored this limited grant and in the winter of 1906 both Houses received delegates from the society but no action was taken.

The congress of the Alliance in 1906, which lasted over a week, was a revelation of the size and strength of the movement for woman suffrage and the great ability of women. It was cordially recognized by the press and people and a great impetus was given to the work in Denmark. That year a liberal Rigsdag was elected and a suffrage campaign was made by the association. In 1907 the Parliament gave a vote to women for public boards and the right to be elected to them and the Upper House abandoned its opposition to enfranchising married women. A strong movement was developed among women and many new suffrage societies were formed. On April 20, 1908, the Parliament gave to single women who pay taxes and to married women whose husbands are taxpayers the Municipal franchise and eligibility. This was a beginning and the Suffrage Association distributed 18,000 circulars to women in Copenhagen before the elections the following March urging them to go to the polls. Seventy per

cent. of those entitled to vote did so and seven were elected to the city council. In all districts 127 were elected.

There was a growing demand for a revision of the constitution and in October the association sent in a petition that this should include the complete enfranchisement of women. There was at this time national agitation for election reforms, for direct election of the Upper House, for lowering the voting age from 30 to 25, and this went in with the other demands. By 1911 the National Association had 144 sections with 12,000 members and maintained a press bureau, supplying 60 papers. Another association, the Landsforbundet, had 100 branches and 11,000 members, and published a paper, and there were many outside groups. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Suffrage Alliance, stopped in Copenhagen on her way to its congress in Stockholm in June and addressed a mass meeting under the auspices of the two large associations.

With all parties in favor of giving the full suffrage to women and public sentiment favoring it the bill was caught in the maelstrom of agitation for a revised or new constitution and the Rigsdag refused to consider it separately. Finally the bill for a new constitution including woman suffrage passed the Lower House by a vote of 95 to 12. It was sent to the Upper House, referred to a committee and there it remained while the controversy raged over the constitution. This was still the situation when the World War broke out in 1914 and it was April, 1915, before an entire new constitution passed both Houses by an enormous majority. It provided for universal suffrage with eligibility for men and women, no taxpaying qualifications, the age to be 29 with gradual reduction to 25. A general election at once took place on this issue, the new Rigsdag immediately adopted the constitution the required second time and on June 5 it was signed by the King. The women voted for the first time at a general election in 1918 and nine, representing all parties, were elected to the Rigsdag, five to the Upper and four to the Lower House. They voted a second time in 1920 and eleven were elected. They have obtained laws for equal pay, the opening of all positions to women and equal status in marriage.

## ICELAND.

Iceland was a dependency of Denmark with its own Parliament, the Althing. In 1881 a bill was passed, presented by Skuli Thorvoddson, a member and an editor, giving to widows and spinsters who were householders or maintained a family or were self-supporting, a vote for parish and town councils, district boards and vestries, at the age of 25, which became law in 1882. In 1895 the Woman's Alliance was formed and a petition of 3,000 women was collected and sent to the Althing asking it to consider suffrage for married women and increased property rights, which it ignored. In 1906 Mrs. Briet Asmundsson, the leader of the woman's movement, attended the congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen, and, returning to Reykjavik, the capital, organized in January, 1907, the Association for Women's Rights. In four months 12,000 signatures had been obtained to a petition for full suffrage for women and eligibility to all offices. Mr. Thorvoddson introduced the bill, which was not considered, but one was passed giving the Municipal franchise and eligibility to all women in the Reykjavik and one other district, which became law Jan. 1, 1908. The association carried on a vigorous campaign and four women were elected to the council of Reykjavik. Its president then made a two months' tour of the country and organized five branches. At all political meetings the women had resolutions presented for equal suffrage and eligibility, which were usually carried unanimously. On April 15 a law was passed extending Municipal suffrage and eligibility to all women.

In 1911 women were made eligible to all State offices, including those of the church, and a constitutional amendment was passed granting the complete franchise. It had to pass a second Althing and political questions arose which were all absorbing until 1914. Then the amendment passed but a compromise had to be made fixing the age for women at 40, to be lowered annually, under much protest, but Premier Eggers refused to submit it to the King of Denmark for his sanction. It had to wait until another took the office and finally was signed June 19, 1915, two weeks after the women of Denmark were fully enfranchised. In 1918 a

referendum was taken, in which women voted, on making Iceland an independent State having a personal union with Denmark and the same King, which resulted favorably. A new Althing was elected Nov. 15, 1919, and a new constitution adopted which gave to women full suffrage at 25, the same age as to men.

#### SWEDEN.

The story of Sweden is especially interesting as the women were the first in Europe to have the Municipal vote and among the last to have the Parliamentary. In 1862 widows and spinsters who had paid taxes had a vote for all officers except members of the Parliament. In 1909 they were made eligible for the offices. Later this franchise was enlarged to admit married women, and in 1918 it was made universal for men and women of 23 without taxpaying requirements. This chapter is indebted for much of the information in it to Mrs. Anna B. Wicksell, who was a delegate from Sweden to Berlin in 1904, when the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was formed and is now a vice-president. Mrs. Wicksell gained international fame when her Government appointed her a delegate to the League of Nations meeting at Geneva in 1920-21 and she was placed on the Mandates Commission.

The first bill to give women full suffrage and eligibility was presented in the Second Chamber by F. D. Borg, an enlightened member, in 1884 and ridiculed by Parliament and press. In 1902 Carl Lindhagen offered a bill calling on the Government to investigate the subject. The first organized movement among the women was the forming of a society in Stockholm this year and an address to Parliament with 5,641 signatures urging this bill. It was rejected by 111 to 64 in the Second Chamber (Lower House) and without a division in the First. In 1904 his bill, endorsed by 30 members, received 115 noes, 93 ayes and no vote in the First Chamber. In 1905, endorsed by 57, it had 89 noes, 30 ayes in the First Chamber and the Second rejected it by 109 to 88. The suffrage societies had multiplied and now there were 63.

A National Suffrage Association was formed in 1904, which still exists. It carried on the work for seventeen years, under the

presidency of Miss Anna Whitlock, Dr. Lydia Wahlstrom, Miss Signe Bergman and Dr. Karolina Widerström. When success finally crowned its efforts it had 240 branches and 15,000 members. With the great difficulties of securing names in this country of widely scattered people the petitions collected and sent to Parliament were remarkable, the last one in 1914 having 350,000 signatures. Among the women who were conspicuous in long and arduous service besides the presidents were Mrs. Ann M. Holmgren, Dr. Gulli Petrini, Mrs. Frigga Carlberg and Mrs. Gloria Hallberg. Miss Selma Lagerlöf assisted on great occasions. Men who for years were most valuable workers were Stockholm's burgomaster, Carl Lindhagen, and the three Prime Ministers, Karl Staaf, Nils Edén and Hjalmer Brantung. Two of the most conspicuous opponents were Mr. Lindeau and Mr. Trygger, through fear that the Social Democratic Party would gain.

The years 1905-1906 saw much advance, as the separation from Norway took place and the question of the enlargement of male suffrage was to the fore. The women made strenuous but unsuccessful efforts to have the Parliament include women but the bill for men was rejected. It did, however, by a majority even in the Upper House, order an investigation of woman suffrage where it existed. Societies were organized from the Sound to Lapland. King Oscar received a deputation and in answer to the address of Miss Gertrud Adelborg expressed his sympathy but said the Government could not endanger the desired suffrage for men. In 1907 a petition from 142,128 women was presented to the Parliament. The Labor Party made woman suffrage a part of their program, the Lindhagen group supported it, a number of bills were brought in but all was in vain. At a woman suffrage mass meeting in 1908 in Stockholm thousands were turned away. Meetings were held throughout the country. The Liberals and Social Democrats put woman suffrage in their programs. At the opening of Parliament the King's speech contained a few favorable words. Leading members conferred with the Executive Committee of the National Suffrage Association, with the result that it arranged a meeting at the Grand Hotel with many members of Parliament present, who were addressed by prominent women and seemed much impressed, but all suffrage bills were lost.

The well-organized suffragists then went actively into the campaign and worked to defeat their opponents. As a result a majority was elected to the Second Chamber in favor of giving the suffrage to women. A deputation of 35 was granted an audience by the new King, Gustav V, and he expressed the hope that the time was near when their claims could be regarded. In February, 1909, the Government's bill embodying universal suffrage for men finally passed both Chambers and it included eligibility to the municipal offices for the women who could vote for them, which the suffrage association had worked for. The next April the first woman suffrage bill was passed by the Second Chamber. In 1910 37 women were chosen for the councils in 34 towns, which partly elect the First Chamber.

The situation looked so favorable that the National Association invited the International Woman Suffrage Alliance to hold its congress in Stockholm in 1911 for the effect which this large and important body would have on public sentiment. After this had been arranged, the Swedish women learned to their disappointment and indignation that the Government did not propose to introduce a woman suffrage bill this year, as they wished first to see the effect of the new universal franchise law for men. Besides, the investigation of woman suffrage was not completed! A representative Men's League for Woman Suffrage was formed. A new Second Chamber was to be elected and as the suffrage bill would have to be acted upon by two Parliaments there would have to be a wait of several years. A bill was presented and passed the Lower House but all progressive legislation was blocked by the First Chamber. During the campaign the women worked vigorously for the election of Liberal and Social Democratic candidates, who had woman suffrage on their program, 29 women speaking on their party platforms at 217 meetings. They formed a large majority of the new Government and a Liberal Cabinet was formed. The First Chamber was dissolved and in the new one, instead of a negligible few, there were 64 Liberals and Social Democrats to 86 Conservatives. In his speech on opening the new Parliament in 1912 the King announced that he would present a bill giving to women suffrage and eligibility on the same conditions as possessed by men. On April 2 the Government

brought in this bill which was carried in the Lower House by 140 to 66; defeated in the Upper by 86 to 58. This year 64 women councillors were elected. The women strengthened their organization, added to their monster petitions, held their mass meetings and then in 1914 came the War!

In the flood-tide of democracy which resulted the existence of the kingdom itself was threatened. The First Chamber of nobles and landed proprietors was forced to abandon its conservatism. The Reform Bill proposed in December, 1918, at an extra session, abolished plural voting, gave universal Municipal suffrage, made women eligible to County Councils and provided for the Parliamentary franchise for them. At the session of 1919 the bill was laid before the Parliament and on May 24 it was passed by both Chambers without opposition. On the 29th great celebrations were held in Stockholm and other cities and at the old university town of Upsala the speakers were the Archbishop, Dr. Selma Lagerlöf and Prime Minister Brantung.

It was not all ended, however, for the measure had to pass a second Parliament, although this was a mere matter of form. The elections took place in the autumn of 1920. On Jan. 26, 1921, without debate, the law was sanctioned by the new Parliament and two days later it was promulgated by the King. It gives complete, universal suffrage to women. In September the election occurred in which women took part and five were elected to the Parliament, one of them to the First Chamber, which so many years stood between women and their political rights.

#### THE NETHERLANDS.

The story of woman suffrage in the Netherlands is one of intense, unceasing work for a quarter of a century. The old constitution did not specifically exclude women and in 1882 Dr. Aletta Jacobs, the first woman physician, who had been studying in England and met the suffrage leaders, applied to be registered for an election. This was refused and she carried the case through the highest court with a decision against her. It was in effect that by the letter of the law she was eligible but the spirit of the law intended to exclude women. In 1885 a new constitution was made which definitely excluded women but made a further

extension of the suffrage to men, who had not asked for it. It required a long, hard effort to organize for woman suffrage, as there was almost no sentiment for it, but on Feb. 5, 1894, the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht was formed of women in different places with Mrs. Versluys-Poelman, president. She held the office eight years and then Dr. Jacobs, who had been president of the Amsterdam branch during this time, was elected and served till the contest was finished in 1918. It is to Dr. Jacobs this chapter is indebted for the information it contains. This was the only association of a national character until 1908, when the Bond voor Vrouwenkiesrecht came into existence. When the work ended it had 80 branches and about 10,000 members. The former had 160 branches and over 25,000 members and reorganized in the Netherlands Society of Women Citizens to work for the legal and economic equality of women.

At first the press was hostile, all political parties were opposed except a small group of Constitutional Democrats and no member of Parliament would introduce the question. The work had to begin from the bottom with personal interviews with the members, watching the bills relating to women and children, showing the need of women's influence, etc. In 1904 Dr. Jacobs, Misses Johanna W. A. Naber and E. L. van Dorp, Mrs. von Loenen de Bordes, Mrs. Rutgers Hoitsema and Mrs. Hengeveld Garritson were present at the organization of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Berlin, as was Miss Martina Kramers, who was elected Secretary, and the Dutch national association became auxiliary. From that time it went into direct political work, in 1905 presenting to the Queen and the Prime Minister its request that in a proposed revision of the constitution the words men and women be used after citizens. The Commission that drafted it in 1907 recommended suffrage and eligibility for women. The association, expecting a campaign, had invited the International Alliance to hold its congress in Amsterdam in June, 1908. It proved to be one of the most brilliant and successful ever held and was enthusiastically received by the press and the public. An active Men's League for Woman Suffrage was formed.

From that time the question of woman suffrage was on a constantly rising tide. A liberal Parliament had been elected and it



was to consider giving the vote to women. Appeals were made through the members from the fifty branches of the association and through public meetings and much outdoor propoganda was carried on in little boats. There was no cessation of the work and as a result leaders of the four political parties declared themselves in the Parliament in favor of the enfranchisement of women, but in 1909 a Conservative Government was elected and the revision was withdrawn. This year the Lutheran and Mennonite churches gave women a vote on all matters. In 1913 the Cabinet announced its own revision of the constitution. Early in 1914 the association memorialized the Premier and the Queen, sent letters to all the electors and carried on the most strenuous work. Its meetings in every town and city were crowded and in a short time a petition signed by 165,000 women was presented to the Parliament. Then the War broke forth and everything was at a standstill.

In 1915 the suffragists were roused by the announcement that the constitution would positively be revised. In June they held a big demonstration in Amsterdam, in which trade unions and political parties participated. It was evident that the country was back of the demand for woman suffrage. Although street processions were forbidden, the burgomaster, a suffragist, allowed it. In The Hague a large one took place in September, when the Parliament opened, the burgomaster yielding to the entreaties of the women that if the Government was going to bring in a new constitution in the midst of the War, which so much concerned women, they should be allowed to express themselves. It was preceded by an immense meeting and a resolution calling for woman suffrage was passed; thousands of women massed in front of the Parliament House and Dr. Jacobs and a deputation carried it in to the Speaker, who promised to do all in his power for them. During all the weeks while the discussion raged the members had to pass through two rows of silent women wearing broad sashes with the name of the association on them. Women filled the seats inside and the Speaker offered his private box to Dr. Jacobs and her friends. Prime Minister Cort van Linden threatened that if a vote were permitted on woman suffrage he would withdraw the whole constitution. The members of Parlia-

ment were so afraid they would lose universal male suffrage that they gave up this amendment and the constitution was adopted without it. It did, however, make the valuable concession that it should be possible for the Parliament to grant the suffrage to women at any time without submitting it to the voters as part of the constitution. It also contained the remarkable provision that women should be eligible to election to the Parliament and all representative bodies, although they had not a scrap of suffrage.

The exclusion of women was received with the disapproval of the country and in the election campaign of 1918 the demand of all the non-clerical parties was for woman suffrage. At the opening of Parliament H. P. Marchant, leader of the Constitutional Democrats, introduced a bill for the complete enfranchisement of women. Early in November, 1918, all Europe was alarmed by the revolution in Russia and The Netherlands was threatened. There was a demand for woman suffrage at once as a deterrent. The Government agreed and took up Mr. Marchant's bill but the danger passed and nothing was done. By February, 1919, the suffragists were obliged to hold another mass meeting and demonstration at The Hague and assure the Government that they would rouse the country. The Speaker then brought in the bill, which was discussed in April, and on May 9 universal suffrage for women on the same terms as possessed by men was accepted by a vote of 64 to 10 by the Second Chamber. The following July it passed the First Chamber with five dissenting votes and was signed by the Queen on September 8.

In 1918 a woman had been elected to the Second Chamber and in 1920 one was elected to the First Chamber, and there were 36 on County Councils and 88 on Municipal councils, chosen by men before women had yet voted.

#### BELGIUM.

On November 23, 1918, five days after the armistice which ended the World War the National Federation for Woman Suffrage in Belgium resumed its activities with an open letter to the Labor Party, referring to their manifesto for universal suffrage and reminding them that this included women. A little later it addressed an appeal to the newly established Government

and started a petition. In the midst of the war King Albert and Queen Elizabeth had expressed themselves in favor of the enfranchisement of women but when he opened the first Parliament after it was over he recommended only equal, universal suffrage for men. Notwithstanding the unfavorable conditions the petition soon had 35,000 signatures and was sent to the Parliament. By midwinter of 1919 the question was one of heated controversy among the parties, which continued. By April the petition had reached 175,000. The Catholics favored woman suffrage, the Liberals and Socialists opposed it, fearing the influence of the church. To avoid a dissolution of the Parliament a compromise was finally effected by which the parliamentary vote was given to "all widows of soldiers and civilians killed by the enemy, or, where there is no widow, to the mother"; and to "all women condemned or imprisoned for patriotic acts during the enemy occupation." This enfranchised about 30,000 women and was only to be in effect until a Constituent Assembly should be elected which would revise the electoral law.

Meanwhile a bill for the Municipal or Communal franchise for women was introduced. Plural voting for men was abolished; a general election took place November 16 and the new Parliament met in December. The necessary two-thirds vote for the Parliamentary suffrage for women seemed impossible but the three parties were virtually pledged to give the Municipal. After three months of controversy and suspense this Communal franchise was granted in the Chamber of Deputies on March 3, 1920, to all women 21 years of age, by vote of 120 to 37. All the Catholics voted in favor; all the Liberals but two against it—Burgomaster Max and Paul Hymans, Minister of Foreign Affairs; the Socialist vote was divided, 45 of the 56 in favor. It was accepted in the Senate April 14 by 60 to 33.

The commission on revising the constitution refused by 11 to 9 votes to include the Parliamentary franchise for women but recommended unanimously their eligibility to sit in both chambers. This was accepted in June by the Deputies by 142 to 10 votes. On July 1 they rejected by a vote of 89 to 74 a bill giving the complete suffrage to women. On July 28 they voted by a large

majority for a clause that any future Parliament might do this by a two-thirds vote without a revision of the constitution.

#### LUXEMBURG.

Under the Treaty of Peace after the war Luxemburg became an independent government with its own Parliament. There was a temporary Constituent Assembly and on May 8, 1919, without even an effort by women, this body adopted universal suffrage, without distinction of sex, by a vote of 39 to 11. All inhabitants 21 years of age are electors and after 25 are eligible for the Parliament and Communal Councils. On September 28 men and women voted on the country's future form of government and decided by a four-fifths vote to have an independent monarchy with an elected Parliament. A month later the elections for it took place. One of the two women candidates was elected.

#### RUSSIA.

It would be difficult to relate the story of woman suffrage in Russia. In the villages and among the peasants women had long voted at the local elections either as proxies of the husband or by right of owning property, and among the nobility and wealthy classes they could vote through male proxies. There was little national suffrage even among men and the Revolution after the Russo-Japanese war was a struggle for representation. In March, 1905, a Russian Union of Defenders of Women's Rights was started in Moscow and spread among different classes throughout Russia. It became a part of the general movement for liberty, was well organized and its demands were many but the first one was for a Constituent Assembly elected by universal, secret ballot. It united with the great political Union of Unions, which officially recognized the equal rights of women in all respects in July, 1905, and before the end of the year this had been done by many municipalities.

Everything was stopped by the Revolution and that was followed by the establishment of the Douma. All that women hoped for from it was wrecked when it was dissolved. Their Union at this time had 79 branches and 10,000 members and had collected

and used \$50,000 for its work. The struggle was continued but two years later not 1,000 members could be found. In December, 1908, the first Women's Congress in Russia was held in St. Petersburg, welcomed by the Mayor and addressed by members of Parliament and eminent women, and was favorably received. Many women's societies were formed but worked under great difficulties. Woman suffrage bills came before the Douma and it passed one giving the Municipal franchise, after striking out eligibility, but the Czar did not sign it. A bill for adult suffrage was taken up and Professor Miliukov made a brilliant plea for enfranchising women but it was not passed and the suffrage had not been granted to women at the beginning of the war in 1914.

In the second revolution in 1917 women took practically the same part as men and in the Provisional Government which was the result there was no question as to their equal rights in suffrage and office holding. They were elected to the City Council of St. Petersburg and put on all public committees. Then came the counter revolution and chaos. From the beginning of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1904 Russian delegates, women of great ability, had come to its congresses with their reports but at the first meeting after the war, in Geneva in 1920, there was no word. When Russia eventually secures a stable government it probably will make no distinction between the political rights of men and women.

#### GERMANY.

When the International Woman Suffrage Alliance met in Budapest in June, 1913, delegates were present from affiliated societies in twenty-one countries; national associations from several had applied for admission and committees had been formed in several others. Over a hundred fraternal delegates were sent from organizations in twelve countries having woman suffrage as one of their objects or as the only one. In every direction the prospect looked encouraging and then one year later the great War burst upon the world! The first thought of the suffrage leaders was that the work of years had been swept away and after the War it would have to be commenced again. They did not dream that as

a result of the War would come victories for equal suffrage that it would have required many years to win. These victories began with the enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain and Ireland in February, 1918, as described in another chapter, the direct result of the War. On the Continent woman suffrage came first where it had been least expected—in Germany and Austro-Hungary. In some of the German States women landowners could vote by male proxies. Each of the 22 States had its own King and Parliament and made its own laws and all men of 25 could vote for the Reichstag or Lower House of the Imperial Parliament but this privilege was largely nullified by a system of plural voting. In Prussia and Bavaria, the two largest States, women were not allowed to attend political meetings or form political organizations, and those for suffrage came under this head. The first attempt to form a suffrage society was made in Hamburg, one of the three "free cities," in 1901 and it was followed by others in the other two "free cities," Frankfort and Bremen, and in the southern States, where these restrictions did not exist. In 1902 these societies were united in a National Association, of which Dr. Anita Augspurg was president. Its members kept up an agitation for the Municipal vote, carrying the question into the courts, and they also petitioned the Reichstag for the full suffrage.

