

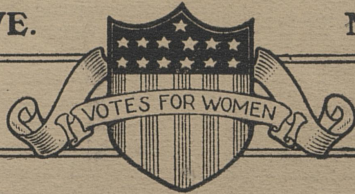
Presidential Suffrage Number

National Suffrage News

FEBRUARY, 1917

Published Monthly by the
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
171 MADISON AVE. NEW YORK CITY.

VOLUME III



NUMBER 2

AMERICA

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing,
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrim's pride,
From ev'ry mountain side
Let freedom ring.

My native country thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love,
Love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills,
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song,
Let mortal tongues awake,
Let all that breathe partake,
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God! to Thee
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing,
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light,
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King.

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Continuing the
HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

A printed attempt to maintain intimate contact between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its thousands of members throughout the country.

Published once a month by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. Subscription price per year, 25c.

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ROSE YOUNG, Editor

National American Woman Suffrage Association

<i>Honorary President</i> DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW	<i>Corresponding Secretary</i> MRS. FRANK J. SHULER
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EDITORIAL

Salutatory

With its hand on its heart, and the one-time *Headquarters News Letter* behind its back, the NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS assures the suffragist reading public of its desire to serve and to please.

As the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, it should surely be able to do the one. As suffrage news for 1917 promises to be uniformly good news, it may hope, by the mere exercise of its chronicling function, to do the other.

* * *

Keeping up with Suffrage

On the next page will be found what is, at the moment of going to press, the latest suffrage map for 1917. But no guarantee is given that it will be the latest by the time this book is opened. Keeping up with suffrage is a precarious undertaking in this auspicious year 1917. Hardly was the ink dry on the new map which added North Dakota with her five electoral votes to the suffrage column, when word came over the wires, "We Win Ohio." And that nice new map is out of date before it is in circulation.

However, it can be borne. It's worth a new map to get the twenty-four electoral votes of the great commonwealth of Ohio. The Illinois victory planted the suffrage banner fairly in the Middle West. Ohio's triumph carries it on into the North Central States. Count East from West, the Yukon to Lower California, and you find the Pacific Coast tier of states, from Alaska through British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and California, white for suffrage. The next

tier from the Northwest Territory, through Alberta, Idaho, Utah and Arizona, is likewise solid suffrage land. Saskatchewan, Montana, Wyoming and Colorado keep the ranks intact down to New Mexico. In the fifth tier, Manitoba, North Dakota and Kansas hold the balance against South Dakota, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Texas. There is not a suffrage state in the sixth tier. But in the seventh tier stands Illinois, and in the ninth is now Ohio. How is Indiana in the eighth tier, with Illinois on one side and Ohio on the other, to resist the pressure? It is not believed that she will.

The Ohio triumph brings the number of electors whom women have a voice in choosing to 120. Equal in importance is the fact that Ohio, the fourteenth state to be listed in the suffrage column, has become the new salient, or wedge, pushing eastward.

Who can doubt that the thin black line of Atlantic States will soon be penetrated by the new democratic faith? By referendum or by legislative enactment some state is sure soon to let the light break through. Will it be New York?

* * *

"If" Or "Until"?

Some are saying, "*If* the United States becomes involved in war, we stand ready to serve our country."

Others are saying, "*Until* the United States becomes involved in war, we will not by thought or promise heighten the tension."

On these two conjunctions have hung vivid differences of opinion during the present national crisis. Violent militarists would keep the country steeped in preparedness thought and galvanized with preparedness activity the year round. Violent pacifists would so subordinate preparedness that preparedness ceases to be the word. Defense becomes the word. With the passivist defense ceases to be the word, submission becomes the word.

There is hardly a suffragist who is not a pacifist. But pacifism knows many degrees of self-commitment. Pacifism is an ideal toward which we are all struggling. The essential point about an ideal is the point of application. Pacifists are in no sort of unity on it. Witness the inability of the peace societies to get together on any constructive program. In spite of which, one is glad to concede that if pacifism's great leverage is not, as yet, inherent in the ability to work out these practical adjustments, it does inhere in the creating of a mind for peace, the will for peace. Its surest point of application lies in prevention.

Women are averse to war. They are averse to the creation of a war psychology in advance of the event. They deprecate ill-considered war talk in the name of patriotism. They want peace. They work for peace. They pray for peace. If peace can be compelled, they will compel it. But suffragists have shown that women will rally around America's need, if war can no longer be averted.

Suffragists are not usually considered precipitate in patriotism. Indeed, the burden of accusation has always come the other way around. Of all people, wordy jingoism has left the suffragist untouched. The fact that suffragists the country over deem the moment fitting for discussion of, and action on, the crisis which the nation confronts is distressing evidence of the imminence of the crisis.

**PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN
DATES BACK TO 1873**

With two single victories already scored in the presidential suffrage campaign, the "big drive" goes merrily on. Legislatures seem almost uniformly favorable to the presidential suffrage idea. Probably this is because of the obvious justice of the proposition. What a legislature can pass, it can repeal. If presidential suffrage does not prove expedient in any State, the legislature of that State can set the matter right by taking away the measure of franchise it has bestowed. In Ohio that measure varies somewhat from the measure granted in the two other states that have presidential suffrage. In both Illinois and North Dakota women have municipal suffrage under the provisions of their presidential suffrage bill. In Ohio they will get presidential suffrage only.

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

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

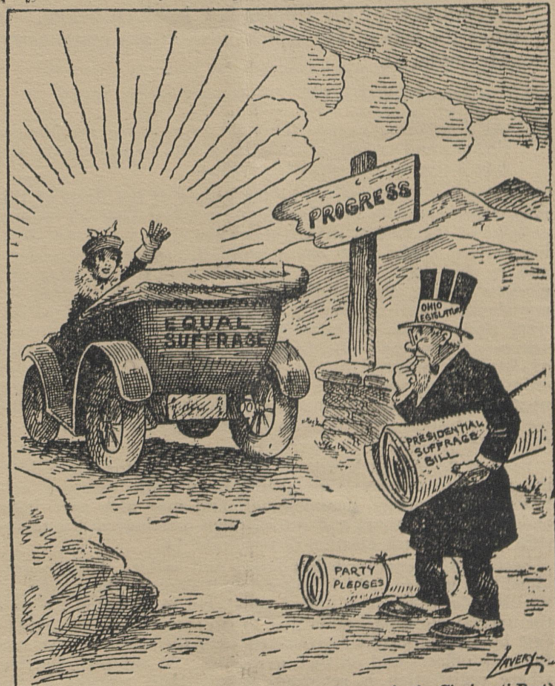
The Constitution of the United States provides:
Article II, Section I, II—Each State shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress.

The source of this power of the State legislatures being the United States Constitution, the word "male" defining the qualification of the usual electors of a State does not preclude the vote for presidential electors being extended to women, for, according to Article VI, Section II—This Constitution . . . shall be the Supreme Law of the Land,

**SUFFRAGE WEEK AMONG THE
NEWSPAPERS**

Plans for the gigantic, many-in-one special suffrage edition of newspapers are maturing rapidly under the direction of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Thanks to the interest and good will of editors and newspaper proprietors, there will be enough papers in line to plaster the country west to the Rockies and south to the gulf with a huge suffrage sheet. The week chosen for this demonstration is February 19th-26th, though some papers will not have their special editions until during the first week of March. Four pages of suffrage features have been prepared by the "National" for the use of plate-using papers and various special features are at the command of the large dailies that are to give special space to suffrage during February and March. Among the dailies as now listed are the Baltimore *American*, the Detroit *Journal*, the Providence, R. I., *Journal*, the St. Paul *Daily News*, the Minneapolis *Daily News*, the Duluth *Herald*, the Nashville *Tennessean*, etc. Oklahoma newspapers are pledging special support in view of the imminence of suffrage as a campaign issue in that state. North Dakota suffragists find editors very hospitable to the idea of the special editions because of the great suffrage victory just won in the state (presidential suffrage). There will be sixty-five special suffrage editions in this state during newspaper week. Minnesota will have about thirty, Michigan about twenty-five, New Jersey about sixty-eight; Tennessee hopes to have forty. Georgia, South Carolina, Nebraska, Rhode Island, Maryland, Massachusetts, Indiana and Missouri will have special editions. It would seem from present indications that every section of the country will be covered.

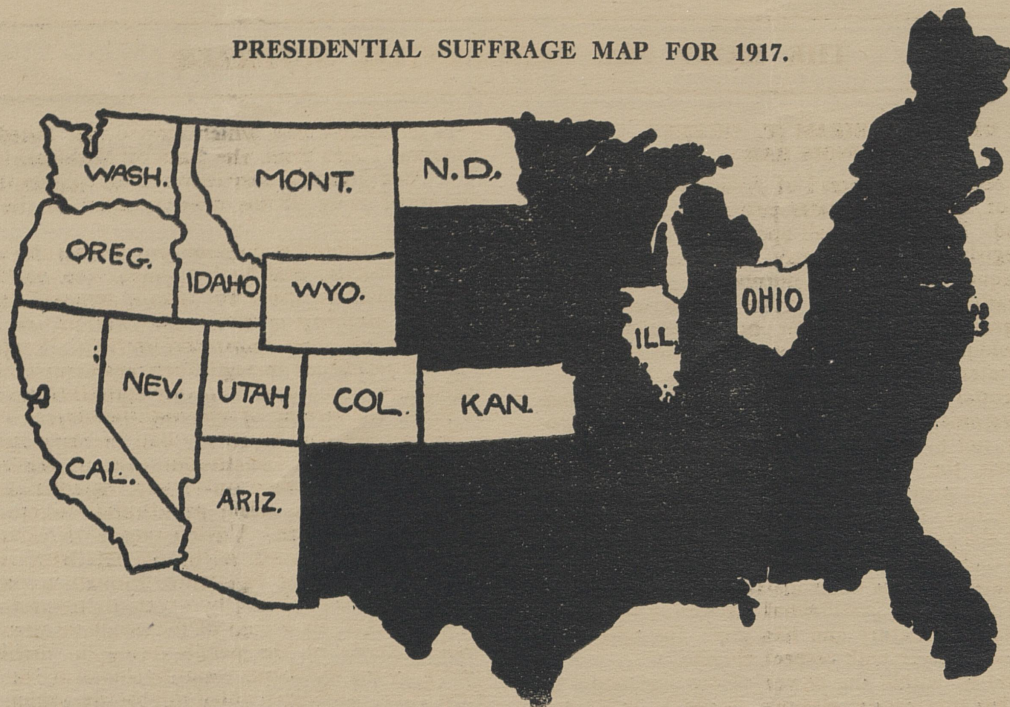
"Mister, are you going my way?"



(Lavery in the Cincinnati Post)

HE WAS! : Ohio Women will vote for the next President

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE MAP FOR 1917.



"THE ILLINOIS LAW"

Now that presidential suffrage is a popular political issue, there is a constant swirl of interest about "the Illinois law." As the first state to put a presidential suffrage bill into effect, Illinois has given its name to this highly potential measure.

The full text of the Illinois law is given below. It specifies the offices for which women are empowered to vote under it.

(Senate Bill No. 63. Approved June 26, 1913.)

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

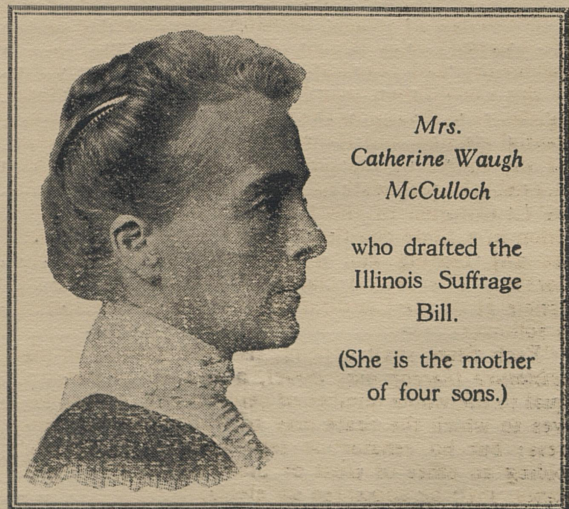
Section 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That all women citizens of the United States, above the age of 21 years, having resided in the state one year, in the county ninety days, and in the election district thirty days next preceding any election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

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

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

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE TALLY BY STATES

There are nine states in which a presidential suffrage bill is now pending. They are: Indiana, Connecticut, Minnesota, Missouri, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Nebraska, New Jersey and Tennessee. In six Southern states suffragists have taken the initial steps toward presenting presidential suffrage bills. These states are: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida and Arkansas; Wisconsin also may have a presidential suffrage bill introduced. Arkansas and Texas have bills pending giving women the unique right to vote in the primaries.



Mrs.
Catherine Waugh
McCulloch

who drafted the
Illinois Suffrage
Bill.

(She is the mother
of four sons.)

THE BRIEF FOR PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

OPINION OF JUDGE HIRAM T. GILBERT, OF THE ILLINOIS BAR

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

"Second. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

Presidential electors perform only duties pertaining to the government of the United States. They are provided for, not by a State law, but by a United States law, to wit, the Constitution of the United States. Therefore, in providing for the appointment of presidential electors, the legislature of the State does not act under the authority and constitution of that State, but solely under the authority of the Constitution of the United States; and the latter instrument has placed the matter of appointing presidential electors in the hands of the State legislature and has given the latter full discretionary power with respect thereto.