The International Council of Women met in Berlin in 1904, the largest meeting of women ever held in any country, and the organizing at this time of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance aroused universal interest. In the election of the new Reichstag in 1906 the suffrage societies took an active part and in 1907 it repealed the old law forbidding women to attend political meetings and form political associations, the new law going into effect in May, 1908. The suffragists celebrated with an immense meeting in Frankfort, addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Annie Kenney of England, who roused great enthusiasm. Suffrage associations were then organized in the various States, which began to work with their own Parliaments. Through lectures, literature and organizing the effort was continued, the women joining and working with the political parties, especially the Social Democratic, which espoused their cause. In 1912 forty

petitions for the Municipal suffrage in Prussia were presented to its Diet by women. A Woman's Congress was held in Munich and for the first time in Germany a procession of women marched through the streets. In 1911 differences in questions of policy which had been increasing had resulted in the forming of a second National Association. The two united in 1916 under the presidency of Mrs. Marie Stritt, former president of the National Council of Women of Germany and secretary of the International Alliance. In March, 1918, Mrs. Stritt wrote to the *International Suffrage News*: "We German women have at present no reason to rejoice over the progress of our cause but we have followed with all the greater joy the unexpected success of our sisters in other countries."

In 1920 Mrs. Stritt, now a member of the city council in Dresden, wrote for this History as follows: "Although throughout the more than four years of war the women worked eagerly for the suffrage through their organizations, demanding it in public meetings and petitioning legislative bodies, they did not get it by their own efforts but by the Revolution in November, 1918, at the end of the war. In August, 1919, their rights were confirmed unanimously by all parties in the new constitution. They received the suffrage and eligibility for the Reichstag, and for the Parliaments of the States and local bodies—universal, equal, direct and secret and applied exactly on the same terms as to men. Women are by the constitution eligible to all State and Government offices. In the first elections, in January, 1920, 39 were elected to the National Assembly, 117 to the State Parliaments in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, etc., and 1,400 to local bodies. Twenty were elected to the Diet of Prussia."

Dr. Alice Salamon, of Berlin, secretary of the International Council of Women, wrote: "From the first day of the Revolution, when suffrage was proclaimed for all men and women from the age of 20, it was accepted as the most natural thing in the world. It was neither questioned nor opposed by any political or professional groups. All political parties resolutely accepted woman suffrage as a fact and issued electoral platforms in which they declared themselves for the full partnership of women in political life."

In the autumn of 1919 the National Union for Woman Suffrage held a convention in Erfurt and by unanimous vote dissolved, considering that its work had been accomplished. The members then devoted their efforts to abolishing the many legal, civil and social discriminations against women.

#### AUSTRIA.

The situation in Austria was much the same as in Germany except that from a very early date women taxpayers had some small franchise rights, but in 1906, when by a peaceful revolution men secured universal suffrage for themselves, the new constitution took even those away from women which they had. Although large numbers of women had stood shoulder to shoulder with the Progressives and Social Democrats in their struggle for suffrage, when the latter succeeded in getting control of both branches of the Parliament they refused to grant any voting rights to women. The Austrian Government had never allowed women to attend political meetings or form suffrage societies. It was not until 1905 that they dared even to form a Woman Suffrage Committee and while the men were demanding their own rights it sent a petition to the Parliament that these should be granted to women also. In 1907, after the new régime was under way, they sent another petition signed by 4,000 men and women asking for the repeal of the above obnoxious law. It was refused and the Supreme Court sustained the refusal.

The women did not relax their efforts. Mass meetings were held in Vienna and the provincial capitals under the auspices of the Woman Suffrage Committee and other committees were formed. They published a monthly paper and many of the newspapers took up their cause. In 1910 they sent a deputation to the Premier and Minister of Internal Affairs, which was sympathetically received, and the latter said that not only ought the law to be repealed but women should have the Municipal franchise. A Socialist Deputy brought the matter of the law before the Constitutional Committee, which reported it to the Chamber, where the sentiment was almost unanimous for its repeal. It went to the Upper House but before it could be sanctioned the Parliament



was dissolved. In the autumn of 1913 a new Law of Assemblies was passed from which the section so bitterly opposed was omitted and in fact the women had been defying it. They began at once a nation-wide suffrage organization, which affiliated with the International Alliance. The next year the country was immersed in a World War which continued over four years. At the end of it the Government passed into the hands of the people. The new constitution provided that all women over 20 should have full suffrage and eligibility to all offices, national and State, on the same terms as men. For the first elections the following February the Austrian Union of Suffrage Societies and the National Council of Women worked together and it was estimated that 2,000,000 women voted; eight were elected to the National Constituent Assembly, twelve to the city council of Vienna and 126 to other municipal councils.

#### HUNGARY.

Women were not prohibited from political activities in Hungary as in Austria and when the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was formed in Berlin in 1904 Rosika Schwimmer came from Budapest with a report that in 1900 Francis Kossuth and Louis Hentaller were advocating woman suffrage in the Parliament and in 1903 women were working with men for political reforms. By 1905 a Woman Suffrage Association was formed, auxiliary to the International, mass meetings were held and petitions were sent to the Parliament. In 1906 Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the international president, and Dr. Aletta Jacobs, president of the Netherlands National Association, visited Budapest and addressed enthusiastic meetings. Later Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg of Finland and Mrs. Dora Montefiore of England did the same. Strenuous agitation was kept up, meetings, processions, demonstrations, and half a million leaflets were distributed. The Government was to discuss a Reform Bill in 1908 and a determined effort was made to keep the women out of the House of Parliament as spectators. Mrs. Catt paid another visit that year and gave ten lectures in eight cities. Eloquent women speakers went to the aid of the Hungarian women from Berlin, Munich, Berne, Turin and Rotterdam. In 1910 the conservative National Council of Women added a woman suffrage committee

and a Men's League for Woman Suffrage of representative men was formed. There were suffrage societies in 87 cities and towns composed of all classes. The women were badly treated by all political parties and excluded from their meetings, the Radicals and Social Democrats being their strongest opponents. The struggle continued with sometimes a favorable and sometimes an unfavorable Government and always the contest by men for their own universal suffrage.

In 1913, through the remarkable efforts of Rosika Schwimmer, the International Suffrage Alliance held its congress in Budapest with delegates from all over the world. It was a notable triumph, welcomed by the dignitaries of the State and city; its meetings for seven days crowded to overflowing and every possible courtesy extended. The demand that women should have the vote seemed to have become universal. Then came the War and all was blotted out for years. When it was over in 1918 internal revolution followed and out of it came a Republic but without stability. A law was enacted giving suffrage to all men of 21 but only to women of 24 who could read and write. Women voted under it in 1919 and one was elected to the Parliament but the law has not yet been written into a permanent constitution.

#### BOHEMIA.

Bohemian women suffered the disadvantages of those of Austria and could not attend political meetings or form suffrage societies, although by an old law taxpayers and those belonging to the learned professions could vote by a male proxy for the members of the Diet of the Kingdom, and were eligible themselves after the age of 30. They had a Woman Suffrage Committee and petitioned the Diet to include women in the new electoral law of 1907 but it received word from Vienna that nothing must be done. By 1911 a Woman Suffrage Committee was doing a good deal of active suffrage work and women's organizations were being formed in the political parties but the Social Democratic was the only one that favored equal suffrage. For a number of years the women endeavored to secure the nomination of a woman candidate for the Bohemian Diet but were always unsuccessful. Finally in 1912 the Social Democratic and a section of the Liberal

party each nominated a woman and by the most heroic effort and a combination of fortunate circumstances the latter, Mrs. Vikova-Kuneticka, a prominent writer and suffragist, was elected on June 13. The Governor of the district, doubting her eligibility, delayed issuing the certificate; the Diet did not meet; the War came on and after it ended Bohemia assumed her own government with equal rights for women, and she took her seat.

In the newly organized country of Czecho-Slovakia woman suffrage prevailed throughout and in 1920 thirteen women were elected to the Lower and three to the Upper House of the National Parliament. The new Parliament of Jugo-Slavia voted against woman suffrage.

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It is practically impossible to give an accurate account of the situation in regard to the suffrage and office-holding of women in the re-alignment which took place in central and southeastern Europe after the war. The States which were formed with new or changed boundaries all began with the declaration of absolute democracy, equal suffrage for men and women and eligibility to all offices. At their first elections women in some of them were elected to the Parliaments and city councils of the new régime. Poland, restored, gave universal suffrage, and elected eight to the Parliament. Its women are strongly organized and very capable. It is not possible to foretell the future of these experiments in democracy. It has been reported from time to time that the suffrage had been given to women in Bulgaria, Roumania and Serbia and then denied but at present they do not seem to be exercising it. (1920.)

#### SWITZERLAND.

Switzerland, like France, is a republic only in name, as women are wholly disfranchised. It is now the only country where the question of woman suffrage has to be submitted to the individual voters. To give women the franchise for the Federal Council that body must submit the question to all the voters, and to give it in each Canton of the 22 for its Council, this body must submit the question to all the voters in the Canton. It never has been submitted by the Federal Council, which holds that it must first be

granted in the Cantons. Whenever they have voted on it they have defeated it, the agricultural population being especially hostile. There are many organizations of women, the most important of which ask for the suffrage. The largest of them, the National Council of Women, with 20,000 members from all kinds of societies, was very slow to recognize the value of the vote but in January, 1919, when a revision of the constitution was expected, it took official action and unanimously adopted suffrage work.

Mme. Chaponnière-Chaix (who is now president of the International Council of Women), Mme. Saulner and Mlle. Camille Vidart were present at the forming of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Berlin in 1904 to represent a group in Geneva. In May, 1908, a Central Woman Suffrage Committee was formed in Berne of societies in seven cities and it was admitted to membership in the Alliance. In January, 1909, a National Association was organized with M. de Morsier, a Deputy of the Council of the Geneva Canton, as president and lectures and organizing commenced. The work was continued and small gains were made. Vaud, Geneva, Neuchâtel, Bâle-Ville and Berne gave women a vote in the State church. They can sit on school boards in these Cantons and Zurich. They can vote for and serve on the *tribunaux de prud'hommes*—industrial boards—in two or three Cantons, these rights granted by the Councils. The universities and the professions are open to women.

Work for woman suffrage was at an end during the War and after it was over there was not the disposition to enfranchise women that prevailed in other countries of Europe but it was taken up by the liberal parties. The suffragists entered upon vigorous efforts to have the rights of women included in the proposed revision of the national constitution. On March 17, 1919, in response to large petitions, the Council of Neuchâtel by a vote of 60 to 30 submitted the question of woman suffrage to the voters. In June the National Suffrage Association held its annual meeting in this Canton with a large attendance and its president, Mlle. Emily Gourd, gave an account of an active year's work. A petition signed by 157 women's societies asked the Federal Council to put woman suffrage in the revised national constitution.

There was a spirit of hopefulness that a new régime was at hand, as many Cantons were considering the question.

The vote was taken in Neuchâtel June 28, 29, 1919. A dishonorable campaign had been made by the opponents, financed by the liquor trade, and the result in the entire Canton was 12,017 noes, 5,346 ayes. In the town it stood 1,647 noes, 831 ayes; in the industrial and Socialist town of Chaux de Fonds it was 2,400 noes, 1,800 ayes. The Federal Council refused all appeals to submit the question, although it was discussed in the First Chamber. In October the Council of Basle by 63 to 24 voted to submit the proposition. The Council of Zurich also sent it to the voters, adding eligibility to office. On February 8, 1920, the vote in the Canton of Zurich was 88,249 noes; 21,608 ayes. In that of Basle it was 12,455 noes; 6,711 ayes. The peasants were solidly opposed and the workingmen voted against it.

The suffragists then concentrated upon Geneva and set out to get a petition from 2,500 electors, which would compel the Council of the Canton to submit the proposition. In June, 1920, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance held in Geneva its first congress after the war. Delegates were present from all over the civilized world. Twenty-one countries had now enfranchised women. From every point of view it was one of the most successful it had ever held and it was expected to influence the referendum on woman suffrage. The year was crowded with work and the 2,500 names were not obtained until November. It was February, 1921, before the Council of the Canton discussed the petition and then it was referred to a Special Commission, where it was held until September 21 before the proposal to give full suffrage and eligibility to women was submitted to the voters. The election took place October 17 and resulted in 14,166 noes; 6,629 ayes.

#### ITALY.

Woman suffrage in some form had been a number of times before the Italian Parliament and it was advocated by many of the eminent university women. At the first congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen in 1906 Professor Teresa Labriola, a lecturer on law in the University of Rome,

came to tell of efforts during the past year to awaken interest in the question of votes for women, due largely to the demand of men for universal suffrage. Some women had tried to have their names placed on the election lists, as the electoral law did not prohibit it, but the courts decided against them. A petition signed by a large number of women was presented to the House of Deputies and some of these advocated a law to give women the suffrage but Premier Giolitti held that full civil rights must first be given to them. In 1908 congresses of women were held, committees formed and a National Committee for Woman Suffrage was sufficiently organized to send a delegate to the meeting of the International Alliance in Amsterdam and be accepted as an auxiliary. Later it became a National Federation for Woman Suffrage. By 1909 suffrage committees had been established in many cities, public meetings held and propaganda work done. The National Committee had taken a very active part in the elections of March to have Deputies selected who favored giving the franchise to women, under the direction of its president, Countess Giacinta Martini, and vice-president, Professor Labriola. The press was obliged to take up the question, led by the *Giornale d'Italia*. In 1910 a Men's League for Woman Suffrage was formed with a membership of prominent men. A bill was brought before the Chamber to abolish marital authority, admit women to the legal profession and give them a vote in local government. Premier Sonnino was in sympathy but his Cabinet fell.

The National Suffrage Union by 1912 had 10,000 members and took vigorous part in the municipal elections. As a result many Municipal Councils adopted resolutions calling on the Deputies to pass a woman suffrage bill. In 1912 the Chamber was discussing a bill to extend the vote to illiterate men and one was introduced to give it to women, which was defeated through the influence of Premier Giolitti, but the balloting showed that it was not a party question. His government was continued in power by a large vote at the next election. The King in opening Parliament promised a bill to give civil rights to women. The breaking out of the War in 1914 ended all hope of favorable action but agitation and organization did not cease. Large suffrage congresses were held in Rome in 1916 and 1917, the latter opened with an eloquent

address by Keeper of the Seals Sacchi, who was to introduce a Reform Bill for women but it was not done.

After the War Italy shared in the world-wide movement toward improving the position of women. The long-delayed Sacchi bill was introduced. It very largely removed the civil disabilities of women, which were many; abolished the authority of the husband, which was absolute; gave women the right to control their property, enter the professions, fill public offices and have equal guardianship of their children. On March 25, 1919, the Senate Commission recommended the passing of the bill without change, which was done in July by a vote of 58 to 17. On April 23, 29, 1920, an immense suffrage congress was held in Milan, opened by Dr. Margherita Ancona and addressed by prominent men of all parties. This was followed by others and there was a strong public demand for the enfranchisement of women. A bill was presented July 30, sponsored by sixteen prominent Deputies of all parties, to give women the vote on the same terms as men but they were not to use it until after the approaching general election, as there would not be time to make new lists. This Martini bill was referred to a special committee of Signor Martini, Signor Gasparotto and Signor Sandrini and it was due to their excellent management that it went through with such speed on September 6. It was favored by Premier Nitti, some brilliant speeches were made and it passed by 174 ayes, 55 noes. Before the great rejoicing was over, before the bill could be acted on by the Senate, the Government was defeated and the Parliament was dissolved. Italy soon, like other European countries, was threatened with revolution. Ministers rose and fell; politics was in a chaotic state. This situation has continued to a considerable degree and women are still without the suffrage (1921).

#### FRANCE.

For many years there were detached groups in France working for political rights for women but it was not until 1909 that any effort at national organization was made. Then in February a National Committee was formed of one member from each society with Mme. Jeanne E. Schmahl, a well-known worker for the rights of women, as chairman. The National Council of

Women of France, an influential body, gave its assistance. Mme. Schmahl went to the meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in London the following April, which recognized the committee as a National Association and accepted it as an auxiliary. It immediately began organizing branches in the Provinces, and received especial help from the universities. Professional women, those in public service and wage-earning women joined the association, which soon had over 3,000 members. The right had been given to working women to vote in the election of Trade Councils. As far back as 1906 M. Dussaussoy had proposed a bill to the Chamber of Deputies giving to all women a vote for Municipal, District and General Councils. In March, 1910, M. Buisson, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Universal Suffrage, reported in favor of this bill and added full suffrage. In June, at the request of the new association, 163 Deputies signed a petition that the report should be taken up at once. A remarkable sentiment in favor was disclosed.

Mme. V. Vincent, a pioneer in the woman movement, became president of the association, which was called the French Union for Woman Suffrage. By the time the International Alliance held its congress in Budapest in June, 1913, Mme. Marguerite de Witt Schlumberger, a very capable executive, had been elected president and the report of the secretary, Mme. C. V. Brunschvicg, of the progress made along many lines filled five printed pages. The Municipal suffrage bill had been taken up by the Chamber of Deputies in December, 1912, and then, as usually happened in all countries, some electoral reform in the interest of men crowded it out. The Union now numbered 10,000 members and held a national meeting each year. More requests came for speakers than could be answered.

The War begun in 1914 put an end to all hope of parliamentary action but after it ended the expectation throughout the world was that the magnificent courage and efficiency of French women during the four-and-a-half years would be rewarded with full enfranchisement. The Union took up the question at once and met the fullest cooperation in the Chamber of Deputies. The debate opened in May, 1919, and continued through three sessions. It commenced with the bill for the Municipal franchise but at the



beginning of the third session this passed to an amendment, conferring the same complete universal suffrage possessed by men. The Chamber was undecided when M. Viviani and M. Briand, former Prime Ministers, in strong speeches called for the amendment. Their powerful influence turned the scale and on May 20 by 377 ayes, 97 noes, the Deputies voted for the amendment amidst the greatest enthusiasm. It had to be ratified by the Senate, a non-progressive body not elected by popular vote but by District and Municipal Councillors in each Commune.

With much anxiety the women turned to the Senate and after interviews with individual members succeeded in obtaining a hearing before the Commission, or Committee, on Adult Suffrage, June 12. They presented an eloquent appeal, signed officially by the Union of Suffrage Societies with 80 branches; the National Council of Women with 150 and several other large organizations of women, and gave a copy to each member. It was received in cold silence and they knew that not more than half-a-dozen of the 27 members were favorable. The elections were approaching and the commission would not report the subject to be discussed in the Senate. After the election the new Chamber of Deputies considered in September a proposal to the Senate to hold a discussion on the woman suffrage bill, which was passed by a vote of 340 to 95. It had no effect and the commission not only refused to lay the measure before the Senate but rejected one to give the franchise to woman relatives of the men who were killed in the war. The Radical members fear that to give women a vote would strengthen the power of the Catholic church; the Conservatives fear that the political emancipation of women would diminish the influence of the clergy. Thus the situation remains in the so-called Republic.

#### OTHER COUNTRIES IN EUROPE.

At the meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Geneva in 1920 the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, called attention in her address to the fact that Greece and Spain in Europe, Argentina and Uruguay in South America and the island of Cuba had made enough progress in organization for woman suffrage within a few years to be accepted as auxiliaries.

GREECE. While the Peace Treaty was being framed at Paris in 1919 Premier Venizelos received a deputation of leading suffragists from many countries, expressed his sympathy with the movement and gave them the names of women in Athens with whom to take up the question of organization. On Jan. 23, 1920, he stated to the Parliament in Greece that the Government was prepared to give the suffrage to women as soon as they to some extent requested it. This was followed in March by the forming in Athens of a League for the Rights of Women and later by branches in Crete, Thessaly and Corfu. A petition for political and civic rights, in which other societies of women joined, was sent to the Parliament. The Lyceum Club, one of the oldest and most influential in Greece, arranged a great congress of women to meet in October to consider measures for the advancement of women along all lines, including that of suffrage. Then the Venizelos Government was overthrown by a plebiscite, the King returned and the congress was deferred until April, 1921. At that time a hundred societies of women sent delegates. It was opened by Premier Gounaris and the King and Queen were present. Woman suffrage was the leading feature and several Cabinet Ministers announced the intention of the Government to confer it. Queen Sophia decorated Madame Parron, president of the congress, and thanked her for devoting her life to the progress of Greek women. There have been the usual delays but the women will probably be enfranchised in the not distant future.

SPAIN. The women of Spain labor under great disadvantages in trying to obtain the franchise, as the Catholic church, which is all-powerful, is not in favor of it. The King and Queen are friendly and a number of the statesmen are ready to assist. The Cabinet in 1919 proposed a bill which would give a vote to all women over 23 years old and it was placed on the program of the Republican party. There are eight or ten suffrage societies in different cities united in a Supreme Feminist Council, which holds congresses and has presented to the Parliament petitions signed by thousands of women asking for complete political and legal equality. It is an auxiliary of the International Alliance.

There have been attempts to organize for woman suffrage in Portugal. Travellers in various districts of Turkey report that

in some of them women are permitted to vote and hold office.

Before the outbreak of the War there was some suffrage among the property owning women in the Jewish colonization of Palestine. After it was taken by General Allenby the Jewish Provisional Assembly called to arrange for a National Constituent Assembly provided that women as well as men should vote for it. There was opposition from the orthodox but the liberal element prevailed. They vote and belong to the political organizations and also have their own, which work for the improvement of the civil and legal position of women. They have united in a national organization and become auxiliary to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Women have been elected to city councils and even to the National Assembly.

When Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt visited China in 1912 she found that women had taken part in the revolution and not only had voted for the new Parliament but had been elected to it. These privileges were afterwards taken away but they organized societies to get them again. Mrs. Catt kept in touch with these societies and in 1913 they were accepted as auxiliary to the Alliance. They are still keeping up the struggle for political rights.

There is only the nucleus of a movement for woman suffrage in Japan but some of the statesmen favor it and women's societies petition for it. Under the auspices of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union a beginning has been made toward organization. Women are not allowed to attend political meetings and their position is very restricted but this year (1921) they have done a great deal of public work for peace. The Japanese Government is progressing rapidly and the results will eventually be seen in an improved status of women.

**SOUTH AMERICA.** Women occupy an advanced position in Argentina in education, in business and in organized work. They have had during the past twenty years an excellent training through the National Council of Women and they have exercised much influence in public affairs. They were slow in entering the movement for woman suffrage but by 1920 they were sufficiently organized under the presidency of Dr. Alicia Moreau, to send a representative to the congress of the International Alliance in Geneva in June and be received as an auxiliary. Large meetings

have been held in Buenos Aires. There is much favorable sentiment in the Parliament, where bills have been introduced.

The woman suffrage movement is well advanced in Uruguay under the presidency of Dr. Paulina Luisi, who attended the Geneva congress, where her association entered the International Alliance. The president of the Republic, Dr. Baltasar Brum, is an ardent advocate of woman's enfranchisement and is using his best efforts for it. A bill was introduced by Dr. Aralya for the complete emancipation of women, which did not pass. Later one for the Municipal franchise was presented by Deputy Alfco Brum, brother of the president, which it is believed will ultimately be accepted. There is a suffrage society in Chili, one in Paraguay and one in Brazil, where the Senate in 1920 defeated a bill.

The Central American Constituent Assembly, the legislative body of the new Federation of Central American States, has approved woman suffrage. There is to be a Pan American Suffrage Congress of Women in the United States in 1922, which doubtless will give a great impetus to the cause in the Central and South American countries.

MEXICO. The constitution made for Mexico after the last revolution gave the suffrage to all citizens without distinction of sex and women have voted in Yucatan but the elections throughout the country have not been settled enough for them to exercise their right. There are suffrage societies among the different classes of women and the wage-earners are especially insistent on having a voice in the Government. The President is quoted as having said that the time when women will vote is near at hand.

## CHAPTER LIV.

### THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

An international association of the groups of women in various countries who were working to obtain the suffrage was for many years the strong desire of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Susan B. Anthony, two leaders of the movement in the United States. When, however, in the early eighties the first steps were taken they found that Great Britain was the only one with organizations for this purpose. They visited there in 1883-4 and found so much sympathy with the idea that a committee was appointed to cooperate with one in the United States in arranging for an International Woman Suffrage Association.<sup>1</sup> It was decided as a first step to hold an International Suffrage Convention but after a correspondence which extended through several years, because of the difficulty of getting in touch with women in the different countries who were interested, it was considered advisable to broaden the scope of the undertaking and call an International Congress of Women engaged in all kinds of work for the general welfare. This was held in Washington, D. C., in March, 1888, under the auspices of the National Suffrage Association and was the largest convention of women which had ever taken place up to that time. It resulted in a permanent International Council of Women, which in a few years established a Standing Committee on Suffrage and Rights of Citizenship with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as chairman. The National Councils in all countries formed auxiliary committees and made woman suffrage a part of their program and it had a prominent place at the National and International Congresses. The woman suffrage leaders in the United States did not abandon the idea of an affiliation of the societies which were forming in many lands for the specific purpose of obtaining the franchise but no further steps toward it were taken.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume IV, page 124.

From the time Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt became officially connected with the National Association in 1905 a dominant thought with her was that there should be an international suffrage association. Miss Anthony resigned the presidency in 1900 and Mrs. Catt became her successor. She presented her idea to Miss Anthony, who told her of the early efforts and encouraged her to apply her great organizing ability to the undertaking, feeling that she was fitted for it above all others. Mrs. Catt at once began the preliminary work and after two years of correspondence the officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association issued an invitation for an International Conference to be held in Washington, D. C., at the time of its annual convention in February, 1902. This conference took place and was attended by delegates from many countries. A part of their interesting and valuable addresses before the convention and committees of Congress will be found in Chapter II of Volume V. The official proceedings of the conference are condensed from the Minutes as follows:

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, called the meeting to order and gave a brief history of the correspondence conducted with the officers of women's associations of various kinds concerning an International Woman Suffrage Conference. She reported that ten countries would be represented by delegates—England, Australia, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Chile and the United States. She expressed regret that unforeseen circumstances at the last moment prevented the attendance of the Canadian delegation but stated that James L. Hughes, Inspector of Public Schools in Toronto, would attend and report on the position of women in Canada.

The United States association had appointed four delegates and it had been hoped that each country would send four but no country had sent more than one. The meeting was asked to select a chairman and on motion of Mrs. Fenwick Miller, seconded by Mrs. Drewson, Miss Susan B. Anthony was unanimously chosen and took the chair. Miss Vida Goldstein was elected recording secretary.

The following delegates responded to the roll call: Mrs.

Florence Miller, England; Miss Vida Goldstein, Australia; Mrs. Sofja Levovna Friedland, Russia; Mrs. Gudrun Drewson, Norway; Miss Florence Fensham, Turkey; Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, United States. Mrs. Catt announced that a delegate from Germany, Miss Antonie Stolle; one from Chile, Miss Carolina Huidobro, and one from Sweden, Mrs. Emmy Evald, would arrive later. A committee of five was appointed to consider a plan for international cooperation—Mrs. Miller, Mrs. Avery, Miss Stolle, Mrs. Drewson, Miss Goldstein. At another session its recommendations were read and adopted as follows:

1. That it is desirable to form an International Woman Suffrage Committee for the purpose of acting as a central bureau for the collection, exchange and dissemination of information concerning the methods of suffrage work and the general status of women in the various countries having representation on the committee.

2. That the delegates to the conference be instructed to ask their respective societies to appoint three representatives to act on such a committee.

3. That in the event of societies declining to cooperate, the delegates be authorized to form a separate International Committee in their respective countries.

4. That the secretary of the International Committee be instructed to communicate with known suffragists in countries not represented in this conference and to recommend cooperation with the international organization. . . .

The delegates were unanimously of the opinion that the above temporary form of organization would result in most satisfactory international cooperation. It was held that each nation should be given free opportunity to aid in the forming of the permanent organization and that the present needs would be best served by a temporary International Committee. It was agreed that the next International Woman Suffrage Conference should be called in Berlin in 1904, in connection with the Quinquennial Meeting of the International Council of Women, and that meantime each nation should be asked to consider this movement and

send delegates fully instructed as to the best form of a permanent international organization.

Miss Anthony was elected permanent chairman; Mrs. Catt, secretary; Mrs. Fenwick Miller, treasurer. Mrs. Catt moved that as an International Association was not yet permanently organized, each country should be asked to contribute something toward the general working expenses of printing, postage, etc., but the financial obligation should be left to its own discretion. It was decided that the plan of organization adopted by the conference be read to the convention of the National Suffrage Association then in session. To make the conference still more international in character a vice-chairman representing Germany was added and the appointment was left to the German societies. It was arranged that the committee should hold office till the meeting in Berlin. It was moved by Mrs. Friedland, seconded by Miss Fensham, that the foreign delegates accord their warmest thanks to the National American Suffrage Association for inviting them to the International Conference and for the many kindnesses shown them.

Mrs. Catt had sent out a list of twenty-eight questions to most of the countries and she reported that answers had been received from thirty-two. These questions covered property rights of women, occupations, wages, education, guardianship of children, divorce, office holding, suffrage and other legal and civil rights. The full and comprehensive answers, some of them from Consuls and other government representatives, were published in the official report of the conference and formed an invaluable collection of facts and statistics such as had never before been made. They gave a striking object lesson in the strong necessity for women to have a voice in the laws and the governments under which they live.

It had been suggested by Mrs. Catt that this conference should consider issuing a Declaration of Principles, expressing briefly the demand for independence and individuality which women are making today. Mrs. Fenwick Miller warmly supported the suggestion and a committee of three was appointed to draw it up—Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Evald and Miss Fensham. As finally submitted, discussed and accepted it formed the platform of the



international organization and was adopted at each meeting for some years afterwards. It was called a Declaration of Principles and read as follows:

1. Men and women are born equally free and independent members of the human race, equally endowed with intelligence and ability and equally entitled to the free exercise of their individual rights and liberty.

2. The natural relation of the sexes is that of inter-dependence and cooperation and the repression of the rights and liberty of one sex inevitably works injury to the other and hence to the whole race.

3. In all lands those laws, creeds and customs which have tended to restrict women to a position of dependence, to discourage their education, to impede the development of their natural gifts and to subordinate their individuality have been based upon false theories and have produced an artificial and unjust relation of the sexes in modern society.

4. Self-government in the home and the State is the inalienable right of every normal adult and the refusal of this right to women has resulted in social, legal and economic injustice to them and has also intensified the existing economic disturbances throughout the world.

5. Governments which impose taxes and laws upon their women citizens without giving them the right of consent or dissent which is granted to men citizens exercise a tyranny inconsistent with just government.

6. The ballot is the only legal and permanent means of defending the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" pronounced inalienable by the American Declaration of Independence and accepted as inalienable by all civilized nations. In any representative form of government, therefore, women should be vested with all the political rights and privileges of electors.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE ALLIANCE.

The International Woman Suffrage Committee, which had been formed at a conference in Washington, D. C., in February, 1902, and adjourned to meet in Berlin in June, 1904, was called to order on June 3, in the Prince Albert Hotel by the chairman, Miss Susan B. Anthony, who was warmly greeted by the women of all countries. The following report of this and subsequent meetings is condensed from the Minutes:

The program arranged by the officers was adopted as the order of business. Dr. jur. Anita Augsburg of the German Suffrage Association delivered a cordial address of welcome and

Miss Anthony, in behalf of the visiting delegates, responded. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt presented a gavel from the women of Wyoming, who have enjoyed the right of full suffrage longer than any other women in the world.

Dr. phil. Käthe Schirmacher of Germany was appointed official interpreter; Miss Adelheid von Welczeck of Germany was made assistant secretary and was also appointed on the committee on credentials with Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Holland and Miss Edith Palliser of England. The roll call of nations showed delegates from the United States, Great Britain, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Hungary, New Zealand and Germany.

Guests and delegates from countries where no organization was affiliated with the International Committee were given the privileges of the conference except the vote. The Declaration of Principles was read and Dr. Schirmacher and Mlle. Camille Vidart of Switzerland were appointed to translate it into German and French for discussion. Dr. Augspurg read telegrams of greeting and good will from the French delegates, who were prevented from attending the conference.

It was agreed that the name of the new association be the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and a motion by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw (U. S. A.) that Miss Anthony be declared its first member was carried amid cheers. It was moved by Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg of Philadelphia and unanimously carried that Miss Mary S. Anthony be the second member. It was voted that those delegates at the first conference in Washington who were not now present be invited to stand also as charter members of the permanent Alliance. The opportunity was then given for the affiliation of honorary associates and the following were accepted: Wilhelmine Sheriff Bain and Isabel Napier, New Zealand; Miss Anna Hude, Mrs. Charlotte Norrie, Mrs. Johanne Münter, Copenhagen; Mrs. Friederike von Mekler Traunwies, Austria; Leopold Katscher, Hungary; Mme. Chaponniere-Chaix, Mlle. Vidart, Switzerland.

The object of the Alliance was declared to be "to secure the enfranchisement of the women of all nations and to unite the

friends of woman suffrage throughout the world in organized cooperation and fraternal helpfulness," and a constitution was adopted. The roll of nations was called and the delegates from Great Britain, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden and the United States pledged affiliation. Mrs. Catt made the pledge for Australia. Delegates from Denmark and Norway asked for time to present the matter to their associations and a little later became auxiliaries. All the suffrage associations in existence that could be called national except that of Canada—eight altogether—joined the Alliance. Mesdames Minna Cauer, Germany; Agda Montelius, Sweden; Charlotte Norrie, Denmark; Mrs. Blankenburg, Dr. Jacobs and Miss Palliser were appointed to consider designs for an international badge.

Miss Anthony announced that as she had reached the age of 84 she could not stand as candidate for the presidency and it was unanimously voted that she be made honorary president. The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York; first vice-president, Dr. jur. Anita Augspurg, Hamburg; second vice-president, Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, London; secretary, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Philadelphia; first assistant secretary, Dr. Käthe Schirmacher, Paris (address temporarily); second, Miss Johanna A. W. Naber, Amsterdam; treasurer, Miss Rodger Cunliffe, London. (Later Miss Naber resigned and Miss Martina G. Kramers of Rotterdam was appointed.)

The Executive Committee of the new Alliance met June 6 at the Palast Hotel. It was arranged that fifty copies of the Declaration of Principles, the Constitution and the Minutes be typed in Berlin and sent to the presidents of the affiliated societies and the honorary associates. It was decided to postpone application for auxiliaryship to the International Council of Women for at least two years. Correspondence with the countries requiring special information was assigned as follows: "To Mrs. Catt, Australia; to Dr. Augspurg, Norway and Austria; to Dr. Schirmacher, Italy and France; to Miss Naber, Switzerland and Belgium. It was decided that the Alliance should meet every five years for the election of officers, revision of the constitution,

etc., but that during this period executive meetings and congresses might be held.<sup>1</sup>

#### THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIANCE.

The first Executive Meeting and Third Conference of the Alliance was held at Copenhagen Aug. 7-11, 1906, in the Concert Palais, in response to a Call from the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, and secretary, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, to the affiliated National Woman Suffrage Associations, which said:

An especial invitation to send fraternal delegates is extended to all societies known to be in sympathy with our movement. Individuals of whatever race, nativity or creed, who believe in the right of the woman citizen to protect her interests in society by the ballot, are invited to be present. The enfranchisement of women is emphatically a world movement. The unanswerable logic upon which the movement is based and the opposition which everywhere appears to combat that logic with its array of traditions and prejudices are the same in all lands. The evolution of the movement must proceed along the same lines among all peoples. In union there is strength. Let international cooperation, organization and work be our watchwords.

Two years of careful preparation, extended correspondence and close attention to endless details by the president and officers of the Alliance had brought to Copenhagen a congress of women prepared to inaugurate a world movement for woman suffrage. Excellent arrangements had been made by the Danish Association through four committees: Finance, Miss Eline Hansen; Information, Miss Julie Laurberg; Press, Miss Sophie Alberti; Entertainment, Mrs. Johanne Münter. The music was in charge of Miss Bernberg. The entire expenses of the convention, rent of hall, handsome decorations, silk badges, etc., were met by the finance committee. The elaborate souvenir programs contained many views of the city which were made by Miss Laurberg's

<sup>1</sup> Delegates and alternates present besides those already mentioned were Misses L. G. Heymann and Marta Zietz, Germany; Mrs. Stanton Coit, Great Britain; Mrs. Henrietta von Loenen de Bordes, Mrs. Hengeveld Garrison, Miss C. C. A. Van Dorp, Netherlands; Mrs. Vibetha Salicath, Miss Eline Hansen, Mrs. Charlotte Eilersgaard, Miss Rasmussen, Denmark; Mrs. Anna B. Wicksell, Mrs. Frigga Carlberg, Miss Jenny Wallerstedt, Sweden; Miss Fredrikke Mörck, Miss Marie Scharlenberg, Norway; Mrs. Saulner, Switzerland; Mrs. Henry Dobson, Australia; Miss Rosika Schwimmer, Hungary; Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, Miss Belle Kearney, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Miss Lucy E. Anthony, Miss Nettie Lovisa White, Mrs. Lydia Kingsmill Commander, United States.

camera. The remarkable work of the press before and during the congress was due to Miss Alberti's judicious and skilful management. The entertainments under the capable direction of Mrs. Münter included a beautiful dinner given by a committee of Danish ladies at the famous pleasure resort Marienlyst; a reception by the directors at Rosenberg Castle; an afternoon tea by the officers of the widely-known Women's Reading Club of 3,200 members, of which Miss Alberti, a founder, was the president; a reception and banquet by the Municipal Council in the magnificent City Hall and a farewell supper by the Danish Suffrage Association at Skydebanen, preceded by an interesting program of recitations and costume dances. There were many private dinners, luncheons and excursions to the beautiful and historic environs.

Two more national suffrage associations had united with the Alliance—those of Hungary and Canada. Australia was ready to enter. France had sent a delegate, Madame Maria Martin, and expected to form a national association within a year. Professor Teresa Labriola was present to promise the affiliation of Italy in another year. Six highly educated, progressive delegates from Russia represented the Union of Defenders of Woman's Rights, composed of 79 societies and 10,000 members, which applied for auxiliaryship. Fraternal delegates were present from the International Council of Women and the National Councils of Norway, Sweden, France, the United States and Australia; from the International Council of Nurses and from organizations of women in Finland and Iceland. Telegrams of greeting were received from societies and individuals in twenty-five different cities of Europe. About one hundred delegates and alternates from twelve countries were present.

Several sessions were filled to overflowing with these greetings and the reports from the various countries of the progress made by women in the contest for their civil, legal and political rights. As published in the Minutes, filling 55 pages, these reports formed a remarkable and significant chapter in the world's history. Mrs. Catt was in the chair on the first afternoon and a cordial welcome was extended by the presidents of five Danish organizations of women: Miss Alberti, Mrs. Louise Hansen,

Mrs. Louise Norlund, Mrs. Jutta Bojsen Moller and Miss Henni Forchhammer for the National Council of Women. Dr. jur. Anita Augspurg of Germany, the first vice-president, responded for the Alliance. She was followed by Mrs. Catt, who, in her president's address, after describing in full the forming of the Alliance, gave a comprehensive report of the progress toward organizing suffrage associations in the various countries during the past two years and the growth and future prospects of the international movement. She touched a responsive chord in every heart when she said:

Since we last met our cause has sustained a signal loss in the death of our honorary president, Susan B. Anthony. She has been the inspirer of our movement in many lands and we may justly say that her labors belonged to all the world. She passed in the ripeness of years and with a life behind her which counted not a wasted moment nor a selfish thought. When one thinks of her it must be with the belief that she was born and lived to perform an especial mission. All who knew her well mourn her and long will they miss her wise counsel, her hearty cheerfulness and her splendid optimism. There has been no important national suffrage meeting in the United States for half a century and no international meeting of significance at any time in which she has not been a conspicuous figure. This is the first to meet without her. We must hope that her spirit will be with us and inspire our deliberations with the same lofty purpose and noble energy which governed all her labors.

Mrs. Catt reviewed the movement for woman suffrage, declaring that the most ambitious should be satisfied with the general progress, and said in conclusion:

We have been like an army climbing slowly and laboriously up a steep and rocky mountain. We have looked upward and have seen uncertain stretches of time and effort between us and the longed for summit. We have not been discouraged for behind us lay fifty years of marvelous achievement. We have known that we should reach that goal but we have also known that there was no way to do it but to plod on patiently, step by step. Yet suddenly, almost without warning, we see upon that summit another army. How came it there? It has neither descended from heaven nor made the long, hard journey, yet there above us all the women of Finland stand today. Each wears the royal crown of the sovereignty of the self-governing citizen. Two years ago these women would not have been permitted by the law to organize a

woman suffrage association. A year later they did organize a woman suffrage committee and before it is yet a year old its work is done! The act giving full suffrage and eligibility to all offices has been bestowed upon them by the four Chambers of Parliament and the Czar has approved the measure! Metaphorically a glad shout of joy has gone up from the whole body of suffragists the world over.

Mrs. Catt presided at every public and every business meeting and hers was the guiding spirit and the controlling hand. By her ability and fairness she won the entire confidence of the delegates from twelve countries and launched successfully this organization which many had believed impossible because of the differences in language, temperament and methods.

Throughout the meetings twenty-minute addresses were made by prominent women of the different countries, some of them reports of the organized work, others on subjects of special interest to women, among them *The Ideal Woman*, Miss Eline Hansen; *What Woman Suffrage Is Not*, Dr. Schirmacher; *Women Jurors of Norway*, Miss Mörck; *Woman's Horizon*, Mrs. Flora MacDonald Denison, Canada; *The Silent Foe*, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw; *What Are Women to Do?*, Dr. Jacobs; *Our Victory*, Miss Annie Furuhjelm, Finland; *Why the Working Woman Needs the Ballot*, Mrs. Andrea Brachmann, Denmark; *Why the Women of Australia Asked for and Received the Suffrage*, sent by Miss Vida Goldstein and read by Mrs. Madge Donohoe.

Others besides the officers and those above mentioned who spoke during the convention were Cand. phil. Helena Berg, Elizabeth Grundtvig, Stampe Feddersen, Denmark; Briet Asmundsson, Iceland; Mrs. F. M. Qvam, Cand. phil. Mathilde Eriksen, Gina Krog and Mrs. L. Keilhau, Norway; Dr. Ellen Sandelin, Anna Whitlock, Gertrud Adelborg, Huldah Lundin, Ann Margret Holmgren, Frigga Carlberg, Anna B. Wicksell, and Jenny Wallerstedt, Sweden; Baroness Gripenberg, Dr. Meikki Friberg, Finland; Zeniede Mirovitch, Elizabeth Goncharow, Olga Wolkenstein, Anne Kalmanovitch, Russia; Rosika Schwimmer, Vilma Glücklich, Bertha Engel, Hungary; Lida Gustave Heymann, Adelheid von Welczeck, Regina Ruben, Germany; Mrs. Rutgers Hoitsema, Mrs. van Loenen de Bordes,

Netherlands; Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Lady Steel, Dora Montefiore, Mrs. Broadley Reid, Great Britain; Miss Lucy E. Anthony, United States; Mrs. Henry Dobson, Australia.

One afternoon session was devoted to memorial services for Miss Anthony, with the principal address by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, her biographer, and beautiful tributes by delegates of seven European countries and Canada expressing the debt of gratitude which all women owed to the great pioneer. Mrs. Harper briefly sketched the subordinate position of women when Miss Anthony began her great work for their emancipation in 1851; told of her efforts for temperance and the abolition of slavery; her part in forming the International Council of Women; her publication of the *History of Woman Suffrage* and the many other activities of her long life. She described the advanced position of women at present and closed by saying:

No one who makes a careful study of the great movement for the emancipation of woman can fail to recognize in Miss Anthony its supreme leader. After her death last March more than a thousand editorials appeared in the principal newspapers of the country and practically every one of them accorded her this distinction. She was the only one who gave to this cause her whole life, consecrating to its service every hour of her time and every power of her being. Other women did what they could; came into the work for awhile and dropped out; had the divided interests of family and social relations; turned their attention to reforms which promised speedier rewards; surrendered to the forces of persecution. With Miss Anthony the cause of woman took the place of husband, children, society; it was her work and her relaxation, her politics and her religion. "I know only woman and her disfranchised," was her creed. . . . May we, her daughters, receive as a blessed inheritance something of her indomitable will, splendid courage, limitless patience, perseverance, optimism, faith!