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

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

ABSTRACT OF AN OPINION BY MR. CHARLES LE ROY BROWN OF THE CHICAGO BAR

In a review of judicial decisions and pertinent facts, Mr. Charles LeRoy Brown, of the Chicago Bar, shows the history and practical construction of that clause of the Constitution that bears on the right of State legislators to determine the manner of appointing presidential electors, and from the showing he argues that "if the source of the power of the State legislature to establish qualifications of voters is exclusively in the Constitution of the United States, then no provision in a State constitution with respect to suffrage has any bearing and a legislature is unhampered thereby. The second clause of the first section of Article II of the Constitution of the United States is as follows:

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

In an historic case which came to the United States Supreme Court from the State of Michigan in 1891, Mr. Chief Justice Fuller delivered an opinion that was concurred in by all the other members of the Court. He said:

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

Mr. Brown goes on to say that the early operations under the Federal Constitution make it plain that the State legislatures were universally regarded as having complete power to select presidential electors in any manner they saw fit. Various modes of choosing the electors were pursued, as by the legislature itself on joint ballot; by the legislature through a concurrent vote of the two houses; by a vote of the people for a general ticket; by a vote of the people in districts; by choice, partly by the people voting in districts and partly by the legislature; and by choice of the legislature from candidates voted for by the people in districts.

Mr. Brown sums up as follows:

"The people in adopting the Federal Constitution took away from the States, as such, all control over the manner of appointment of presidential electors. They provided that the electors shall be appointed in such manner as the legislature may direct. The words, 'In such manner as the legislature thereof may direct,' have been held by the Supreme Court of the United States to be a limitation upon the power of the States. As those words are a limitation upon the power of the States, nothing in any State constitution can divest the legislature of the power to determine at any time the manner of selecting presidential electors. In so far as provisions of a State constitution attempt to limit the right of suffrage to men in voting for presidential electors, such provisions of a State constitution are void.

"The legislature of each State has supreme and plenary power over the manner in which electors shall be chosen. That power necessarily includes the right to prescribe the qualifications of voters when the appointment of presidential electors is ordered by the legislature to be effected by a popular election. Any State legislature may itself retain that right of appointment or it may give it to all of its citizens, women as well as men, regardless of any provisions in the State constitution."