Dr. Shaw closed the meeting with an eloquent unwritten peroration which told of her last hours with Miss Anthony as the great soul was about to take its flight and ended: "The object of her life was to awaken in women the consciousness of the need of freedom and the courage to demand it, not as an end but as a means of creating higher ideals for humanity."

A resolution was adopted rejoicing in the granting of full suffrage and eligibility to sit in the Parliament to the women



of Finland the preceding May. The delegates from Norway received a message from the Prime Minister that it was the intention of the Parliament to enlarge the Municipal franchise which women had possessed since 1901.

Designs for a permanent badge were submitted by several countries and the majority vote was in favor of the one designed by Mrs. Pedersen-Dan of Denmark, the figure of a woman holding the scales of justice with a rising sun in the background and the Latin words *Jus Suffragii*. It was decided to publish a monthly paper under the name of *Jus Suffragii* and in the English language. Afterwards Miss Martina G. Kramers was appointed editor and the paper was issued from Rotterdam. The invitation was accepted to hold an executive meeting and conference in Amsterdam in 1908, as a new constitution was about to be made for The Netherlands and there would be a strong effort to have it include woman suffrage.

Mrs. Catt's closing words to the delegates were to encourage agitation, education and organization in their countries. "The enfranchisement of women is as certain to come as the sun is sure to rise tomorrow," she said. "The time must depend on political conditions and the energy and intelligence with which our movement is conducted." Thus ended happily and auspiciously the first Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

#### FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIANCE.

The Executive Meeting and Fourth Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was held in Amsterdam, June 15-20, 1908, in the spacious and handsome Concert Hall, in response to the Call of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president, and Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, secretary. No one who was present can ever forget this meeting in the most fascinating of countries, with every detail of its six days' sessions carefully planned and nothing left undone for the comfort and entertainment of the visitors who had come from most of the countries of Europe, from Canada, the United States and far-away Australia and New Zealand. The following account is condensed from the

very full report of the recording secretary, Miss Martina G. Kramers:

The arrangements for the congress were made by a Central Committee, of which Dr. Aletta Jacobs, president of the *Vereniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht*, the organization which had invited the Alliance to Amsterdam, was chairman. Mrs. W. Drucker was chairman of the Finance Committee, Mrs. Van Buuren Huys, secretary, and Miss Rosa Manus gave much assistance. The Press Committee, Miss Johanna W. A. Naber, chairman, did excellent work in conjunction with a committee from the Amsterdam press association. . . . That the accounts throughout the world were so complete is due to this painstaking, able committee's assistance to the correspondents from far and wide.

The Committee on Local Arrangements, Mrs. van Loenen de Bordes, chairman, performed well many duties, issued a dainty booklet, bound in green and gold, which contained the program interspersed with views of Amsterdam, and provided handsome silk flags to mark the seats of each delegation, which were presented to the Alliance. A Bureau of Information was presided over by young women who were able to answer all questions in many languages. The back of the great stage was draped with the flags of the twenty nations represented, those of Norway, Finland and Australia being conspicuously placed in the center, that especial honor might be done the full suffrage countries. The front of the stage was a mass of flowers and plants, a magnificent bust of Queen Wilhelmina occupying a conspicuous place.

The Committee on Reception, chairman, Mrs. Gompertz Jitta, and that on Entertainments, chairman, Mrs. Schöffner-Bunge, provided many pleasures. Chief among these was the musical reception on the first afternoon. A grand welcome song with a military band playing the accompaniment was sung by four hundred voices; a variety of children's songs followed and the program was closed by a cantata called *Old Holland's New Time*, which had been prepared especially for the congress. All the music had been composed by Catherine Van Rennes, who was also the conductor. The congress opened with a large reception given by the Dutch Women's Suffrage Association at *Maison Couturier*, with a greeting by Mrs. Gompertz-Jitta. It had as a

unique feature a little play written by Betsy van der Starp of The Hague. The gods and goddesses with much feeling discussed the appeal of Woman, who had asked their help in her effort to secure more rights on Earth. . . . On Tuesday afternoon a reception was given by Burgomaster and Mrs. van Leeuwen at their beautiful home, where refreshments were served in a shaded garden and the hospitable and democratic freedom was greatly enjoyed. On the same afternoon the Amsterdam branch of the National Association took the foreign visitors for a delightful excursion on the Amstel River. On Wednesday afternoon Dr. Jacobs had a most enjoyable tea in the Pavilloen van het Vondelpark. Mrs. Gompertz-Jitta opened her own luxurious home for tea on Friday. A house filled with a rare art collection, a fine garden and a charming hostess gave an afternoon long to be remembered. A farewell dinner on Saturday night was held in the great Concert Hall. A gay assembly, a good dinner, the national airs of all countries played by a fine band, furnished abundant enjoyment and aroused enthusiasm to the utmost. The climax came when a band of young men and women, dressed in the quaint and picturesque costumes of the Dutch peasantry, to rollicking music executed several peasant dances on the platform and around the big room.

The day following at an early hour several car loads of suffragists set forth for Rotterdam and near the station two steamers took their cargo of happy people for a trip on the River Maas. They went as far as Dordrecht, where opportunity was given to see this quaint town. Luncheon had been served on the steamers and at Rotterdam the guests proceeded to the Zoological Garden, which many people pronounce the finest in the world. At 6:30 dinner was served in a large, fine restaurant, followed by animated speeches until train time. It had been a rare day, full of interest, for which the Congress was indebted to the Rotterdam branch of the National Association and to Mrs. van den Bergh-Willing, who supplied one of the steamers and invited over a hundred of the delegates as her guests for the day. The next day was spent under the direction of The Hague branch. An afternoon tea with music was given at the Palace Hotel, Scheveningen, the famous seaside resort, and later a dinner was

served at the Kurhaus, followed by a fine concert arranged in honor of the guests. Later came a special display of fireworks with a closing piece which triumphantly flashed the words "Jus Suffragii" across the sky.

Mrs. Catt was in the chair at the first afternoon session and Dr. Jacobs welcomed the conference in an address given in perfect English during which she said: "When so strong and energetic a body of earnest women meets to deliberate on this greatest of modern world problems the impression can not fail to be a powerful one, for the vision must arise of the beauty and glory of future womanhood, of women who have obtained proper place and power in the community, which shall enable them to infuse their love, their moral perceptions, their sense of justice into the governments of the world. We believe the moment has now come to show our country the seriousness and extent of our movement and its determination to gain political equality for women in every civilized land. With the greatest appreciation we see among our visitors many high officials, who have not hesitated to answer our invitation favorably and to give us through their presence a proof of sympathy with the work we do. We wish to welcome these gentlemen first of all." Naming one country after another Dr. Jacobs mentioned the particular achievement of each during the past two years and extended a special welcome, saying: "May your presence here contribute to augment the public interest in the movement for women's enfranchisement in our country."

The address of the international president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, was a masterly effort and should be reproduced in full. In beginning it she referred to the suggestive coincidence that the opening day of the Congress commemorated the anniversary of the signing of the immortal Magna Charta and said: "At no time since the movement for the enfranchisement of women began have its advocates had so much cause for self-congratulation as now. The Alliance met in Copenhagen twenty-two months ago and in the brief time since then the progress of our cause has been so rapid, the gains so substantial, the assurance of coming victory so certain that we may imagine the noble and brave pioneers of woman suffrage, the men and women

who were the torch-bearers of our movement, gathering today in some far-off celestial sphere and singing together a glad pæan of exultation." Mrs. Catt referred to the granting of full suffrage and eligibility to women by Norway in 1907 and continued:

Within the past two years appeals for woman suffrage have been presented to the Parliaments of eighteen European governments; the United States Congress and the Legislatures of twenty-nine States; the Parliaments of Canada and Victoria and the Legislature of the Philippines—fifty-one independent legislative bodies. The appeals were made for the first time, I believe, in twelve of the European countries. In Spain and the Philippines bills were introduced by friends of the cause quite unknown to national or international officers. This activity has not been barren of results and the delegates of six countries come to this congress vested with larger political rights than they possessed at the time of the Copenhagen meeting, namely, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, England and Germany. Each of the five Scandinavian lands has won something. Norwegian women come with full suffrage rights; Finnish delegates come as representatives of the only nation which has elected women to seats in its Parliament; Sweden and Iceland have gained a step in eligibility and our Icelandic delegate of two years ago is now a member of the city council of Reykjavik, the capital. The women of Denmark, next to those of Norway, have made the largest gain, as Municipal suffrage with liberal qualifications has been bestowed upon them. English women have secured eligibility to become Mayors and members of town and county councils. Germany has revised its law and women are now free to join political associations and to organize woman suffrage societies. The German association affiliated with the Alliance is now a federation of State bodies. In Sweden within two years the membership in the organization has doubled and the 63 local organizations reported at Copenhagen have become 127. A petition of 142,128 names has been presented to Parliament; deputations have waited upon the Government and been granted hearings.

A thorough analysis was made of the present status of woman suffrage throughout the world and in summing up the speaker said: "Although from Occident to Orient, from Lapland to sunny Italy and from Canada to South Africa the agitation for woman suffrage has known no pause, yet, after all, the storm center of the movement has been located in England. In other lands there have been steps in evolution; in England there has been a revolution. There have been no guns nor powder nor bloodshed but there have been all other evidences of war. . . .

Yet the older and more conservative body of workers have been no less remarkable. With a forbearance we may all do well to imitate, they quadrupled their own activities. Every class, including ladies of the nobility, working girls, housewives and professional women, has engaged in the campaign and not a man, woman or child has been permitted to plead ignorance concerning the meaning of woman suffrage."

Mrs. Catt reviewed at length the "militant" movement in Great Britain, showing how it had awakened interest in votes for women in all quarters of the globe, and recalled the struggle of the barons in wresting the Magna Charta from King John. She then passed to the United States and to the persistent charge that its experiment in universal male suffrage had been a failure, to which she replied: "Although the United States has gathered a population which represents every race; although among its people are the followers of every religion and the subjects of every form of government; although there has been the dead weight of a large ignorant vote, yet the little settlement, which 150 years ago rested upon the eastern shores of the Atlantic a mere colonial possession, has steadily climbed upward until today it occupies a proud position of equality among the greatest governments of the world. . . . The fact that woman suffrage must come through a referendum to the votes of all men has postponed it but man suffrage in the United States is as firmly fixed as the Rock of Gibraltar. . . ."

In an eloquent peroration Mrs. Catt said: "Within our Alliance we must try to develop so lofty a spirit of internationalism, a spirit so clarified from all personalities and ambitions and national antagonisms that its purity and grandeur will furnish new inspiration to all workers in our cause. We must strike a note in this meeting so full of sisterly sympathy, of faith in womanhood, of exultant hope, a note so impelling, that it will be heard by the women of all lands and will call them forth to join our world's army."

The business sessions opened with all the officers present; over one hundred delegates and alternates from the now sixteen auxiliary countries; delegates sent by their governments and fraternal delegates from the International Council of Women, ten National

Councils, seven non-affiliated national associations for woman suffrage and eleven national organizations in sympathy with it. Mrs. Catt introduced Mrs. Henry Dobson, sent by the Commonwealth of Australia; Miss Gina Krog, sent by the government of Norway; Dr. Romania Penrose, Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell and Mrs. Harriet Q. Sheik, appointed by the Governors of Utah, Colorado and Wyoming, U. S. A.

The following countries had their full quota of six delegates: Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United States, and nearly all had six alternates. Russia had five delegates; Finland, Switzerland and South Africa two each; Italy, Bulgaria, Australia and Canada one each. Miss Chrystal Macmillan of Scotland represented the International Council of Women; Dr. C. V. Drysdale, the Men's League for Women's Enfranchisement of Great Britain; Mrs. Marie Lang, the Austrian Committee for Woman Suffrage; Miss Franciska Plaminkova and Miss Marie Stepankova, the Czechish Woman Suffrage Committee of Bohemia; Mrs. Alice M. Steele, New Zealand—the last three countries not yet affiliated. All kinds of organizations sent fraternal delegates, from the Union of Ethical Societies in London, whose delegate was Stanton Coit, their leader, to the Society of Peasant Women in Balmazujvaros, Hungary.

This was doubtless in many respects the most remarkable and important gathering of women ever assembled up to that time. English, French and German were adopted as the official languages. The wise and sympathetic management of Mrs. Catt convinced those of all nations that impartiality and justice would prevail without exception; a common bond united them; they learned that in all countries the obstacles to woman suffrage were the same and that in all women were oppressed by the inequality of the laws and by their disenfranchisement, and they understood the influence which could be exerted through an international movement. There were occasional misunderstandings on account of the varied parliamentary procedure in different countries and because of the necessity for interpreting much that took place but on the whole the delegates were satisfied. They had

intense admiration for the great executive ability of their president and showed their confidence in her again and again.

Switzerland, Bulgaria and South Africa having announced through their delegates that their suffrage societies had united in national associations and desired to become affiliated, they were enthusiastically accepted. Mrs. Stanton Coit of London, the new treasurer, paid a tribute to her predecessor, Miss Rodger Cunliffe, who had died since the last conference. Mrs. Pedersen-Dan reported that 8,677 badges had been sold. Many interesting discussions took place during the morning and afternoon sessions of which one of the most valuable was on the methods of work for the suffrage pursued in the various countries. These methods included debates in schools and colleges, distribution of literature, petitions to the Parliament, circulating libraries, courses of lectures, house-to-house canvassing, protests against paying taxes, mass meetings to show the need of a vote in matters of public welfare. In nearly all countries the suffragists were taking political action, questioning candidates by letter and in person and in some places working for or against them. This was especially the case in Great Britain and Miss Frances Sterling and Miss Isabella O. Ford told of the successful work at by-elections, of having thousands of postal cards sent to candidates by their constituents, of appealing to the workingmen. A report of the speech of Miss Margaret Ashton, a member of the city council of Manchester, quoted her as saying that, though the president of a large body of Liberal women, she had decided that it was useless to work further for her party unless it would enfranchise women. Women had worked sixty years for this party and now, if they will gain their own liberty, they must refuse to lift hand or foot for it until it enfranchises them.

Mrs. Rutgers Hoitsema of the Netherlands told of the efforts made to have woman suffrage put in its new constitution; of winning six of the seven members of the Government Commission and of the request of the Prime Minister for favorable printed arguments. Miss Annie Furuholm said in her report for Finland: "We got our suffrage through a revolution, so we can not be an example for other lands as to methods. We can say, however, that we used all methods in our work. In 1904



we had a great public meeting for woman suffrage. We organized a 'strike' against the conscription for the Russian Army and we found the mothers interested in saving their sons. The Social Democrats had woman suffrage in their platform before 1905 but the leading men of Finland would not have helped the women to the suffrage if the women had not shown that they understood the public questions of the day and taken an active part in resistance to an unlawful régime." She told of the election of nineteen women to Parliament in 1907. Mrs. Zeneide Mirovitch said in her touching report: "The women of Russia have not been able to work as those in other countries do, for their members are often in danger of imprisonment or death. They have lecturers who travel about to hold meetings; they publish a review of the work of their Union; members of it have started clubs which carry on general work for women's betterment. They have sold very cheaply 10,000 suffrage pamphlets; they have a committee in St. Petersburg which watches the acts of the Douma and when a law is proposed which concerns women and yet fails to consider them, this committee reminds the members of their needs. It protests against the massacres and outrages when women are assaulted and tortured. Now during the reaction the Union is not permitted to work in any way."

Mrs. Dora Montefiore of England spoke in favor of "militant" methods. An invitation to send fraternal delegates had been declined by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst for the Women's Social and Political Union of Great Britain, who said they had more important work to do. It had been accepted by Mrs. Despard, president of the Womens' Freedom League, who came with seven delegates. She explained that its methods consisted only of trying to enter the House of Commons, holding meetings near by, heckling Government candidates, refusing to pay taxes, chalking pavements, etc. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mrs. Billington Greig made vigorous, convincing speeches and all were enthusiastically received. The congress adopted a resolution of "protest against the action of any government which classes the women suffragists imprisoned for agitation for the vote as common law-breakers instead of political offenders." It also expressed its "sympathy for the Russian women in their struggle

demanding so much sacrifice and its profound respect for the women who under great trial do not hesitate to stand for their rights." A message was received with applause during one session that "the Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church has resolved unanimously to give a vote to women on the questions that have until now been submitted only to the men of the congregation."

The evening meetings were largely given up to addresses and at the one where Woman Suffrage in Practice was considered Mrs. Madge Donohue of Australia, spoke on An Experiment Justified; Mrs. Steele, New Zealand, Fifteen Years of Woman Suffrage; Miss Furuhjelm, A True Democracy. At another evening session Miss Fredrikke Mörck gave the Results of Woman Suffrage in Norway. In a symposium, Why Should Representative Governments Enfranchise Women? the speakers were Miss Ashton, Mrs. Minna Cauer, Germany; Miss Janka Grossman, Hungary; Mrs. Theo. Haver, Netherlands; Mrs. Louise Keilhau, Norway; Mrs. Frigga Carlberg, Sweden; Mrs. Olga Golovine, Russia; Mrs. A. Girardet, Switzerland; Miss Macmillan, Great Britain. Here as at nearly all of the public meetings Dr. Anna Howard Shaw made the closing speech, for if she was not on the program the audience called for her. Mrs. Münter gave an address on the Legal Position of Danish Women; Dr. Elizabeth Altmann Gottheiner, Germany, Does the Working Woman Need the Ballot? Mrs. Miriam Brown, Canada, Ideal Womanhood; others were made by Miss Rosika Schwimmer, Hungary, and Miss Stirling, Great Britain. An afternoon meeting for young people was addressed by Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, chairman; Mrs. Ann M. Holmgren, Sweden; Dr. Anita Augspurg, Mrs. Mirovitch; Miss Rendell, Great Britain; Miss Schwimmer; Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, United States.

Much pleasure was expressed at the report of Mrs. Staatsministerinde Qvam, president of the National Woman Suffrage Association of Norway, who said in beginning: "Since we met in Copenhagen taxpaying women in Norway have obtained full suffrage and eligibility to office by a vote of 96 to 23 in the Parliament. About 300,000 women have become entitled to vote. It is calculated that 200,000 are yet excluded, although

the tax is very small. . . . The object of our association is suffrage for women on the same terms as for men. The men have universal suffrage. We therefore will continue our work until the women have gained this same right." Miss Eline Hansen gave an interesting report of winning the Municipal franchise in Denmark.

Woman Suffrage from a Christian Point of View was presented one afternoon by Mrs. Beelaerts von Blokland, chairman; Countess Anna von Hogendorp and Mr. Hugenholtz, all of the Netherlands; Mrs. Blauenfeldt, Denmark; Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, United States. An address sent by Lady Frances Balfour was read by Mrs. C. H. Corbett, Great Britain; one sent by Mrs. Aline Hoffmann, Switzerland, was read by Miss Johanna W. A. Naber, Netherlands; one sent by Mme. Mangeret, France, was read by Mrs. Heineken-Daum, Netherlands. Greetings were given from the National Councils of Women of Germany and The Netherlands by their presidents, Mrs. Marie Stritt and Miss Elizabeth Baelde; from Great Britain, France, Belgium, Norway and Sweden by fraternal delegates, Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Cecile Cahen, Miss Ida La Fontaine, Miss Thea Holst, Dr. Lydia Wahlstrom; from national organizations by Mrs. Elna Munck, Denmark; Dr. Phil. Käthe Schirmacher, Germany; Miss Stepankova, Bohemia; Mrs. Lang, Austria; Miss K. Honegger represented the newly affiliated national association of Switzerland and Dr. Pateff and Miss Jenny Bojilowa that of Bulgaria. Most valuable reports were read from all the affiliated countries containing accounts of their political conditions and the status of the movement for woman suffrage, which were printed in the Minutes, filling over fifty pages.

The Resolutions Committee, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Miss Ashton and Mrs. van Loenen de Bores, reported strong resolutions, which were fully discussed and adopted. The last one was as follows: "Resolved, that the plain duty of women at the present hour is to secure the support and cooperation of all the forces favorable to woman suffrage, without question as to their political or religious affiliations; to avoid any entanglement with outside matters; to ask for the franchise on the same terms as it is now or may be exercised by men, leaving any

required extension to be decided by men and women together when both have equal voice, vote and power."

The conference accepted with appreciation the cordial invitation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies of Great Britain, extended through its president, Mrs. Fawcett, to hold its next meeting in London. At the public session on the last evening Mrs. van Itallie van Embden, Netherlands, spoke on the subject, *Does the Wife, Mother and Homekeeper Need the Ballot?* Mrs. Anna Kalmanovitch, Russia, on *The Final Aim of the Woman Movement*; addresses were made by Mrs. Emilia Mariana, Italy; Mrs. Mirovitch, Dr. Wahlstrom and Dr. Shaw. Mrs. Catt gave the final words of farewell and the delegates parted in friendship to meet again as comrades in a great cause.

#### FIRST QUINQUENNIAL OF THE ALLIANCE.

The first Quinquennial and the Fifth Conference of the Alliance met in St. James Hall, London, April 26-May 1, 1909, with the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in the chair. A cordial address of greeting was made at the first morning session by Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, president of the National Union of Women's suffrage Societies, the hostess of the guests from many nations. Preceding chapters have given an idea of the wide scope and the general character of these international meetings and the names of those who earliest represented their countries and their associations. Here at the end of the first five years the list of delegates and alternates filled four and a half printed pages and seventy-three fraternal delegates were present from forty-one different organizations; in addition there were speakers on the program who were not on these lists.

Among the organizations sending fraternal representatives, men and women of distinction, were International and National Councils of Women, Actresses', Artists' and Writers' Leagues, Women's Federation of the British Liberal Party, Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Associations, Men's Suffrage Leagues, Independent Labour Party, International Women's Socialist Bureau, Ethical Societies, Women's Trade Unions, Industrial Suffrage Societies, Women's National Press Association,

Women's Agricultural Clubs, Fabian Society, National Committee against the White Slave Traffic—the list is almost endless. Naturally all wanted to be heard and how to permit this and leave any time for the regular proceedings of the convention became a serious question. The United States, Great Britain, Denmark, Germany, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden sent their full quota of six delegates and six alternates. Five were present from Finland, six from Hungary and five from South Africa. The Government of Norway had sent as its official delegate Mrs. Staatsministerinde F. M. Qvam, president of the National Woman Suffrage Association. A National Association had now been formed in France and its secretary, Madame Jane Misme, brought its request for affiliation. A similar request was presented by Mlle. Daugotte, delegate from a new association in Belgium, and both were unanimously and joyfully welcomed.

At the first evening session the speakers were Mrs. Qvam, Miss Annie Furuhjelm, Finland; Mrs. Isabel May, New Zealand; Armitage Rigby, Isle of Man, all testifying to the good effects of woman suffrage in their respective countries, and Mrs. Catt delivered her president's address, a thorough review of the work of the Alliance. She said in part:

On a June day in 1904 the delegated representatives of seven National Woman Suffrage Associations met in a little hall in Berlin to discuss the practicability of completing a proposed International Union. At that date there were in all the world only ten countries in which woman suffrage organizations could be found. Those of you who were present will well remember the uncertainty and misgivings which characterized our deliberations. The doubting delegates questioned whether the times were yet ripe for this radical step; already over-taxed by the campaigns in their respective countries they questioned whether the possible benefits which might arise from international connection might not be over-balanced by the burden it would impose. There were delegates also who asked whether it was within the bounds of possibilities that suffragists could work together in harmony when they not only would represent differences of race and character but widely different stages of development of the movement itself. There were even more serious problems to be considered. Some of our associations were pledged to universal suffrage, some to Municipal, some to suffrage based upon a property or educational qualification. How could such differences, each defended as it was by intense conviction, be united in a common platform? . . . Yet despite all these obstacles, which

at that time seemed to many well nigh insurmountable, our International Alliance was founded "for better or worse" and I think I may add "till death do us part."

Five years have passed away, prosperous, successful, triumphant years; prosperous, for we have known no quarrel or misunderstanding; successful, for the number of National Associations in our Alliance has more than doubled; triumphant, because the gains to our cause within the past five years are more significant in effect and meaning than all which had come in the years preceding. Indeed, when we look back over that little stretch of time and observe the mighty changes which have come within our movement; when we hear the reports of the awakening of men and women to the justice of our cause all the way around the world, I am sure that there is no pessimist among us who does not realize that at last the tide of woman's enfranchisement is coming in.

Mrs. Catt described the influence the Alliance had had in these changes and said: "We have been baptised in that spirit of the 20th century which the world calls Internationalism; it is a sentiment like love or religion or patriotism, which is to be experienced rather than defined in words. Under the influence of this new spirit we realize that we are not enlisted for the work of our own countries alone but that before us stretches the task of emancipating the women of the civilized world. . . ." The brilliant Congress of Women held in Russia in spite of its reactionary government was described, and the women of Finland were urged not to be discouraged because the iron rule of Russia was again threatening their recently gained liberty. The progress in other European countries was sketched and the address then dealt unsparingly with the situation in Great Britain, where the women for years had organized and worked for the candidates of the political parties, and continued:

If the women of England have time enough to solicit votes for the men of their party and intelligence enough to train men to vote; if they do not neglect their homes and families when their political parties direct them to act as catspaws to pull the political chestnuts out of the fire and to put them into the Conservative and Liberal baskets, the world wants to know how these political parties are going to escape from the logic of the situation when these same women ask some of the chestnuts for themselves. Again, this nation was presided over for sixty years by a woman, and she was accounted worthy to present an annual Parliamentary Address in which she pointed out the duty of the members of Parliament.

Now the outside world wants to know how that Parliament can consistently say that other British women are not even worthy to cast a vote to elect that body. There is still another reason why the world is watching England. The British Colonies have enfranchised women; how is the Home Government to explain the phenomenon of women, enfranchised in Australia, then disfranchised in England; enfranchised in New Zealand and disfranchised when they return to the mother country?

She called attention to the forming of the Anti-Suffrage Association by women in Great Britain and said: "They are sending in a petition to Parliament. It is well known that people by nature are opposed to new things; before education people are anti-suffragists. If a petition opposed to woman suffrage should be presented to the Hottentots, the Afghanistans, the tribes of Thibet or to the interior of Turkey, every individual would sign it and the longest petition 'opposed to the further extension of rights to women' yet known could be secured there. A petition for suffrage, however, carries a very different meaning; every name represents a convert, a victory, an education of the understanding, an answer to an appeal for justice. A woman suffrage petition is a gain; an anti-suffrage petition merely shows how much more must be gained. One is positive, the other negative. Wait a little and you will find that England, and other countries as well, will perceive the real truth, that the anti-suffrage women are the most inconsistent products of all the ages."

The flaying did not stop here but Mrs. Catt called attention to the fact that this convention celebrated the birthday of Mary Wollstonecraft, referred to the position of women in her time and said:

There have been women who have crucified their very souls and the lineal ancestors of the present-day "antis" with withering scorn and criticism opposed every step. Yet some of those modern anti-suffragists possess a college degree, an opportunity which other women won for them in the face of universal ridicule; they own property which is theirs today as the effect of laws which other women labored for a quarter of a century to secure; they stand upon public platforms where free speech for women was won for them by other women amid the jeers of howling mobs; they use the right of organization which was established as the result of many a heartache and many a brave endeavor when the world condemned it as a threat against all moral order. They accept with

satisfaction every political right which has been accorded by their Government; they even accept public office. They take all as their birthright; and yet, endowed with this power of education, of property, of organization, of free speech, of partial political rights, they turn upon the last logical effort in the movement which has given them so much and with supreme self-satisfaction say: "Thus far shalt thou come and no farther." It takes no logic to perceive the inconsistency of such a position. . . .

The changed position of women in the world of labor was sketched; the old divisions were obliterated; a great army of women were now competing with men in the open market and there were found not only women but little children. Everywhere was cruel injustice to women, barred out from the higher places, working for half the pay of men in others, and discriminated against even by the labor unions. "They are utterly at the mercy of selfish employers, of hard economic conditions and unfair legislation," she said. "The only logical conclusion is to give votes to working women that they may defend their own wages, hours and conditions. We have worked to gain the suffrage because the principle is just. We must work for it now because this great army of wage-earning women are crying to us for help, immediate help. . . . You and I must know no sleep or rest or hesitation so long as a single civilized land has failed to recognize equal rights for men and women, in the workshop and the factory, at the ballot box and in the Parliament, in the home and in the church."

Here as at all meetings of the Alliance one of the most valuable features was the reports from the various countries, reaching almost from "the Arctic Circle to the equator," of the progress in the movement for suffrage, juster laws for women, better industrial conditions. Printed in fifty-seven pages of the Minutes they formed a storehouse of information nowhere else to be found. As the struggle of the "militants" in Great Britain was attracting world-wide attention to the exclusion of the many years of persistent work by the original association in educating not only women themselves but also public opinion to see the necessity for woman suffrage, the report of its president, Mrs. Fawcett, had a special interest:



The year which has just closed is the most strenuous and active we have ever known since women's suffrage has been before the country. The number of societies which combine to form the National Union has more than doubled. The membership in several societies has more than doubled and in others has largely increased; in one important society it has been multiplied by five. The number of meetings held throughout the year in connection with the National Union alone has been unprecedented, an average of at least four a day. The experience gained at bye-elections confirms the Union in their view that by far the most effective work can be done by acting strictly on non-party lines and supporting that candidate whose record and declarations on the subject of suffrage are the most satisfactory. . . .

At the beginning of last November Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., was elected Mayor of Aldeburgh; Miss Dove, M.A., the head mistress of Wycombe Abbey School, came within two votes of being chosen Mayor of the borough of High Wycombe. Several women at the same time were elected as borough councillors, among whom we may mention our colleague, Miss Margaret Ashton, the president of the Manchester and North of England Society for Women's Suffrage. A large Conservative and Unionist Association for women's suffrage has been formed. Its president is Lady Knightley of Fawsley and among its vice-presidents are the Duchess of Sutherland, the Countess of Meath, Viscountess Middleton, Lady Robert Cecil, Miss Alice Balfour, etc.

In December a weighty and closely reasoned statement of the case for women's suffrage was presented to the Prime Minister by the Registered Medical Women of the United Kingdom. The committee were able to inform Mr. Asquith that out of 553 all but 15 support the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. The case for women's suffrage was argued before the Judicial Committee of the House of Lords in November last with great ability by Miss Chrystal Macmillan, M.A., B.Sc. The case was raised on the plea of women graduates of the Scottish Universities that they were entitled to vote in the election for the members of Parliament representing the universities. The word used in the Scottish University Act was "persons"—all "persons" having passed such and such degrees and fulfilled such and such conditions were entitled to vote in such elections. The case had been heard before two Scottish Courts and adverse decisions had been given. The House of Lords was appealed to as the highest Court and it confirmed the decisions of the lower courts that the word "persons" does not include women when it refers to privileges granted by the State.

Mrs. Fawcett spoke of the work of the Union year after year for the suffrage bill in Parliament; of the enrollment during the present year of over 300 men eminent in literature, science, the

arts, law, public offices, churches, education, commerce, etc.; of its great procession and the demonstration in Albert Hall. She said of the other organization, which was yet in its early stages of aggressiveness: "Opinions greatly differ in suffrage circles as to the effect produced on the cause by what are known as 'militant' tactics. It is difficult for one who is completely identified with constitutional methods to judge aright the total result of unconstitutional forms of agitation. That the 'militants' have been courageous and self-sacrificing no one denies. That they have provoked discussion and aroused attention is equally obvious and from these our cause always stands to gain. On the other hand many of us feel a profound conviction, which experience only strengthens, that women are adopting a mistaken course in appealing to violence. Our business as women asking for justice is not to rely upon physical force but in the eternal principles of right and justice. Law abiding methods alienate no one while methods of violence and disorder create anti-suffragists by the hundreds."

To this convention, as to the one of the preceding year in Amsterdam, Mrs. Pankhurst refused to send any representatives of the Women's Social and Political Union. A mass meeting under its auspices was held in Albert Hall one evening and many of the delegates accepted an official invitation to attend.

At an afternoon session ten minute addresses were made by Mrs. Betsy Kjelsberg of Norway on Six Years' Experience in Municipal Work; by Mrs. Madge Donohoe for Australia, The Latest Victory; by Dr. phil. Gulli Petrini of Sweden, Suffrage Work on Both Sides of the Polar Circle; by Mrs. Rutgers-Hoitsema, A Curious Football Game in Holland; others by Mrs. Zeneide Mirovitch, Russia; Miss Theo. Daugaard, Denmark; Mlle. Daugotte, Belgium; Mme. Auberlet, France; Mrs. Saul Solomon, South Africa. The Dutch Men's League for Women Suffrage was represented by E. J. van Straaten, LL.D. and F. F. W. Kehrer-Gorinchens; the British by Herbert Jacobs and Dr. C. W. Drysdale. Mrs. Anna M. Haslam, fraternal delegate from the Irish Women's Suffrage Association, and her husband, Thomas J., the oldest delegates, were most cordially

received. The Bohemian delegate, Marie Tumova, could not be present because making a campaign for election to the Diet.

The delegates had a strenuous time trying to attend the business meetings, listen to the excellent programs of prominent speakers, go to the enjoyable social affairs and make the visits and excursions to the many historical places in and around London which most of them had always longed to see. The Executive Committee of the National Union, Mrs. Fawcett, chairman, served as Reception Committee; its treasurer, Miss Bertha Mason, expended the large fund subscribed for the use of the convention; the Press Committee managed the newspapers through Miss Compton Burnett; Mrs. Anstruther, Rutland House, Portland Gardens, had the exacting but pleasant duties of chairman of the Hospitality Committee.

A delightful reception on Sunday evening, April 25, at the Lyceum Club, introduced the pleasures of the week, which ended with a handsome reception given by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage on Saturday evening. There was a brilliant official dinner at Prince's Restaurant and there were teas and concerts and dramatic entertainments. To most of the delegates the weeks were the richest in experience ever known, with the specially conducted visits to famous universities and schools; cathedrals and abbeys; galleries and palaces; courts and gardens—every spot filled with historic associations for English speaking people and with intense interest for those of other countries. For delegates concerned with civic and social work there was the keenest enjoyment in the specialized and extensive developments along many lines. The Minutes of the convention thus describe one of its leading events:

The mass meeting at the Royal Albert Hall under the auspices of the London Society for Women's Suffrage afforded the delegates a most impressive display of the earnestness of the British suffragists. A procession of women engaged in various trades and professions, carrying the emblems of their work, marched from Eaton Square to the hall. It was a wonderful inspiration to the brave bands of pioneers from other lands to see the long procession march with fluttering flags and swinging lanterns along the darkening streets, greeted now with sympathy, now with jeers. As it entered the hall and trade after trade, profession after profession filed past the platform on which were seated women of all nations,

the enthusiasm reached its height. It would be impossible to give a list of the groups but especially notable were the chain makers from Cradley Heath, who toil for about four shillings per week of sixty hours. The common remark that the suffrage movement is an amusement for rich women was once for all disproved as the factory workers and cotton operatives in their distinctive dress swung into the vast arena. The group of women doctors in their gorgeous robes were loudly cheered, as were the nurses and midwives who followed, while teachers of all branches of the profession closed the long line. There were notable speeches but the real effect of the meeting lay in the wonderful gathering itself, women of all nations, classes, creeds and occupations united for a common purpose, together with men, filling one of the largest halls in Europe. Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., presided and the speakers were Ramsey McDonald, M.P., Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw, Miss Frances Sterling and Mrs. Philip Snowden.

Twice during the convention it came in touch with royalty in an interesting way. At the official dinner Mrs. Qvam, delegate from the Norwegian Government and president of the National Suffrage Association, brought greetings and wishes for the success of the congress from Queen Maud of Norway, a daughter of King Edward and Queen Alexandra, to which an appreciative response was sent. At a morning session the birth of a daughter to the Queen of the Netherlands was announced and at the request of Dr. Aletta Jacobs, president of the National Suffrage Association of that country, a telegram of congratulations from the Alliance was sent.

There was much discussion over the motion that all organizations auxiliary to the Alliance must have woman suffrage as their sole object. It was finally decided in the affirmative and a flood of societies of every description was excluded. The number of delegates permitted to each country was increased from six to twelve, with twelve alternates. A resolution was adopted urging the National Suffrage Association of each nation to prepare a comprehensive statement of the laws which place women at a disadvantage in regard to property, earnings, marriage, divorce, guardianship of children, education, industrial conditions and political rights, and to explain, when demanding their immediate enfranchisement from their respective Parliaments, that they consider these injustices can be effectively removed only through joint political action by men and women.

This was introduced at the request of Lady McLaren, who had prepared such a charter for Great Britain. Many beautiful designs for a flag and banner had been submitted and it was found that the one selected was the work of Miss Branting of Sweden. The international hymn chosen from a number which were submitted was written by Mrs. Theodora Flower Mills.

As this was the quinquennial meeting officers were elected. Mrs. Catt was unanimously re-elected and the following received large majorities: Mrs. Fawcett, first, and Miss Furuhjelm, second vice-presidents; Miss Martina Kramers, Netherlands; Mrs. Anna Lindemann, Germany; Miss Signe Bergman, Sweden, first, second and third secretaries; Mrs. Stanton Coit, treasurer. As the time of holding the regular session of the Alliance was changed from five to four years they were elected to hold office until 1913. Mrs. Catt welcomed the new officers and warmly thanked the retiring officers for their valuable services. The invitation to hold the congress of 1911 in Stockholm, if the political conditions were favorable, was accepted with pleasure.

The Resolutions presented by the committee—Miss Frances Sterling, Great Britain; Mrs. E. R. Mirrlees, South Africa; Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, United States—and adopted, summarized the gains of the past few years in Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, Germany, Netherlands, Bohemia, Cape Colony and the Transvaal and said: "This Congress, remembering the lessons of history, urges the National Societies not to be betrayed into postponing their claim for the enfranchisement of women for any other object, whether it be the further extension of the suffrage to men or the success of some political party." At the last meeting of the delegates Mrs. Catt thanked them for their hearty cooperation with their president; she urged them to demand the suffrage upon the broadest basis, namely, that the government may rest equally on the will of both men and women, and said the Alliance would wield great influence if they remained united and they would secure the enfranchisement of the women of the world for all future generations. A public meeting in St. James Hall was held on the last evening with Mrs. Catt in the chair and addresses of the highest order were made by Miss Margaret Ashton, Men and Women; the Rev. Ivory Cripps, the Nation's

Need of Women; Miss Rosika Schwimmer, *The Hungarian Outlook*; H. Y. Stanger, M. P., *The Prospect of Franchise Reform*; Dr. Käthe Schirmacher, *Woman Suffrage*.

On the Sunday afternoon preceding the convention the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw preached for a Men's Meeting at Whitefield's, Tottenham Court Road, the most of the large and interested audience hearing for the first time a sermon by a woman. On the Sunday following the convention she preached in the morning for the West London Ethical Society in the Kensington Town Hall and in the evening at the King's Weigh House Chapel, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the Rev. Canon Scott Holland gave a sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral, the national church, on the Religious Aspect of Women's Suffrage, with two hundred seats reserved for the delegates, and they felt a deep thrill of rejoicing at hearing within those ancient walls a strong plea for the enfranchisement of women. They were invited to attend the next evening a symposium by the Shakespeare League at King's College on What Shakespeare Thought of Women.

#### SIXTH CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIANCE.

The Sixth Conference and Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance took place in the banquet hall of the Grand Hotel, Stockholm, June 12-17, 1911. The coming of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the Alliance, had been widely heralded. She had been received in Copenhagen with national honors by cabinet ministers and foreign legations; the American flag run up for her wherever she went and the Danish colors dipped and there was almost a public ovation. In Christiania she was met with a greeting from a former Prime Minister and an official address of welcome from the Government and was received by King Haakon. At Stockholm she was met by deputations with flowers and speeches. Dinners, receptions and concerts followed. The American and Swedish flags waved together. The whole city knew that something important was going to happen. In the midst of it all the woman suffrage bill came up for discussion in both Houses of the Parliament. The inter-

national president was escorted to the Lower House by a body of women that crowded the galleries. After a stormy debate the bill to enfranchise the women of Sweden received a majority vote. In the midst of the applause Mrs. Catt was hurried to the Upper Chamber, the stronghold of caste and conservatism. Her presence and that of the flower of Swedish womanhood did not save the bill from the usual defeat.

The congress opened with representatives from twenty-four affiliated National Associations and two Committees, those of Austria and Bohemia. The government of Norway sent as its official delegate Dr. Kristine Bonnevie. The list of delegates filled seven printed pages, the United States, the Netherlands and Sweden having the full quota of twelve delegates and twelve alternates, Germany lacking only three of the latter, while Great Britain, France, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Hungary had twelve or more. Six were present from Russia; Bulgaria, Servia, Switzerland, South Africa, Iceland and Canada had representatives. Of fraternal delegates from other organizations there was no end—about seventy men and women—among them members of five Men's Leagues for Woman Suffrage—in the United States, Great Britain, Netherlands, Hungary and Sweden. In addition to the spoken words letters and telegrams of greeting were read from societies and individuals in twelve different countries. The distinguished guests of the occasion were Dr. Selma Lagerlöf of Sweden, who had recently received the Nobel Literature Prize, and Miss Helena Westermarck of Finland, the eminent writer and publicist. Among prominent speakers were Mayor Carl Lindhagen and Ernest Beckman, M. P., the Rev. K. H. G. von Scheele, Bishop of Visby, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Fries. The ushers and pages were women students of the universities.

On the Sunday afternoon preceding the convention the precedent of all past ages was broken when Dr. Anna Howard Shaw preached in the ancient State Church of Gusta Vasa. When the Swedish women asked for the use of the church they were told that this could be granted only to a minister of the same denomination but they learned that when a minister from another country was visiting Sweden the pastor of the church might invite

him to occupy his pulpit at his discretion. The pastor said he would run the risk, knowing that he might incur the displeasure of the Bishop, and Dr. Shaw, therefore, felt a double responsibility. She could not enter the pulpit, however, but spoke from a platform in front of it. It was a never to be forgotten scene. The grand old church was crowded to the last inch of space, although admission was by ticket. Facing the chancel were the thirty famous women singers of Göteborg, their cantor a woman, and the noted woman organist and composer, Elfrida Andrée, who composed the music for the occasion. In the center of all was the little black-robed minister. It was said by many to be the most wonderful sermon of her life and after the service was over the pastor, with tears rolling down his cheeks, went up to her with hands outstretched and taking both of hers said: "I am the happiest man in Sweden." Sunday evening a reception was given at the Restaurant Rosenbad to the officers, presidents of national auxiliaries and Swedish Committee of Arrangements by its chairman, Mrs. Bertha Nordenson. At six o'clock excursions of many delegates had started to enjoy the long evening when the sun did not set till nearly midnight.

The official report of the first executive session Monday morning said: "Miss Janet Richards, delegate from the U. S. A., with an admirable speech, presented to the Alliance from the State which had recently given full suffrage to women a gavel bearing the inscription: "To the International W. S. A. from the Washington Equal Suffrage Association." It was announced that National Suffrage Associations had been formed in Iceland and Servia and they were gladly accepted as auxiliaries, bringing the number up to twenty-six. The municipality had contributed 3,000 crowns to the congress, which proved to be the largest ever held in Stockholm. Season tickets had been sold to 1,200 persons and other hundreds bought tickets to the various meetings. During the entire week the flags of the nations represented at the congress floated from the flagstaves that lined the quay in front of the Grand Hotel facing the royal palace, as far as the eye could reach. All the time Mrs. Catt was in the city the American flag was run up for her as a public guest wherever she went and the Swedish colors dipped a salute.