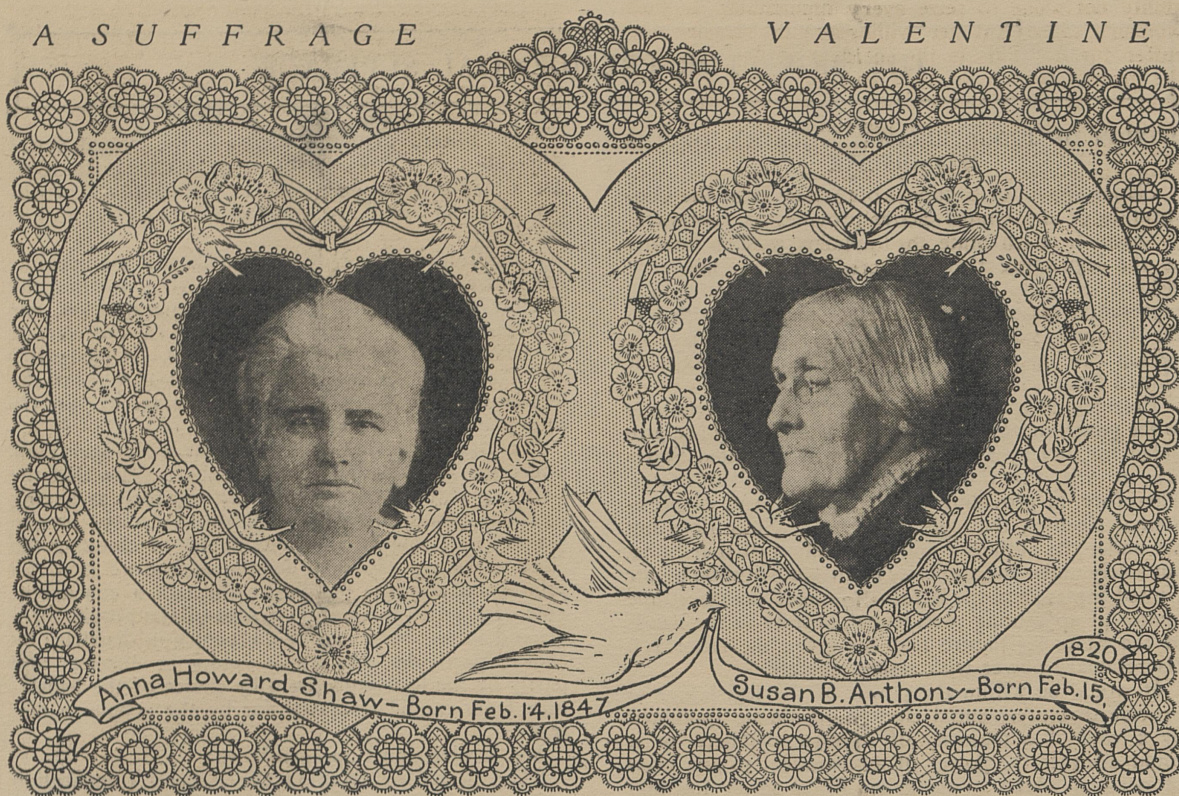
WOMEN HAVE 120 ELECTORAL VOTES

(Fourteen States)

Arizona	3	North Dakota	5
California	13	Ohio	24
Colorado	6	Oregon	5
Idaho	4	Utah	4
Illinois	29	Washington	7
Kansas	10	Wyoming	3
Montana	4		
Nevada	3		
			120

A S U F F R A G E

V A L E N T I N E



MISS ANTHONY'S BIRTHDAY

By Anna Howard Shaw

The month of February always brings to the thoughts of older suffragists one name and one annual event—the gathering at Washington in National Convention during the week of February 15th—Miss Anthony's birthday, on which day funds were subscribed for carrying on the two principal lines of work—the Federal Amendment to the national constitution and propaganda and state campaigns.

The name of Susan B. Anthony is synonymous with the Federal Amendment, which was introduced in the Senate through her efforts by Senator A. A. Sargent of California, January 10, 1878, and has been persistently and constantly urged by the National Association in every Congress since. Though Miss Anthony's name will always be linked with this amendment, it is but one of the many lines along which she traversed, all tending toward the same goal—the full enfranchisement of women citizens of the United States.

One of the characteristics of Miss Anthony was her far-sighted and clear vision by which she discerned that, though the goal was one and unchangeable, there were many paths which led toward it, all of which, like the branching streams that swell the water of a mighty river, increasing its force, are helpful in determining its power. So, while many different methods of work were employed, they all tended toward the final recognition by the National Government of the political equality of all its citizens.

Miss Anthony's genius of initiative was remarkable, and no event or opportunity, however trivial, which

could focus attention upon the cause of woman suffrage, was allowed to pass unnoticed.

Once, at a convention held in Omaha, Nebraska, the discussion was upon the medical service of the Army during the Spanish War, and the lack of intelligent treatment and adequate preparation for the care of sick soldiers. Miss Anthony made a thrilling speech, pointing out the need of women not only as nurses, but women who could use their experience as housekeepers and caretakers of the family in arranging for its comfort and by right of this knowledge could prepare for the comfort of the ill and prevent the vast amount of unnecessary sickness among the men.

Boys and Bugs

One woman, a strong partisan, thinking the criticism reflected upon the Republican administration, interrupted Miss Anthony by exclaiming: "Dr. S—, at the head of the Medical Department, is one of the greatest bacteriologists of our time." Miss Anthony replied: "That may be; he may know all there is known about bugs, but he does not know anything about the care of boys." The lady turned to me in great anger, saying: "Miss Anthony will find a suffrage argument in anything." "Yes," I replied, "even in the red tape and prejudice which allow brave young men to die, rather than recognize the value of woman's knowledge and experience. That is why people who profit by ignorance, cowardice and self-seeking fear her."

The Crime of Voting

The single incident in her life, which is strangely little known even to suffragists, but which was of the most vital importance in its results, shows her

ability not alone to seize every opportunity to push woman's cause, but her willingness to sacrifice and suffer for it. This is the incident of her voting at the general election in 1872 and her arrest, trial and sentence by the Federal Court. This, as with every act of Miss Anthony's life, was not an act of bravado; she believed the 14th Amendment of the National Constitution recognized that women citizens as well as negro men were entitled to the full rights of citizenship, an opinion still held by many suffragists. The only way to settle the question was to bring a case to the courts, and she offered herself as the sacrifice.

By Way of Thanksgiving

On Thanksgiving, a very appropriate day for such a purpose, when, by the proclamation of the nation's chief executive, the people assembled at their various places of worship to give thanks for freedom, justice and equality, a warrant was served upon Miss Anthony, and she, an American citizen, was arrested for the crime of voting.

The officer conducted her to the court house in a street car, but, evidently disturbed at the situation, knowing Miss Anthony was greatly beloved in her own community, seated himself in the car as far away from her as possible. When the conductor demanded her fare, she said: "Oh! That gentleman is conducting me to court; I am a prisoner and am riding at the expense of the National Government—ask him for my carfare."

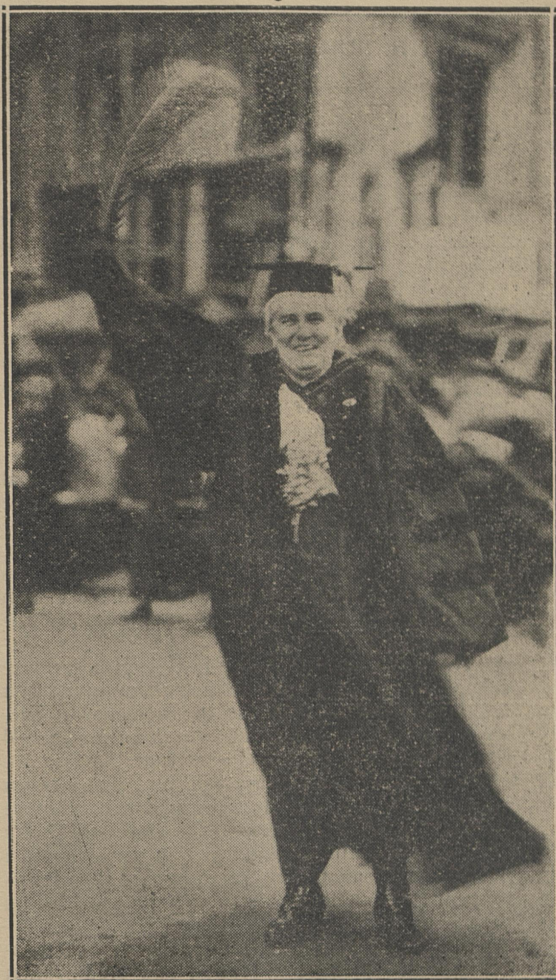
Miss Anthony was tried, found guilty and sentenced to one month's imprisonment or to pay a fine of one hundred dollars. When asked by the judge if she had anything to say, her words revealed her sterling honesty, her indomitable courage, her unflinching purpose, and she ended her remarks by holding her hand aloft and declaring: "I will never pay one cent of your unjust penalty, and I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women to the practical recognition of the old Revolutionary maxim that 'Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.'" Fearing the result if Miss Anthony were imprisoned, the judge hastily remarked: "Madam, the Court will not order your commitment until the fine is paid."

No suffragist should fail during the month of February, or on Miss Anthony's birthday, to read the full account of this trial and the unexcelled address delivered by her, in every school district in the country.

This trial, and scores of other occasions when Miss Anthony stood almost alone in her struggle for women's freedom, makes February 15th a sacred day to suffragists throughout the world.

For Humanity

Other leaders whose birthday occurs in this month were supported by public sentiment and popular applause. George Washington led an armed force of men of indomitable courage and fierce determination who rallied about him. The whole world recognized the right of men to fight for their principles, be they what they might. Abraham Lincoln was backed by a nation of patriotic citizens and a vast army of men in his magnificent struggle to preserve the Union; but Susan B. Anthony, in the beginning, and for years, was the butt of misunderstanding, misstatement and ridicule, with all the prejudice and ignorance of ancient custom, with both church and state against her. But with unflinching fortitude and consecrated purpose she never faltered from the straight line of service and sacrifice which led to the goal of freedom—not for a sex, nor for a race, but for humanity.



SANDS AT SEVENTY

Who that saw her does not remember the spirited figure, gay with the immortal gayety of the ever young at heart, trudging up Fifth Avenue, carrying the palm of victory in that mighty suffrage parade of 1915!

Now she is telling us that she is seventy years old. And we are not believing her. Yet, after all, seventy years is a short time in which to have amassed the wealth of esteem, love and reverence that are hers. Among the many messages of congratulation that she received during February was one from President Wilson, which said:

MY DEAR DOCTOR SHAW:

May I not wish you for your seventieth birthday not only a return to strong health, but the happy anticipation of many more years of useful service? You certainly have many years of self-sacrificing work to look back upon with pride and satisfaction, and I want to join with your other friends in wishing you many returns of your birthday and an increasing happiness as they come. Cordially and sincerely yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

When Dr. Shaw began her fight for woman suffrage nearly a half century ago there were only a few small voices to support her. Last year suffrage was the dominant element in a national election. Fifty years ago equal suffrage was an academic theory. It is now a fact in fourteen states.

THE SUFFRAGE SCHOOL

One of the activities of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that is commending itself highly to conservative people is the chain of suffrage schools that are interlocking the country.