The Congress was formally opened in the afternoon of June 12 with addresses of welcome from Miss Anna Whitlock, acting president of the National Suffrage Association of Sweden, and the Hon. Ernest Beckman, M. P., president of the National Swedish Liberal Association, and response from the Alliance was made by Miss Chrystal Macmillan of Great Britain, proxy for Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, its first vice-president. Miss Anna Kleman, president of the Stockholm suffrage society, then presented the beautiful white satin, gold embroidered Alliance banner, which was carried by six university students in white dresses with sashes of the Swedish colors. Mrs. Catt announced that the Alliance flag was now flying over the Grand Hotel where they were assembled. The banner was the gift of Miss Lotten von Kroemer, a pioneer suffragist of Sweden, and the flag of the resident Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Tea Co., U. S. A. A suffrage song written by K. G. Ossian-Nillson and the music composed by Hugo Alfvén for the occasion was sung by the Women's Choir of Göteborg, after which an official delegate of the Government extended its greeting while the audience rose and the flags of the nations waved from the galleries. Mrs. Catt received an ovation as she came to the front of the platform to make her address. It filled twenty-three pages of the printed minutes and was a complete resumé of the early position of women, the vast changes that had been wrought and the great work which the Alliance was doing. Only a few quotations are possible:

In the recent debate on the bill in the Swedish Parliament a university professor said in a tone of eloquent finality: "The woman suffrage movement has reached and passed its climax; the suffrage wave is now rapidly receding." With patronizing air, more droll than he could know, the gentleman added: "We have permitted this movement to come thus far but we shall allow it to go no farther." Thus another fly resting upon the proverbial wheel of progress commanded it to turn no more. This man engages our attention because he is a representative of a type to be found in all our lands; wise men on the wrong side of a great question, modern Joshuas who command the sun to stand still and believe that it will obey.

Long centuries before the birth of Darwin an old-time Hindoo wrote: "I stand on a river's bank. I know not whence the waters come or whither they go. So deep and silent is its current that I know not whether it flows north or south; all is mystery to me;

but when I climb yon summit the river becomes a silver thread weaving its length in and out among the hills and over the plains. I see it all from its source in yonder mountain to its outlet in yonder sea. There is no more mystery." So these university professors buried in school books, these near-sighted politicians, fail to note the meaning of passing events. To them the woman movement is an inexplicable mystery, but to us standing upon the summit of international union, where we may observe every manifestation of this movement in all parts of the world, there is no mystery. From its sources ages ago, amid the protests which we know barbaric women must have made against the cruel wrongs done their sex, we clearly trace its course through the centuries, moving slowly but majestically onward, gathering momentum with each century, each generation, until just before us lies the golden sea of woman's full liberty.

Mrs. Catt traced the progress of the ages until it culminated in the demand for political rights for women, told of the beginning of the Alliance and said: "Today, seven years later, our Alliance counts 26 auxiliary national associations. Are these evidences of a wave rapidly receding? It would be more in accordance with facts should we adopt the proud boast of the British Empire and say that the sun now never sets upon woman suffrage activities. The subscribing membership in the world has increased seven times in the past seven years and it has doubled since the London congress two years ago. Even in Great Britain, where the opposition declared at that time very confidently that the campaign had reached its climax, the National Union, our auxiliary, has tripled its individual membership, tripled its auxiliary societies and doubled its funds since then, and twelve independent suffrage societies have been organized. The membership and campaign funds have likewise tripled in the United States and every president of an auxiliary national society has reported increase in numbers, funds and activity. . . . No human power, no university professor, no Parliament, no government, can stay the coming of woman suffrage. It is a step in the evolution of society and the eternal verities are behind it. . . . Of the 24 nations represented in this congress the women of 15 have more political rights than they had seven years ago."

Mrs. Catt paid high tribute to the Scandinavian people and eulogized Fredrika Bremer, Sweden's great pioneer. In speaking of the progress in this country she said: "Municipal suffrage

has now been extended to married women and eligibility to office to all women. Organizations exist in 170 towns, some of them north of the Arctic Circle; there is a paying membership of 12,000 and 1,550 meetings have been held in the last two years. Two political parties espouse the cause. Women may vote for town and county councils, which elect the Upper House of Parliament, and thirty-seven are serving on these councils." She referred eloquently to the honored Selma Lagerlöf and to Dr. Lydia Wahlstrom, the recent president of the National Suffrage Association, who had been crowned with a laurel wreath for her wisdom by the University of Upsala. She told of a questionnaire she had sent to the presidents of the national suffrage associations in all countries asking what were the indications that the woman suffrage movement was growing and said: "Such volumes of evidence of progress were received that it is quite impossible to give an idea of its far reaching character. . . .<sup>1</sup>

At the official reception given by the National Suffrage Association of Sweden in the evening the guests were welcomed by Mrs. Ann Margret Holmgren and their appreciative responses were made by Mrs. Margaret Hodge, Australia; Miss Gabriella Danzerova, Bohemia; Mrs. Daisy Minor, Austria; Miss Helen Clay-Petersen, Denmark; Miss Annie Furuhjelm, Finland; Madam DeWitt Schlumberger, France; Dr. jur. Anita Augspurg, Germany; Mrs. Olga Ungar, Hungary; Mrs. Philip Snowden, Great Britain. These were followed by a cantata beautifully rendered by the Göteborg choir, words and music by women.

During the convention Lieutenant Colonel W. A. E. Mansfeldt of Holland made the report for its Men's League for Woman Suffrage; Dr. C. V. Drysdale for Great Britain; Jean du Breuil for France; Dr. Alexander Patai for Hungary; Frederick Nathan for the United States, and the founding of an International Men's League was announced with Colocel Mansfeldt secretary.

The reports of the work of the different branches and their discussion, bringing before the Alliance the experience and opinions of women from all parts of the world, were perhaps the most valuable feature of the conference. The most animated

<sup>1</sup> The reports from the various countries prepared for this congress filled fifty-seven pages of the printed report and fully justified Mrs. Catt's statement.

and vital of these discussions was the one of a political nature, divided into three parts: 1. What political work have the women of the enfranchised countries done, what is their relation to the different parties and how do these treat them? Have they any advice to offer? led by Miss Hodge, Mrs. Louise Keilhau, Norway; Dr. Tekla Hultin, M. P., Finland. 2. How can woman's political influence be brought to bear most effectively on Parliaments and governments? Led by Mrs. Snowden; Mrs. Anna B. Wicksell, Sweden; Dr. Käthe Schirmacher, Germany; Miss Richards. 3. What should be the relation of the suffrage movement to political parties in the unenfranchised countries? Led by Miss Eline Hansen, Denmark; Miss Rosika Schwimmer, Hungary; Madame Pichon, France; Mrs. Zeneide Mirovitch, Russia. There was a wide divergence of opinion but at last a resolution was unanimously adopted that "woman suffrage societies do their best work when organized in a non-partisan manner." In order to remove persistent misunderstanding a statement presented by Mrs. Catt was adopted explaining the wording of the resolution demanding "the franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be exercised by men." It declared that the Alliance had on no occasion taken a position for or against any special form of suffrage but that the affiliated societies were left entirely free to determine for themselves which form they would demand. The Alliance did not express an opinion as to what should be the qualifications for enfranchisement, its sole object being to establish the principle that *sex* should not be a disqualification.

No more eminent group of women speakers ever appeared before an audience than those who spoke in the Royal Opera House of Stockholm on the second evening of the convention. Mrs. Catt presided and addresses were made by Miss Westermarck, Dr. Augspurg, Mrs. Snowden, Miss Schwimmer, Dr. Shaw and Sweden's best beloved Selma Lagerlöf. The last named moved the audience to tears during her address on Home and State by her impassioned plea for the enfranchisement of women. It was said by delegates from the various countries who had attended many of these international gatherings that this meeting surpassed all others. Another which differed from all that

had gone before was the great gathering in Skansen, the magnificent park, where at 7 o'clock, from two platforms, noted speakers from ten countries addressed an audience of thousands. A dinner followed in the park house, Högenloft, with fine music, and then in the open air the visitors saw the famous national dances and processions by the young people in the picturesque costumes of the country.

Although the official languages of the Alliance were French, German and English a crowded meeting was held one evening in the People's House with the speeches in the northern tongues, understood by all the Scandinavian people. It was opened by Mayor Lindhagen, an ardent advocate of woman suffrage. At another session the Woman Question in the Russian Parliament was considered by the noted woman leader, Dr. Shiskin-Yavein; the Suffrage Outlook in Bohemia by Miss Maria Tumova, recent candidate for Parliament; the Future of South African Women by Miss Nina Boyle. A special meeting was held one afternoon in the hall of the Young Women's Christian Association. Mrs. Marie Stritt, Germany; Mme. Maria Verone, France, and Miss Macmillan were appointed to compile a pamphlet of information about woman suffrage in all lands to be used for propaganda work.

A delegate from the United States, Professor Mary Gray Peck, officially connected with its national suffrage headquarters, gave the following description in a letter to the press:

The ball room of the Grand Hotel where the meetings were held is a palatial apartment, its walls richly gilded and adorned with long mirrors between the windows, while from the ceiling hang great crystal chandeliers, which were always lighted while the congress was in session. The platform for officers and distinguished guests was placed between gilded pillars at one end of the hall, draped and canopied with the national colors of Sweden, blue and yellow, and the international suffrage colors, yellow and white. Then there is the memory of other places where the delegates assembled, the ancient State Church, with its reminder of St. Paul's in London; the splendid Academy of Music, with the heraldic banners of the nations suspended around the gallery; the Royal Opera House with its tiers of balconies and the rising of the curtain to show the beautiful stage picture of the speakers and the arch of flowers beneath which they spoke; the Moorish court in the Royal Hotel, where the reception was held, with the delightful Birgitta cantata, recalling the heroic in Swedish womanhood; the open air meeting at Skansen

with the native songs and dances; the farewell in the garden at Saltsjöbaden, given by the Stockholm society; the peasant singing and the wonderful ride back to the city by late northern twilight and moonlight together.

The closing speech of the congress made by the international president at the close of the dinner at Saltsjöbaden was something indescribable. She stood on a balcony facing the sunset sky and blue sea, with pine trees forming an amphitheater in the background. It was like a triumphant recessional, with benediction for the past and challenge for the future, and when the speaker descended from the balcony and went down to the boat landing followed by the singing of the peasants, the crowd divided, leaving a wide path, and stood gazing after her as though she were too imperial to be followed by anything but music.

On the Sunday following the congress an excursion was arranged on beautiful Lake Malaren to the ancient Castle of Gripsholm, where evening dinner was served. The city council and the State railways financially assisted the Entertainment Committee. At all of the Alliance congresses the social entertainments were a marked feature. The hospitality was boundless and each country had its historic places and beautiful resorts which differed so much from those of all others as to give them an indescribable charm and interest. Following is part of the report of this one by Mrs. Anna Lindemann, secretary of the Alliance: <sup>1</sup>

The official entertainments were most appropriately opened by the truly international greeting which Mrs. Holmgren, one of the founders of the Swedish suffrage movement, addressed to the guests at the reception in the Grand Hotel Royal. Her words which gave a hearty welcome to the French and German-speaking guests and to our Swedish sisters in their several languages; the beautiful cantata written by Sigrid Leijonhufvud, the music composed by Alfrida Andree specially for this occasion, and last but

<sup>1</sup> The committee which had been appointed to prepare for the congress and had been working for many months beforehand consisted of the Executive Committee of the central board of the National Suffrage Association and the presidents of sub-committees formed for different purposes. Miss Signe Bergman acted as president, Miss Axianne Thorstenson as vice-president, Miss Anna Frisell as treasurer, Miss Nini Kohnberger and Miss Elise Carlson as secretaries. Mrs. Virgin was at the head of the Finance Committee. The work of the Press Committee was directed by Mrs. Else Kleen. Mrs. Lily Laurent was at the head of the Committee on Localities. Mrs. Lizinski Dyrssen headed the Committee for Festivities. Mrs. Ezaline Boheman was the head of the Information Bureau. Miss Lamm and Miss Anden directed the work of the thirty university students who served as pages and whose kindness and swift and silent service none will ever forget. At the head of the Travelling Committee was Dr. Malin Wester-Halberg, who arranged the journey to Lapland, gave information about all excursions, etc.

not least the presence of the woman all of us had long known and loved before we saw her, Selma Lagerlöf, made us feel at home in Sweden at once. This feeling deepened as time went on and Wednesday evening at Skansen a new note was added. All we saw of Swedish nature and Swedish life in that beautiful open air museum, the national dances, the characteristic art of Sven Scholander and his daughter Lisa, gave us a deeper understanding of the people whose guests we were and showed us some of the roots from which it draws its strength. Another aspect also, the refined culture of modern Sweden, was the dominant note of the dinner at Hasselbacken with the heartfelt speech of the venerable Bishop Scheele of Visby.

On a background of lovely scenery this week will stand out in our memory as one long summer day with a long, long evening full of silver light. . . . During the carriage drive generously provided by Miss Lotten von Kraemer our hearts were gladdened by the many expressions of sympathy we met on our way, from the dear old women, who waved their handkerchiefs and their aprons, down to small girls by the side of their mothers. . . . Especially the day at Upsala, by invitation of its suffrage society, will not be forgotten. The warm-hearted reception, the gay flags all through the town, at once lifted up the spirit of the whole gathering, which found a charming expression in the improvised festive procession from the botanical garden to the cathedral. The presence and eloquence of the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw gave an added dignity to this as to many others of our social gatherings. Schools, hospitals, museums, exhibitions of all kinds of women's art and women's work, were visited. . . . [The many private invitations were referred to.] The thirty-six delegates, who accepted Mrs. Caroline Benedick-Bruce's invitation to the Island of Visby, have told us that words failed to describe this beautiful day.

Looking back on the time that lies behind us, we, the women who have come here from all over the world, thank our Swedish sisters for the inspiration their kindness and their loving reception have been to us. We thank Sweden for the splendid women it has produced. We have seen the many elements that have worked together to attain this result; we have learned to admire and respect Swedish history, Swedish culture, Swedish art; and as, besides the many other things this congress has done for us, it has most specially taught us to love the Swedish women, we can express no better wish for our future conventions than that every new country which receives us may in the same way widen our hearts by a new love.

#### SEVENTH CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIANCE.

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance held its Seventh Conference and Congress in Budapest June 15-21, 1913. As had

been the case with all that had preceded, the place of meeting had been chosen with reference to the situation in regard to woman suffrage where the prospect for it seemed favorable and it was desired to influence public sentiment by showing that the movement for it was world-wide. When it had been announced at the congress in Stockholm that the next one would be held in the capital of Hungary it had seemed very far away and that country was not associated with representative government. It proved to be, however, one of the largest and most important of the conventions and its efforts were widespread, as the delegates stopped en route for mass meetings and public banquets in Berlin, Dresden, Prague and Vienna. Twenty-two countries were represented by 240 delegates and alternates. The full quota of 24 were present from Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, Great Britain, the United States and Hungary; Finland sent 15; Denmark and Norway 11 each; Switzerland 9; Italy 8; Russia 5; Belgium and Austria, 4 each; from South Africa came 4, from Iceland, 2; from Canada, 3; from Bohemia one.

It was indeed a cosmopolitan assemblage. The government of Australia had an official delegate, Mrs. Frederick Spencer, and that of Norway two, the president of the National Suffrage Association, Mrs. F. M. Qvam, and the president of the National Council of Women, Miss Gina Krog. The Governors of California, Oregon and Washington had appointed representatives. Written or telegraphed greetings were received from nineteen countries, encircling the globe. The question of fraternal delegates reached its climax, as 163 were present from twelve countries, all wishing to offer their greetings and a large number intending to advocate the particular object of their organizations. A resolution was finally adopted that no credentials should be accepted until the society presenting them should be approved by the National Suffrage Association of its country and no fraternal delegate should speak except by invitation of the president of the Alliance and with the consent of the congress. This checked a torrent of oratory and allowed the convention to carry out its program. The Chinese Woman Suffrage Society was admitted, for which Mrs. Catt had sowed the seeds at the time of her visit to that country, and the beautifully embroidered banner they had



sent was presented to the Alliance by Dr. Aletta Jacobs, president of the Netherlands Association, who had accompanied her. She said in part:

It is difficult to speak to an audience which certainly does not know the Chinese women in their own land, an audience of which only a few have had the privilege to hear from the lips of those feet-bound women what an important part they have taken in the revolution of their country and in the political reform which has resulted from it; to make you clearly understand the spirit of these Chinese women when they offered this banner to Mrs. Catt, as president of the Alliance, in gratitude for what it is doing for the uplifting of womanhood, and when they expressed their hope that it would take the Chinese women under its care. You have not been, as Mrs. Catt and I have, in the south of the country, where we saw Chinese women sitting in Parliament but from whom the vote is now taken away. You have not heard, as we did, in many towns, the Chinese women speak in crowded meetings to a mixed, enthusiastic audience with an eloquence none of us can surpass. You can not imagine how hard is the struggle for liberty which they have to make. In every town we found intelligent women with the same love for freedom as inspires us, who hunger after righteousness just as we do and who devote not only all their money but their entire life to the struggle for the improvement of the position of the women of their country.

Many of the Chinese women have already been decapitated for the truth they have told while fighting their battle for freedom and all the leaders of the woman movement know that their life is uncertain and that any day the men may find a reason to silence them when their eloquence and enthusiasm make too many converts. In translating the words which they embroidered upon this bright red satin you will learn what is going on in the minds of the new Chinese women: "The Mutual Helping Society to the International Alliance. Helping each other, all of one mind." In the name of these Chinese women I ask you to accept this banner in the same loyal spirit in which it is offered and to welcome the Chinese suffragists into our Alliance.

A handsome banner was presented by the delegation from Galicia. The president of the Belgian Association reported that Roman Catholic, Conservative, Socialist and Progressive women had united in a non-partisan federation to work only for woman suffrage. South Africa, Roumania and Portugal associations were received in full membership and also a committee from Galicia, where women were not allowed to form an association. Greetings came by cable from the women of Persia.

No tribute can do justice to the genius of Rosika Schwimmer

in arranging for this remarkable convention, the first of the kind ever held in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Both the government and the municipality made liberal contributions, which the citizens supplemented with more than enough to pay the entire expenses of the congress, that was conducted on a liberal scale. A sale of 2,800 season tickets was made. Through the assistance of capable committees every effort possible was made for the comfort and pleasure of the delegates, who were cared for from the moment they arrived at the station. English speaking university students and others of education helped to overcome the extreme difficulties of the language. So many delightful expeditions into the wonderful country had been provided through the courtesy of the railroads and navigation company that it required a strong sense of duty for the delegates to attend to the business of the convention. A reception given Saturday evening by the National Suffrage Association at the Gerbaud Pavilion enabled officers, delegates and members of the committees to begin acquaintance and friendship.

According to the custom of the country the convention was opened on Sunday afternoon. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw had conducted religious services in the morning at the Protestant church in Buda, assisted by the Rev. Eliza Tupper Wilkes, by courtesy of its minister, the Rev. Benno Haypal. At four o'clock a large and cordial audience assembled in the grand Academy of Music for the official welcome, which began with an overture by the orchestra of the National theater, composed for the occasion by Dr. Aladar Renyi. A special ode written by Emil Abranyi was beautifully recited in Hungarian by Maria Jaszai and in English by Erzsi Paulay, both actresses from the National Theater. Greetings were given by Countess Teleki, chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, and Miss Vilma Glücklich, president of the National Suffrage Association. The official welcome of the Government was extended by His Excellency Dr. Bela de Jankovics, Minister of Education, in an eloquent speech, and that of the city by Dr. Stephen de Barczy, the Burgomaster, who was very imposing in the robes and insignia of his high office. The response for the Alliance was made by its secretary, Dr. Anna Lindemann, in German and French. Dr. Alexander

Geisswein, a prominent member of Parliament, made a strong address in favor of woman suffrage. These ceremonies were followed by the president's address of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, a summing up of the world situation in regard to woman suffrage, during which she said :

When the organization of the Alliance was completed in 1904, it was decided that national woman suffrage associations only should be admitted to membership and a nation was defined as a country which possesses the independent right to enfranchise its women. At that time eight such nations had woman suffrage associations. Now, nine years later, with the exception of the Spanish American Republics, there are in the entire world only seven without an organized woman suffrage movement. Only three of these are in Europe—Greece, Spain, and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. The remaining four are not well established self-governing nations, and Japan, which is more autocratic than democratic. We shall admit to membership the Chinese Woman Suffrage Association and the standard of the Alliance will then be set upon five continents. Twenty-five nations will be counted in its membership. Organized suffrage groups also exist on many islands of the seas. Like Alexander the Great, we shall soon be looking for other worlds to conquer! The North Star and the Southern Cross alike cast their benignant rays upon woman suffrage activities. Last winter when perpetual darkness shrouded the land of the Midnight Sun, women wrapped in furs, above the Polar Circle, might have been seen gliding over snow-covered roads in sledges drawn by reindeer on their way to suffrage meetings, from whence petitions went to the Parliament at Stockholm. At the same moment other women, in the midsummer of the southern hemisphere, protected by fans and umbrellas and riding in "rickshas," were doing the same thing under the fierce rays of a tropical sun; while petitions poured into the Parliament asking suffrage for the women of the Union of South Africa from every State and city of that vast country.

Since our last Congress not one sign has appeared the entire world around to indicate reaction. Not a backward step has been taken. On the contrary a thousand revelations give certain, unchallenged promise that victory for our great cause lies just ahead. . . . During the past winter woman suffrage bills have been considered by seventeen national Parliaments, four Parliaments of countries without full national rights and in the legislative bodies of twenty-nine States. . . . The largest gains for the past two years have been in the United States. Five western States and the Territory of Alaska have followed the example of the four former equal suffrage States and have enfranchised their women. Now 2,000,000 women are entitled to vote at all elections and are eligible to all offices, including that of President. . . . If France, Germany, Great Britain, Austria and Hungary could be set down in the middle of

this territory, there would be enough left uncovered to equal the kingdom of Italy in size.

Mrs. Catt spoke of the trip of Dr. Jacobs and herself around the world and said: "We held public meetings in many of the towns and cities of four continents, of four large islands and on the ships of three oceans and had representatives of all the great races and nationalities in our audiences. We are now in touch with the most advanced development of the woman's movement in Egypt, Palestine, India, Burmah, China, Japan, Java and the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands, and also in Turkey and Persia, which we did not visit."