Concerning the work of the suffrage school in the South, one southern newspaper, the *Raleigh News and Observer*, has been moved to say:

"We believe in the value of systematic organization. We know of no army that could ever hope to obtain victory which was not organized and directed. That political party which goes into the field of contest without any plan of campaign is pretty apt to be driven to the wall.

"So we think that wisdom is being shown by the advocates of 'votes for women' in their program of giving instruction in the matter of equal suffrage to those who are seeking to obtain the ballot. That such instruction is given the name of a suffrage school is only as a matter of distinction, all that is sought being to give to the suffragists the arguments held to be needed and instruct them in the plans for securing the approval of the people for their cause.

"This morning there begins in Raleigh a suffrage school. We believe that the instruction given at it will be of value not alone to the women, but likewise to the State. It might as well be recognized by the opponents of woman suffrage that we are in the midst of a thinking age, and that women are taking steps to put their arguments before Legislatures and the voters in the best form shows their wisdom. Indeed it shows that they know the worth of the ballot, and are equipping themselves to secure that right for which men have yielded up their lives.

"We commend the suffrage leaders in the program of study and preparation and organization which they have arranged. And we believe that the results will fully justify all the effort that they have put into this plan of campaign for the ballot."

Among the instructors who have been sent out by the "National" are Mrs. Frank Shuler, of Buffalo, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, of New York, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, of Arkansas, and Miss Anne Doughty, of Manhattan.

THE CARDINAL AND THE SUFFRAGISTS

Cardinal Gibbons, who has long been actively opposed to woman suffrage, was recently waited on by a delegation of such representative Catholic women as Mrs. William Prendergast, wife of the Controller of New York; Miss Janet Richards, the lecturer, and Miss Sarah McPike, President of the St. Catherine Welfare Association, of New York. His Eminence said that it was hard for an old man to change his mind, but that he was open to conviction and would give the subject earnest thought.

Cardinal Gibbons's opposition to suffrage is about the only argument left the antis. If he forsakes their campaign, they will be bereft indeed. A large number of devout Catholic women and many eminent Catholic divines are ardent suffragists and they are diligently furthering the suffrage cause with such dignitaries of the Church as remain unpersuaded.

THE LESLIE WOMAN SUFFRAGE COMMISSION

Under a recent court ruling, an order of distribution of a portion of the Leslie fortune, left to Mrs. Catt for use in suffrage work, has been issued. This does not mean, however, that the bulk of the Leslie fund has been released, such release being contingent upon the many delays incident to court procedure.

A corporation, to be called the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, has been established under the law of the State of New York. Mrs. Jean Norris, Attorney, had the matter in hand. Mrs. Leslie's will 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 Woman 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. Catt will turn over to the Commission the administration of the fund and share with other members of the corporation the responsibility of making plans for the disbursements and carrying them into effect. There are five incorporators who by vote will add to the membership of the Commission until it numbers fifteen. These incorporators are: Carrie Chapman Catt, New York; Alice Stone Blackwell, Massachusetts; Harriet Taylor Upton, Ohio; Mrs. Winston Churchill, New Hampshire; Mrs. Raymond Robins, Illinois.

The Commission will establish a National Bureau of Suffrage Education as its chief work. The methods employed for the development of this Bureau and other lines of work will be determined at the first meeting of the Commission.

Campaigns within States will continue to be conducted by the State suffrage associations, and the Federal campaign will continue to be conducted by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. In other words, the Commission will not conflict with the work of present organizations by attempting to conduct campaigns, either national or state.

It will under no circumstances contribute to the overhead or necessary running expenses of the National or State Associations. If the money should be used as a substitute for money which is now raised and expended through the regular channels, the Leslie bequest would in no sense aid the cause.

Any contributions which it may make to National or State campaigns will be in the form of rewards for having raised other stated sums for the same purpose.

WOMEN CALLED TO THE COLORS—1914-1917

—By Mary Sumner Boyd—

"The determination of State policy and the making of law should be left to that part of the community which may be called upon to support the policy or to enforce the law with arms."—MONROE SMITH.

Since the outbreak of the European War, we have not had to go back to Boadicea to find the woman warrior, nor do we single out a peculiar and unfeminine type when we name the women warriors about whom the press despatches tell.

It was ordinary women who fought by their own doorsteps with any weapon they could lay their hands upon in the streets of Liège in Belgium and of Mulhausen in Alsace, in August, 1914. We never shall know how many other women fought in other towns to repel the invader, but out of the thousands who have fought come the names of a few of those actually enlisted in the ranks.