In telling of the momentous changes taking place in the East she said: "Behind the purdah in India, in the harems of Mohammedanism, behind veils and barred doors and closed sedan chairs there has been rebellion in the hearts of women all down the centuries. . . . We spoke with many women all over the East who had never heard of a 'woman's movement,' yet isolated and alone they had thought out the entire program of woman's emancipation, not excluding the vote. . . ." She reviewed at length the position of women in Persia, in India and in Asia, the influence of the various religions and the signs of progress, paying a tribute to Mrs. Annie Besant, to the teachings of theosophy and especially to those of the Bahais. The terrible conditions for wage-earning women, the child labor and the nearly unrestricted white slave traffic in the far East were feelingly described and the address, which had been heard with almost breathless interest, concluded:

The women of the western world are escaping from the thralldom of the centuries. . . . Their liberation is certain; a little more effort, a little more enlightenment and it will come. Out of the richness of our own freedom must we give aid to these sisters of ours in Asia. When I review the slow, tragic struggle upward of the women of the West I am overwhelmed with the awfulness of the task these Eastern women have assumed. They must follow the vision in their souls as we have done and as other women before us have done. My heart yearns to give them aid and comfort. I would that we could strengthen them for the coming struggle. I would that we could put a protecting arm around these heroic women and save them from the cruel blows they are certain to receive. Alas! we can only help them to help themselves. Every Western victory

will give them encouragement and inspiration, for our victories are their victories and their defeats are our defeats. For every woman of every tribe and nation, every race and continent, now under the heel of oppression we must demand deliverance.

On the Sunday evening after the opening of the convention the Royal Opera, a State institution, gave a special gala performance of Mozart's *Entfuhrung aus dem Serail*, with *Cupid's Tricks*, by the full ballet. This was complimentary to the visitors, as the regular season had closed, and the magnificent spectacle and splendid music were highly appreciated by the large audience, by none more than by a group of peasant women, who sat in one of the galleries with shawls over their heads, having walked fifty miles to attend the congress. Provision was made for their return home by train.

The formal organization for business took place Monday morning in the Redoute, a large, handsome convention hall, but hardly were the preliminaries over and luncheon finished when a long row of gaily decorated carriages was ready for a three hour drive around the beautiful city and its environs. At 7:30 the municipality gave an open air fête on Fisher Bastion, that noble piece of architecture which is the pride of Budapest. A writer describing the procession of officers and delegates, headed by Mrs. Catt, passing up the steps to receive the greetings of the city's high officials, said: "The entrance up the wide steps, between lines of attendants in picturesque uniforms, with the soft sunset glow and the lights coming out one by one in the city and on the river below, was like passing from real life into a land of enchantment." After the reception all assembled in the Court of Honor, where sparkling five-minute speeches were made by representatives from a dozen countries.

It was soon evident that the business of the convention would have to be confined to the morning hours, as the afternoons and evenings had to be given over to public speech making and social functions. There was long discussion in several sessions on establishing international headquarters and a press bureau, enlarging the monthly paper, *Jus Suffragii*, and changing the place of its publication. After most of the delegates had expressed opinions the whole matter was left to the board of officers. Miss

Martina Kramers, Netherlands, declined to stand for re-election to the office of recording secretary and the editorship of the paper and a standing vote of thanks was given "for her seven years' hard work, with the hope that her name will never be forgotten in the International Suffrage Alliance and that she will always be appreciated as the founder of *Jus Suffragii*."<sup>1</sup> Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Mrs. Marie Stritt and Mme. Marie Verone reported that the book *Woman Suffrage in Practice*, which they had been requested at the Stockholm meeting to prepare, was finished and the English edition ready for this convention; the French and German editions would be published in a few weeks.

The treasurer, Mrs. Stanton Coit, made a detailed and acceptable report and said that, with new headquarters, a paid secretary, an enlarged newspaper and many publications, 2,000 pounds would be necessary for the next two years. Pledges were made for 2,510 pounds (\$12,350).<sup>2</sup>

Mrs. Catt having served as president nine years earnestly desired to retire in favor of a woman from another country but at a meeting of the presidents of all the auxiliaries she was unanimously and strongly urged to reconsider her wish. She reluctantly did so and was elected by acclamation. The delegates decided that the ten persons receiving the highest number of votes should constitute the officers of the Alliance and the board itself should apportion their special offices. Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Coit, Miss Furuhjelm, Miss Bergman and Mrs. Lindemann were re-elected. The five new officers selected were Mrs. DeWitt Schlumberger, France; Miss Schwimmer, Hungary; Miss Macmillan, Great Britain; Mrs. Stritt, Germany; Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick, United States.

The persistent requests that the Board should and should not endorse the "militant" movement in Great Britain, which had assumed serious proportions, caused it to recommend the following

<sup>1</sup> International headquarters were established in London, the paper was greatly enlarged and published there under the title, *Jus Suffragii, International Woman Suffrage News*, and Miss Mary Sheepshanks was appointed editor, a post which she filled most satisfactorily during the following six troubled years.

<sup>2</sup> Because of the war which devastated Europe for the next five years these pledges could not be kept and the Alliance did not meet again until 1920. Meanwhile the United States contributed enough so that the London headquarters were kept open and the paper did not miss an issue.

resolution which was adopted without dissent: "Resolved: That as the International Woman Suffrage Alliance stands pledged by its constitution to strict neutrality on all questions concerning national policy or tactics, its rules forbid any expression favoring or condemning 'militant' methods. Be it further resolved: That since riot, revolution and disorder have never been construed into an argument against man suffrage, we protest against the practice of the opponents of woman suffrage to interpret 'militancy' employed by the minority in one country as an excuse for withholding the vote from the women of the world." At another time Mrs. Cobden Sanderson of Great Britain, speaking as a fraternal delegate, eulogized the self-sacrifice of the "militants" as the principal factor in the movement, and Mrs. Catt, speaking from the chair, said that she would like to answer the assertion that it was only the "militant" women who were the martyrs. To the women who had made such protests had come the glory, whereas there were thousands who had given their lives to the cause whose names had never been heard. All down the centuries there had been heroines and martyrs and many of them had stood alone. She believed the movement owed a great debt to the "militant" women of Great Britain but they were only a part of it.

Mrs. Catt introduced and urged a resolution "to send from this congress a request to the Governments of all countries here represented to institute an international inquiry into the cause and extent of commercialized vice, and to ask the woman suffrage organizations in each country to petition their own Government to institute a national inquiry and to include women in the Commission." The resolution was unanimously adopted. Mrs. Catt was appointed to represent the Alliance at the approaching International White Slave Traffic Congress in London. A very able address, showing a thorough study of the question, was made by Mrs. Fawcett, who presided at the meeting held to discuss *What Women Voters Have Done towards the Solution of this Problem*.

The usual important reports of the progress in all the affiliated countries were presented and ordered published in the Minutes, where they filled over sixty pages. Miss Schwimmer in reporting for Hungary said:

At the time of the founding of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance there was nothing even approaching a feminist movement in Hungary, yet the recent Reform Bill which has just passed the two Houses includes a long and thorough explanation of the usefulness and need of woman suffrage and apologies on the part of the Government for not being able (owing to the present precarious political situation) to grant it. The marked inclination of the Government in favor of woman suffrage and the discussion which took place in the House afterwards, together with the fact that an amendment to include woman suffrage received more votes than any other moved, has given the whole question such an importance that it is no longer a matter of discussion as to whether our claims are justified or not, but only when shall they be granted?

The work accomplished by us since the Stockholm Congress has been in the main, as before, educational; propaganda by meetings, lectures at all seasons and in all places; the distribution of an immense quantity of leaflets and other printed matter and lectures by famous foreign suffragists. The most valuable and effective part of our work was that we took advantage of the meetings arranged by the coalition opposition parties, which include the Social Democratic and the Bourgeois-Radicals. They held hundreds in all parts of Hungary, many attended by six or eight thousand people, and in one in Budapest gathered an audience of 15,000. We tried to get a speaker of ours on every program. In spite of the militant opposition of the Social Democratic party and Radical leaders, we succeeded nearly every time in getting the floor, where we presented amendments to their resolutions, which, when the chairman was honest enough to put them to be voted on, were always enthusiastically carried. . . . About sixty societies for various purposes have declared their position by taking part officially in several of our public demonstrations.

A list was given of distinguished men who had become converted to woman suffrage. Men took a more prominent part in this convention than in any which had preceded, due principally to the very active Hungarian Men's League for Woman Suffrage, which included a number well known in political and intellectual life. The International Alliance of Men's Leagues conducted an afternoon session in the Pester Lloyd hall with the Hon. Georg de Lukacs of Hungary, its president, in the chair. What can Men Do to Help the Movement for Woman Suffrage? was discussed by Dr. C. V. Drysdale, Great Britain; Major C. V. Mansfeldt, Netherlands, and Dr. Andre de Maday, Hungary. On Thursday evening this International League held a mass meeting in the Academy of Music with rousing speeches for woman suf-



frage by Hermann Bahr, Austria; M. Du Breuil de St. Germain, France; Major Mansfeldt; Keir Hardie, Great Britain; Senator Mechelin, Finland; Dr. Vazsonyi, M. P., Hungary; Professor Wicksell, Sweden; Professor Gustav Szaszy-Schwartz, Hungary.

A crowded mass meeting addressed by women took place one evening in the Academy of Music, with Mrs. Catt presiding. Mrs. Stritt, president of the National Suffrage Association of Germany, spoke on Woman Suffrage and Eugenics; Mme. Maria Verone, a well known lawyer of Paris, made her impassioned address in French, and Dr. Gulli Petrini of Sweden spoke in French on Woman Suffrage and Democracy; Miss Schwimmer inspired the audience with Hungarian oratory; Miss Jane Addams of the United States gave a forceful address on Why the Modern Woman Needs the Ballot, and Dr. Shaw closed the meeting with an eloquent interpretation of the demand of women for the vote. One afternoon from 4 to 6 o'clock was devoted to a Young People's Meeting, addressed by delegates from eight countries. A forenoon was given to the discussion of the always vital question, What Relation Should Suffrage Organizations Bear toward Political Parties, led by Mrs. Anna B. Wicksell, Sweden, and Miss Courtney, Great Britain. A large audience heard one evening the Benefits of Woman Suffrage related by those who had been sent as official delegates from Governments that had given the vote to women, Mrs. Qvam, Miss Krog and Mrs. Spencer, and in supplementary speeches by Mrs. Jenny Forselius, member of Parliament from Finland; Miss A. Maude Royden, Great Britain; Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, United States, whose topic was New Mothers of a New World. A resumé of all these addresses was made in Hungarian by Vilma Glücklich. During the convention much of the interpreting in English, French and German was done by Mrs. Maud Nathan of the United States, who also made an address in the three languages.

On the last day it seemed almost as if the men had taken possession of the congress, for they had secured the convention hall for the afternoon meeting, but the women did not like to discourage such exceptional interest. Woman Suffrage and Men's Economic, Ethical and Political Interest in it was discussed by Professor Emanuel Beke, Hungary; Dr. Emil von Hoffmansthal,

Austria; Frederick Nathan and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, United States. Vigorous speeches were made by Malcolm Mitchell, Great Britain; Leo Gassman, Germany; the Rev. Benno Haypal, and Alexander Patay, Hungary. The hall was restored to the women at 5 o'clock for their final program under the general topic, How may women still bound by ancient custom, tradition and prejudice be awakened to a realization that these new times demand new duties and responsibilities? How to Reach the Home Woman, Mrs. Gisela Urban, Austria; Mrs. Irma V. Szirmay, Mrs. von Fürth, Hungary; How to Reach the Church Woman, Mme. Jane Brigode, Belgium, Mme. Girardet-Vielle, Switzerland; How to Reach the Society Woman, Miss Royden, Mme. Schlumberger; How to Reach the Woman of Higher Education, Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, United States; How to Reach the Wage-earning Woman, Miss Isabella O. Ford, Mrs. Clinny Dryer, Great Britain; How to Reach the Woman Social Worker, Miss Addams.

At the last business session the convention placed on record its appreciation of the unsurpassed hospitality shown by the Hungarians. The delegates from this country expressed the pleasure it had been to welcome the women of all nations and the inspiration that had been received. The president, Mrs. Catt, asked them to part with the intention of coming to the next conference, each with a victory in her own country to celebrate.

There were many luncheons, teas and dinners in beautiful private homes. The social entertainment which will be longest remembered was the evening trip down the Danube with supper and music on board, a happy, congenial party with three hours of the exquisite scenery along the shores. Usually suffrage conventions closed in a burst of oratory at a grand mass meeting but not so in this pleasure loving Hungarian city. The last evening was given over to a banquet which taxed the capacity of the big convention hall. There were toasts and speeches and patriotic songs, and the presentation of the international pin, set with jewels, by the ladies of Budapest to Miss Schwimmer. She said in a clever acceptance that the women had done what the men never had succeeded in doing; it was the desire of all Hungarians to make this city the resort of the world and the women of the world had been the first to come. "These ambassadors,"

she said, "who came, to quote the words of Mazzini, 'in the name of God and humanity,' will report to their countries the friendly reception they have met and will surely help the cause of international good feeling."

Several countries competed for the honor of the conference of the Alliance in 1915 and its regular convention in 1917. Mrs. May Wright Sewall, honorary president of the International Council of Women, presented an official invitation from the managers of the Panama Pacific Exposition to be held in San Francisco in 1915, endorsed by the California Suffrage Association; the executive committee of the National Suffrage Association of Germany extended an urgent request for the conference and that of France for the congress. The answer was referred to the board, and it later accepted the invitations to Berlin and Paris. This had been the largest meeting of the Alliance. Never had the prospects seemed so favorable for accomplishing its objects; never had the fraternity among the women of the different nations seemed so close. When they parted with affectionate farewells and the bright hope of meeting two years hence in Berlin they little dreamed that it would be seven long years before they came together again; that during this time the world would be devastated by the most terrible war in history and that the task must be once more commenced of developing among the women of the nations the spirit of confidence, friendship and cooperation.

#### EIGHTH CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIANCE.

On call of its president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of the United States of America, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was summoned to its Eighth congress June 6-12, 1920, in Geneva, Switzerland, seven instead of the usual two years after the last one. The reason for the long interim was given in the opening sentences of the president's address on the first day: "It is seven years since last we met. In memory we live again those happy days of friendly camaraderie in Budapest. All the faces were cheerful. On every side one heard joyous laughter among the delegates and visitors. Every heart was filled with buoyant hopes and every soul was armored with dauntless courage. We

had seen our numbers grow greater and our movement stronger in many lands and here and there the final triumph had already come. . . . Alas, those smiling, shining days seem now to have been an experience in some other incarnation, for the years which lie between are war-scarred and tortured and in 1920 there is not a human being in the world to whom life is quite the same as in 1913 . . . So we do not come smiling to Geneva as to Budapest."

On Sunday morning, June 6, for the first time in the history of Geneva a woman spoke in the National Church, the Cathedral of St. Peter, and standing in the pulpit of Calvin Miss A. Maude Royden of Great Britain preached in French and English to an audience that filled the ancient edifice to the doors. That morning at 9 o'clock Father Hall, sent by the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities from England for the purpose, delivered a sermon to the congress at a special mass in Notre Dame.<sup>1</sup> In the afternoon a reception was given by Mlle. Emilie Gourd, president of the Swiss National Suffrage Association, in the lovely garden, Beau Sejour. At a public meeting in the evening at Plainpalais, M. J. Mussard, president of the Canton of Geneva; Mme. Chaponnière Chaix, president of the Swiss National Council of Women, and Mlle. Gourd gave addresses of welcome, to which responses were made by Miss Annie Furuhjelm, Finland; Mme. De Witt Schlumberger, France, and Mrs. Anna Lindemann, Germany, officers of the Alliance. Mrs. Catt then delivered her president's address. She described the physical, mental and moral chaos resulting from the war, the immense problems now to be solved, and said: "For the suffragists of the world a few facts stand forth with great clarity. The first is that war, the undoubted original cause of the age-old subjection of women the world around; war, the combined enemy of their emancipation, has brought to the women of many lands their political freedom!"

Mrs. Catt showed how the suffrage had come in some countries where no effort had been made for it, while in others where women had worked the hardest they were still disfranchised, and

<sup>1</sup> The English church of Geneva also for the first time admitted a woman to its pulpit, which was occupied on the following Sunday, June 13, by Miss Edith Picton Turberville of Great Britain.

she gave a scathing review of the situation in the United States, where it had been so long withheld. She paid eloquent tributes to Susan B. Anthony, a founder of the Alliance, and to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who had helped to found it and had attended every congress but had died the preceding year. She pointed out to the enfranchised delegates the great responsibility that had been placed in their hands and through it the vast power they would have in re-creating the world and said: "I believe had the vote been granted to women twenty-five years ago, their national influence would have so leavened world politics that there would have been no world war." Among the many objects for the Alliance to accomplish she named the following: (1) Stimulate the spread of democracy and through it avoid another world war; (2) Discourage revolution by demonstrating that change may be brought about through peaceful political methods; (3) Encourage education and enlightenment throughout the world; (4) Keep the faith in self-government alive when it fails to meet expectations. Methods for achieving these results were suggested and it was impressed on the younger women that this would be their task, as the older ones had practically finished their work. This address of surpassing eloquence closed with these words:

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God's order will come again to the world's stricken, unhappy, much-suffering people. It will come because the divine law of evolution never ceases to operate and the destiny of the race leads eternally on without pause. So much sacrifice and sorrow as the war has cost the world can not have been endured in vain. . . . As I view world politics the only possible hope for the happiness, prosperity and permanent peace of the world lies in the thorough democratization of all governments. There can be no democratization which excludes women and no safe or sound democracy which is not based upon an educated, intelligent electorate. Nor is it enough to establish democracy in individual nations—it must be extended to world politics. The old militarism must go and with it the old diplomacy, with its secret treaties, distrust and intrigues. No League of Nations can abolish war unless every government in the world is based on democracy.

In our home countries we should urge support of every movement for the extension of popular education, foster every agency which helps men and women to think for themselves, promote every endeavor to maintain honest elections, judicially conducted campaigns and high ideals in parties and parliaments, for democracy succeeds when and where independence and intelligence are greatest.

A few of the delegates wished to disband the Alliance; a few others desired to change the character of its objects, but by an overwhelming majority it was voted to continue it along the original lines, although broadened, until the women of all countries were enfranchised. The Congress was held in the Maison Communale de Plainpalais, the large town hall in a suburb of Geneva, and here one evening its municipality gave a reception to the members. The shady gardens and sunny terrace were the scene of many social gatherings.<sup>1</sup> The congress opened with a roll call of the suffrage victories and the responses showed the almost unbelievable record that twenty countries had enfranchised their women during the years of the war! The Official Report was edited by Miss Chrystal Macmillan, recording secretary of the International Alliance, and the Introduction was a graphic review, which said in part:

“Despite the difficulties of travel and the fact that only three months’ notice had been given the gathering at Geneva was more widely representative than any previous meeting. Women were present from thirty-six countries. Of the twenty-six affiliated with the Alliance at the time of the last meeting, in 1913, the auxiliaries of nineteen showed their continued vitality by sending fully accredited delegates to Geneva. Representatives were also present from the former auxiliaries in Austria and Germany, who were accorded full membership rights. The Russian national president, a fugitive from her country, was unable to come but sent her greetings. The Belgian society abstained from taking part and from the Polish and Portuguese auxiliaries no answer was received.

“Four countries, Greece, Spain, Argentina and Uruguay, sent delegates from newly formed National Suffrage Societies, which were accepted in the Alliance. In addition there were present women from Armenia, the Crimea, Lettonia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, New Zealand, Poland, Turkey and Ukrainia. For the first

<sup>1</sup> Among the many entertainments during the congress were a reception given by the British delegation; a motor excursion by invitation of Mrs. McCormick and the American delegates; a dinner party at Hotel Beau Rivage by Lady Astor for British and American delegates; a delightful “tea” by the French delegation and a garden party by M. and Mme. Thuillier-Landry. Excursions were arranged by the Geneva Committee and visits to the schools, museums, parks and endless points of attraction in this most interesting city.

time women from India and Japan came to tell of the beginnings of the organized movement among the women of the East. It was only the difficulties of travel which prevented the delegates who had started on their journeys from China, Egypt and Palestine from arriving in time for the congress. For the first time more than half the voting delegates represented countries in which women had the full suffrage. The consequent increased political importance of the congress was recognized by the governments of the world, of which eighteen in Europe appointed official representatives, and the United States of America and Uruguay of South America. The Secretariat of the League of Nations also sent a representative. . . .

“The outstanding feature of the first business session was the announcement of particulars by representatives of the many nations which had given the political and suffrage and eligibility to women between 1913 and 1920—Austria, British East Africa, Canada, Crimea, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Iceland, Lettonia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Poland, Rhodesia, Russia, Sweden, Ukraina and six more of the United States. It was announced that women sit as members of Parliament in the majority of these countries, while large numbers are members of municipal councils. In the United States of America the Federal Suffrage Amendment had passed both Houses of Congress and had been ratified by thirty-five of the necessary thirty-six States. Serbia, Belgium and Roumania had granted Municipal suffrage to women and the Zionists of Palestine and the Commune of Fiume had given to them full equal suffrage and eligibility. . . . It was decided to arrange at the next congress a session at which only enfranchised women should speak. . . . The Catholic Woman Suffrage Society of Great Britain was accepted as a member of the Alliance. . . .

“Each of the three evening meetings, besides that of Sunday, which were all crowded and enthusiastic, was characteristic of a different aspect of the present development of the suffrage movement. On Monday, a special feature was the speeches of five women members of Parliament—Helen Ring Robinson (State Senate), Colorado; Elna Münch, Denmark; Annie Furuhjelm,

Finland; Lady Astor, Great Britain; Tekla Kauffman, Wurtemberg. In all, nine women members of Parliament attended the Congress. The others, who spoke at later meetings, were Frau Burian and Adelheid Popp of Austria; Mme. Petkavetchaite of Lithuania and Adele Schrieber-Krieger, whose election to the German Reichstag was announced during the Congress. On Wednesday at the great meeting in the Hall of the Reformation, three-minute speeches were given by representatives of each of the enfranchised countries in the Alliance. Yet another new aspect was illustrated by the meeting of Thursday, addressed by women from India and China. The speeches showed how similar are the difficulties of the women of both the East and the West and how much new ground has still to be broken before the object of the Alliance is achieved."

The forenoons were devoted to business meetings relating to the future work of the Alliance and they were in session simultaneously in different rooms in the great building—Women and Party Politics, Legal Status of Women, Civil Equality, Economic Value of Domestic Work of Wives and Mothers, Equal Pay for Equal Work, Single Moral Standard, Protection of Childhood—questions affecting the welfare of all society in all lands, pressing for solution and in all practically the same. The afternoons were given largely to the reports from many countries.<sup>1</sup> *The Woman's Leader*, organ of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship of Great Britain, in its account of the Congress said:

The effect of these reports was intensely dramatic, mingled, as it inevitably was, with the memories of the strange and bitter conditions under which the change had come. In some of the countries that had been at war enfranchisement came in the midst of revolution, riot and disaster; in others it came fresh and new with the beginning of their independent national life and almost as a matter of course. "Our men and women struggled together for our national freedom," said delegate after delegate from the new States of Europe, "and so when any of us were enfranchised we both were." The report on the election of women to national or municipal bodies was deeply interesting and in many respects surprising. Germany easily surpassed other countries in this respect, having had 39 women

<sup>1</sup> These valuable accounts of the status of women in the various countries were published in full in the 252-page Report of the Congress.



members in the last National Assembly, 155 in the Parliaments of the Federated States and 4,000 on local and municipal bodies. In Denmark the record of success that followed the election of women was astonishing. "We have done," said the spokeswoman, "what we set out to do; we have introduced equal pay and equal marriage laws; our equality is a fact."

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the Alliance, welcomed each new representative in the name of all the countries, and, although the victories had been won in times of stress and war, the rejoicing was without rivalry, for in the Congress from the first day until the last no sign or mark of ill-feeling or enmity was to be found. Not that the delegates forgot or disregarded the recent existence of the war; no one who saw them would suppose for a moment that they were meeting in any blind or sentimental paradise of fools. Their differences and their nations' differences were plain in their minds and they neither forgot nor wished to forget the ruined areas, the starving children and the suffering peoples of the world. They met differing perhaps profoundly in their national sentiment, their memories and their judgments but determined to agree where agreement was to be found; to understand where understanding could be arrived at and to cooperate with the very best of their will and their intelligence in assuring the future stability of the world.

An important report was that of the Headquarters Committee, consisting of Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, first vice-president of the Alliance, Mrs. Adela Stanton Coit, treasurer, and Miss Macmillan. Mrs. Coit was chairman the first two years and Mrs. Fawcett the rest of the time. After the Congress at Budapest in 1913 the official monthly paper *Jus Suffragii* was removed from Rotterdam to London and the international headquarters established there. For the next seven years the three members of the committee resident in London held regular meetings, seventy altogether, consulting Mrs. Catt by letter or cable when necessary. Miss Mary Sheepshanks was editor and headquarters secretary. "She occupied that post with great acceptance till 1919," said the report, "when it was with much regret that her resignation was accepted. Mrs. Elizabeth Abbott was appointed to the place, where in connection with the preparations for the present Congress her organizing capacity has been of special value." Miss Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary was appointed press secretary to furnish the news to the international press but her work had

hardly begun when the war broke out and she resigned the position to take up work for peace.

The report told of the meeting of the international officers and a number of the national presidents which took place in London in July, 1914, to make arrangements for the Congress in Berlin the next year. Among the many social receptions given were one in the House of Commons and one at the home of former Prime Minister Balfour. Mrs. Catt had just started on her homeward voyage when the war began. The officers in London at once issued a Manifesto in the name of the Alliance and presented it to the British Foreign Office and the Ambassadors and Ministers in London, which after pointing out the helplessness of women in this supreme hour said: "We women of twenty-six countries, having banded ourselves together in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance with the object of obtaining the political means of sharing with men the power which shapes the fate of nations, appeal to you to leave untried no method of conciliation or arbitration for arranging international differences which may help to avert deluging half the civilized world in blood." They decided to cooperate with the British branch of the Alliance in a public meeting, which was held August 3 with Mrs. Fawcett in the chair, and a resolution similar to the above was adopted. In the next issue of the *International News*, when war had been declared, Mrs. Fawcett in her official capacity wrote:

We are faced by the disruption, the animosity, the misunderstanding caused by war but notwithstanding the cruel strain we must firmly resolve to hold our International Alliance together. We must believe all through that good is stronger than evil, that justice and mercy are stronger than hatred and destruction, just as life is stronger than death. We women who have worked together for a great cause have hopes and ideals in common; these are indestructible links binding us together. We have to show that what unites us is stronger than what separates us. Between many of us there is also the further link of personal friendship cemented by many years of work together. We must hold on through all difficulties to these things which are good in themselves and must therefore be a strong help to us all through these days of trial.

"In this spirit the Headquarters Committee has endeavored to carry out its task," said its report, "and it has so far succeeded

that it is in a position today to lay down its work without any society having been lost to the Alliance and with a considerable group of countries never before associated with it now seeking affiliation." The great difficulty of getting the paper into the various countries was described but it was accomplished; the paper never missed an issue; it remained absolutely neutral and the number of subscribers largely increased. It was the one medium through which the women of the warring nations came in touch during the four and a half years of the conflict. All through the war it had news of some kind from the various countries showing that their women were still engaged in organized work for many useful purposes. It was evident that in practically all of them they were demanding that women should have a voice in the government.

The headquarters cooperated with other international organizations in forming the International Woman's Relief Committee and the work was conducted in its rooms. More than a thousand foreign girls were sent or taken to their countries and hundreds of British, French and Belgian women brought from Germany and Belgium to London. The work among Belgian refugees would require many pages to describe.

Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Catt were preparing to send a deputation from the Alliance to the Peace Conference to ask for a declaration for woman suffrage when the National Woman Suffrage Association of France, through its president, Mme. DeWitt Schlumberger, took the initiative and called for the national associations of the allied countries to send representatives to Paris to bring pressure on it. They were cordially received by the members of the Conference and a pronouncement in favor of the political equality of women and eligibility to the secretariat was placed in the constitution of the League of Nations, which attracted the attention of the world.

When the plan of holding the Congress of the Alliance at Berlin in 1915 had to be given up Holland sent an urgent invitation for that year but its acceptance was not considered feasible. The Swedish Auxiliary wanted it held at the time and place of the Peace Conference but this was found to be inadvisable. The majority of the officers and auxiliaries in the various countries

wished to have a congress the next spring after the Armistice but there proved to be insurmountable obstacles. Toward the end of 1919 an invitation was accepted from the suffrage societies in Spain to come to Madrid in 1920. Preparations were under way when local opposition developed which made it necessary to abandon the plan. Switzerland had already invited the congress and it gladly went to Geneva.

In the report of Mrs. Coit, the treasurer, she said:

You will remember that at Budapest in 1913 a sum of about 2,000 pounds was raised, mostly by promises of yearly donations for the period of two years. This sum was to finance headquarters and the paper till we met in Berlin in 1915. In August, 1914, not even all the first instalments had been received, and from then on, owing to war conditions, it became impossible for some of our biggest donors to redeem their pledges. By the beginning of 1917 we found ourselves with an empty exchequer and facing the possibility of closing down our work. It was then that help came from our auxiliary in the United States. Mrs. Catt, with the help of her many devoted friends, raised a sum of \$4,333, which was placed at our disposal and has enabled the Alliance to keep going. When speaking of the United States' help I wish to make special mention of the splendid work for the Alliance by Miss Clara M. Hyde, private secretary for Mrs. Catt. To her incessant interest and energy it is due that the number of honorary associates in the U. S. A. now is at least three times as high as in any other country; also she has quite trebled the number of subscribers to the *International News* in the States. Her devoted work is an example of what can be done by a single national auxiliary to further the development of the Alliance, and I recommend her example for universal imitation.

The United States Auxiliary continued to add to the above sum and from May, 1916, to May, 1920, it sent in membership dues, subscriptions to the paper and donations \$9,337. Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, president of the Pennsylvania Suffrage Association, was responsible for collecting over \$5,000 of this amount.

The money for the Congress in Geneva, about \$3,500, was raised by a British committee of which Miss Rosamond Smith was chairman and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence treasurer. To this fund the United States, which had not suffered from the war to the extent of European countries, was a large contributor. At the close of the congress there were no funds on hand for the coming

year and the delegates from all countries were feeling the effects of the war financially. At this critical moment Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick of the United States, corresponding secretary of the Alliance, made a contribution of \$5,000, and a little later the Leslie Commission added \$4,000. This with individual subscriptions raised the amount of about \$15,000 and guaranteed the expenses for resuming and continuing the work of the Alliance.

From the organization of the Alliance in Berlin in 1904 Mrs. Catt had been the president and at no election had there been another candidate. Her strong desire to relinquish the office was overruled at Budapest. She went to Geneva with the positive determination not to accept it again but she faced an equally determined body of delegates. Not only was she supported by all from the Allied Countries, as they were known during the war, but she was equally acceptable to those from the Central Countries. She was literally compelled to retain the office.

Nominations for the other officers were made by ballot and submitted to the convention and the ten receiving the highest number of votes constituted the board. They were as follows: Mme. DeWitt Schlumberger (France), Miss Chrystal Macmillan (Great Britain), Mrs. Anna B. Wicksell (Sweden), Mrs. Corbett Ashby (Great Britain), Dr. Margherita Ancona (Italy), Mrs. Anna Lindemann (Germany), Miss Eleanor Rathbone (Great Britain), Mrs. Katharine Dexter McCormick (U. S. A.), Mme. Girardet-Vielle (Switzerland), Mrs. Adele Schreiber-Krieger (Germany). Most of them were officers of the National Association in their own countries. Miss Rathbone was also a member of the city council of Liverpool.

Among the twenty-two sent as Government delegates were Viscountess Astor, member of the British House of Commons; Mrs. Marie Stritt, city councillor of Dresden, and Mrs. Josephus Daniels, wife of the Secretary of the Navy, U. S. A. Invited members were present from nine countries, including ten from India, one from Japan and the wife of the Tartar president of the Parliament of Crimea. There were fraternal delegates from six international associations; from associations in nearly every country in Europe (fourteen in Great Britain) and from South

Africa, Australia, Argentina and Uruguay. Greetings were sent from associations in many countries including China.

A number of the resolutions adopted have been foreshadowed in this report of the proceedings. Others were for the equal status of women with men on legislative and administrative bodies; full personal and civil rights for married women, including the right to their earnings and property; equal guardianship of their children by mothers; that the children of widows without provisions shall have the right to maintenance by the State paid to the mothers; that children born out of wedlock shall have the same right to maintenance and education from the father as legitimate children, and the mother the right of maintenance while incapacitated. Resolutions called for the same opportunities for women as for men for all kinds of education and training and for entering professions, industries, civil service positions and performing administrative and judicial functions, and demanded that there shall be equal pay for equal work; that the right to work of women, married or unmarried, shall be recognized and that no special regulations shall be imposed contrary to the wishes of the women themselves. A higher moral standard for both men and women was called for and various resolutions were adopted against traffic in women, regulations of vice differentiating against women and State regulation of prostitution.

The Congress took a firm position on the League of Nations and its recognition of women in the following resolution: "The women of thirty-one nations assembled in congress at Geneva, convinced that in a strong Society of Nations based on the principles of right and justice lies the only hope of assuring the future peace of the world, call upon the women of the whole world to direct their will, their intelligence and their influence towards the development and the consolidation of the Society of Nations on such a basis, and to assist it in every possible way in its work of securing peace and good will throughout the world."

A resolution was adopted that a conference of representative women be summoned annually by the League of Nations for the purpose of considering questions relating to the welfare and status of women; the conference to be held at the seat of the League, if possible, and the expenses paid by the League. The Board

instructed Mrs. Ashby Corbett to arrange a deputation to the League of Nations to present resolutions and to ask for the calling of the conference as soon as possible.<sup>1</sup>

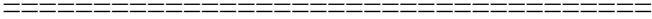
On the last day of the Congress from 5 to 7 o'clock the State Council of the Canton and the Municipal Council of Geneva gave an official reception and tea to the delegates and visitors. The resolutions of thanks for the assistance and courtesies received from committees and individuals filled two printed pages. The *Woman's Leader* thus closed its account: "The immense hospitality of Geneva and of the Swiss Consulate, the superb weather and the beautiful excursions by land and lake were above all praise. . . . Taking the Conference as a whole, with its concrete work and its general spirit, it is clear that it marks a new step forward. A new force has come into the politics of almost all the world. It is a force inspired at present with good will, a humanitarian and an internationalizing force, drawing together the thoughtful and disinterested women of all countries. It is a force that the world has need of and no Government should be so blind as to ignore it."

<sup>1</sup>They called on Sir Alec Drummond, head of the Secretariat, in London. He received them cordially but said it would be impossible for the League to undertake such expenses and advised them to appoint a committee to act as a source of communication between the League and the Alliance. Thenceforth the League recognized the Alliance as an authority and accepted its recommendation to place Mrs. Anna B. Wicksell on its Mandates Commission and Miss Henni Forchhammer on its White Slave Traffic Commission. These women had already been sent to the League meetings by Sweden and Denmark as alternate delegates.

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## APPENDIX.

### NEBRASKA MEN'S ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

To the Electors of the State of Nebraska :

At a meeting of men lately held in the city of Omaha the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that a Manifesto be prepared, issued and circulated, setting forth the reasons for our opposition to the pending constitutional amendment providing for equal (woman) suffrage and requesting the cooperation of the voters of the State, and that such Manifesto be signed by all the men present."

We yield to none in our admiration, veneration and respect for woman. We recognize in her admirable and adorable qualities and sweet and noble influences which make for the betterment of mankind and the advancement of civilization. We have ever been willing and ready to grant to woman every right and protection, even to favoritism in the law, and to give her every opportunity that makes for development and true womanhood. We have a full appreciation of all the great things which have been accomplished by women in education, in charity and in benevolent work and in other channels of duty too numerous to mention, by which both men and women have been benefited, society improved and the welfare of the human race advanced. We would take from women none of their privileges as citizens but we do not believe that women are adapted to the political work of the world.

The discussion of all questions growing out of the social and family relations and local economic conditions has no direct relationship to the right of women to participate in the political affairs of government. The right of suffrage does not attach of right to the owners of property, for, if so, all other persons should be disfranchised. It is not a fundamental right of taxpayers, for a great body of men are not taxpayers, and nine-tenths of the women who would become voters, if woman suffrage were adopted, would be non-taxpayers. It is not an inherent right of citizenship, for the time never was in the whole history of the world when the franchise was granted to all citizens. . . . Franchise is a privilege of government granted only to those to whom the Government sees fit to grant it. As a law-abiding people men and women alike should recognize once and for all that the right of suffrage is not a natural or inherent right of citizenship but can only come by grant from the Government. [Legal authorities quoted.]

We must also recognize that woman suffrage is inconsistent with the fundamental principles upon which our representative government was founded and to accept it now involves revolutionary changes. The framers of the Federal Constitution, a body of the wisest men the country has ever produced, did not recognize or provide for woman suffrage. No one of the original thirteen States which adopted it provided in their constitutions for woman suffrage. True it was permitted in New Jersey from 1776 to 1807, a period of thirty-one years, when it was taken away by statute, by reason of unsatisfactory conditions and results. After the close of the Civil War, the southern States which had gone into rebellion were admitted back into the

Union under constitutions limiting suffrage to men. These precedents in our governmental history were never departed from until in recent years.

The greatest danger to the Republic of the United States today, as it always has been in governments where the people rule, is in an excitable and emotional suffrage. If the women of this country would always think coolly and deliberate calmly, if they could always be controlled and act by judgment and not under passion, they might help us to keep our institutions "eternal as the foundations of the continent itself"; but the philosophers of history and the experience of the ages past and present tell us in unanswerable arguments and teach us by illustrations drawn from actual experience, that governments have been overturned or endangered in periods of great excitement by emotional suffrage and the speech and writings of intolerant people. . . .

Open that terrible page of the French Revolution and the days of terror, when the click of the guillotine and the rush of blood through the streets of Paris demonstrated to what extremities the ferocity of human nature can be driven by political passion. Who led those bloodthirsty mobs? Who shrieked loudest in that hurricane of passion? Woman. Her picture upon the page of history is indelible. In the city of Paris, in those ferocious mobs, the controlling agency, nay, not agency but the controlling and principal power, came from those whom God had intended to be the soft and gentle angels of mercy throughout the world. . . .

It has been said that if woman suffrage should become universal in the United States, in times of great excitement arising out of sectional questions or local conditions this country would be in danger of State insurrections and seditions and that in less than a hundred years revolutions would occur and our republican form of government would come to an end. The United States should guard against emotional suffrage. What we need is to put more logic and less feeling into public affairs. This country has already extended suffrage beyond reasonable bounds. Instead of enlarging it there are strong reasons why it should be curtailed. It would have been better for wise and safe government and the welfare of all the people if there had been some reasonable standard of fitness for the ballot.

During the intense feeling and turbulent conditions growing out of the Civil War, suffrage was so extended that many of the southern States were turned over to the political control of those not sufficiently informed to conduct good government. It has taken half-a-century of strenuous effort to correct that mistake. The granting of universal woman suffrage would greatly increase the existing evil and put it beyond the possibility of correction except by an ultimate revolution.

We hear it frequently stated that there is no argument against woman suffrage except sentiment. We can reply with equal force that there is no argument for woman suffrage except sentiment, and that often misguided and uninformed. Some suffragists insist that if woman suffrage became universal "it would set in motion the machinery of an earthly paradise." It was a woman of high standing in the literary and journalistic field who answered, "It is my opinion it would let loose the wheels of purgatory." . . . Suffragists frequently ask the question, "If we want to vote why should other people object?" If it is wrong they should not ask it any more than they should ask the privilege of committing a crime. If it is a wrong against the State every

other man and woman has a right to object and it is their duty to object. . . .

There are spheres in which feeling should be paramount. There are kingdoms in which the heart should reign supreme. That kingdom belongs to woman—the realm of sentiment, the realm of love, the realm of gentler and holier and kindlier attributes that make the name of wife, mother and sister next to the name of God himself, but it is not in harmony with suffrage and has no place in government.

We submit these considerations in all candor to the men of this State. Ultimately the decision of this question at the polls is a man's question. We ask your cooperation. . . .

Omaha, July 6, 1914.

JOSEPH H. MILLARD, ex-U. S. Senator and president Omaha National Bank.  
(Largest creditor of Willow Springs Distillery.)

JOHN A. McSHANE, ex-Congressman and retired capitalist.

JOHN LEE WEBSTER, lawyer, representing Omaha Street Railway.

LUTHER DRAKE, president Merchants' National Bank.

JOHN C. COWIN, prominent lawyer.

WILLIAM F. GURLEY, prominent lawyer.

WILLIAM D. McHUGH, lawyer representing Standard Oil Company.

FRANK T. HAMILTON, president Omaha Gas Co. and officer Street Railway Co.

WILLIAM WALLACE, former cashier Omaha National Bank.

JOHN A. MUNROE, vice-president Union Pacific Railway Company.

FRANK BOYD, employee Omaha National Bank.

GERRIT FORT, Union Pacific Railway official.

JOSEPH BARKER, insurance official.

EDWARD A. PECK, general manager Omaha Grain Elevator Company.

HENRY W. YATES, president Nebraska National Bank.

MILTON C. PETERS, president Alfalfa Milling Co.

WILLIAM H. KOENIG, of firm of Kilpatrick & Co., dry goods merchants.

W. H. BOCHOLZ, vice-president Omaha National Bank.

FRED H. DAVIS, president First National Bank.

BENJAMIN S. BAKER, lawyer.

L. F. CROFOOT, lawyer for Omaha Smelting Co. and Chicago & Milwaukee R. R.

E. E. BRUCE, wholesale druggist

GEORGE W. HOLDREGE, manager Burlington & Missouri River R. R. Co.

FRED A. NASH, President Omaha Electric Light Co.

NELSON H. LOOMIS, General Attorney Union Pacific R. R.

EDSON RICH, assistant attorney Union Pacific R. R.

FRANK B. JOHNSON, president Omaha Printing Co.

THOMAS C. BYRNE, president Wholesale Dry Goods Co.

REV. THOMAS J. MACKAY, Minister All Saints' Church (Episcopal).

REV. JOHN W. WILLIAMS, Minister St. Barnabas' Church (Episcopal).

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This Manifesto with the signatures is given almost in full because in language and in the business interests of the signers it is thoroughly typical of the open opposition to woman suffrage. The other classes who were opposed—the "machine" politicians, the liquor interests and those directly or indirectly connected with them—for the most part worked more secretly.

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### **Bank of Wisdom**

**For the first time in human history the language of civilization is being changed from writing that can be read with the necked eye, to an electronic format that can only be read with special electronic equipment. It is the intent of the Bank of Wisdom to convert to electronic format as much old Scholarly, Historic and Freethought material as possible. We believe there are certain kinds of necessary historic, religious and philosophical information that may be left out of the data banks of the future, factual information that challenges or disproves current ideas and beliefs that the established powers of our society rest upon. Such suppressed information will be necessary for future generations to use to build an upward evolution for their society. The Bank of Wisdom intends to preserve that needed knowledge.**

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**There is no superstition in Wisdom,  
And no wisdom in superstition.**

## INDEX

The contents of this volume are so arranged that the reader will have little difficulty in finding the references desired. The first forty-nine chapters are devoted exclusively to the work for woman suffrage which was done in the various States of the Union through annual conventions, effort with the Legislatures for the submission to the voters of an amendment to the State constitutions which would fully enfranchise women and campaigns to secure a majority vote for it. There was also an attempt to obtain from the Legislatures laws which did not have to be approved by the voters, giving women the right to vote at Municipal elections and every four years for Presidential electors. In addition the women in every State constantly assisted the National American Woman Suffrage Association in its supreme effort to obtain from Congress the submission to the Legislatures for the ratifying of three-fourths of them of an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would give the complete franchise to all the women of the nation.

These State chapters are arranged alphabetically and near the end of each an account is given of the action taken on Ratification, and also of the forming of a League of Women Voters. It is manifestly impracticable to index the names of all the thousands of women who gave devoted service in these States. Only a comparatively few of those who worked longest and most prominently or are mentioned in other parts of the books can be listed. The names of many more will be found in the various chapters. This is also true of the many members of Congress and Legislatures and of other men who were sympathetic and helpful in this long contest.

In the chapters on the effort for woman suffrage in the Territories and possessions of the United States the principal points and workers are indexed. This is the case in the chapter on Great Britain and her Colonies and on the countries of the world, each listed under its proper head. The long chapter on the International Woman Suffrage Alliance forbids an accurate index, as it contains the names of scores of workers for woman suffrage in most civilized countries. Some but not all of the most prominent are noted and in the well indexed chapters on its seven congresses the reader will find a satisfactory roster.

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