Mercy Ivanovna, who received the cross of St. George, died in storming the enemy's position at the head of a Russian Company; Alexandra Bashkireva, who received a medal of the same order, and Sophie Ivanovitch are other Russian soldiers whose names we know.

Three anonymous Russian girls quietly took their places in the ranks until wounded and their sex was found out; another escaped from the hospital and re-enlisted. A Russian husband and wife fought side by side, and a daughter followed her father who had been killed in battle. Seven German women in uniform were found among the captured wounded in a hospital in Petrograd. Mlles. Dutrieu and Marvingt and Mrs. Buller are among the allies' aviators.

In August, 1916, Emilienne Moreau, a Normal student of 17, confronted in her own town of Loos in Northern France by siege and occupation, nursed the wounded in her own house, went out under fire to get wood for her dead father's coffin and won French and English medals for courage on the field of battle.

The story of Edith Cavell does not need to be told. From her death one anti-suffragist at least got light. "We know now that there are thousands of such women. A year ago we did not know that they existed," said Lord Asquith.

Three women are named among the military architects of Germany, and in like manner, in work essential to the carrying on of the war, women were employed in the garrison of the 36th Infantry at Calu, and the French Minister of War issued a circular early in 1916 to all military officials instructing them to employ women as often as they could instead of men. Women in great numbers have worked in the military campaigns in every helpful capacity besides fighting.

French women in the occupied territory have held up the courage of their fellow townsmen and organized them to take up life again after a siege. When the mayor of devastated and occupied Guillemont broke down under the strain his wife took over the duties of his office. Mme. Chéron, a teacher, took charge in Buffignereux during a bombardment.

Mme. Macherez, a citizen of Soissons, on the approach of the Germans took over the duties of the sick mayor, managed the hospital and carried the town through a bombardment. Mme. Fiquemont is another who became deputy mayor in a town besieged.

"Nameless heroism," says one despatch, "is displayed by the women every day." These women did not set out to be heroes or to exercise masculine virtues; they simply did the work which the exigencies of war thrust upon them.

One woman stands out for her courage in the defence of her own sex. We hear of a Mme. F—— in the despatches—her town is not named—who hastened the young girls out before the approaching enemy and remained behind, herself, to explain to the German general just what peril—a peril peculiar to all women and to women in all wars—she wanted to save them from.

Between those who fought and those who maintained the institutions of peace during bombardment and occupation stand those women, the largest body of women on the field of battle in this war, who went upon the field to save life.

First of these should be recorded the peasant girl Jalina, whom we are told of in a single line in the newspapers, who went among the wounded under fire to give water to those dying on both sides.

When the war began strangers who were in Germany saw a remarkable sight. They saw the whole nursing force in the German hospitals, which are all organized in the Red Cross, sent to the field or to the base hospitals for the wounded. In the hospitals for the sick were left only a few midwives and some nurses in training.

In this war Dr. Crile* tells us that the field hospitals are for the most part within range of the guns, and nurses and doctors are sometimes shot down at their work. Schwester Marga Von Falkenhausen, struck by a bomb in the hospital at Sissone, was the first of many German nursing sisters killed or wounded. Schwester Elfriede Scherhaus was the first to receive the Iron Cross.

In March, 1916, the French Academy awarded its prizes, and this year the recipient organizations were mainly those engaged in war work. The most important was the Red Cross and the award makes special mention of many women. Among them are Mme. Fontaine, Mlle. Crosse and five Sisters of Mercy killed. The award quotes a hundred army orders referring to women. Of the Comtesse de Gormas and Mme. Gay Lussac one order says: "These ladies remained at their post with the same valor as soldiers in the firing line." Mme. Gay Lussac died from nursing infectious cases. Six nurses of the Société de Secours carried away the wounded under bombardment. Of Mlle. Germaine Sellier and Mlle. Siron the surgeon general says: "They showed a most magnificent example of military courage."

Nursing sisters of the Holy Saviour, St. Vincent de Paul, and many other orders are found everywhere on the field and in the base hospitals. Nursing sister St. Pierre was wounded at her post. Marie Messin was shot tending soldiers. Sister Bertine conducted an ambulance during the bombardment of Arras. The Nurses of Noyon remained at their posts during bombardment.

Mlle. Marie Rosnet, superior of the hospital at Clermont en Argonne, remained in her village after

* G. W. Crile, *Mechanistic Theory of War and Peace.*

occupation and prevented the burning of the town. Sister Sainte Susanne of Arras and Mlle. Marie Gilles were both killed by shells at their post of duty. At Lunéville another nurse was killed in the same way. Mme. Gouin of Rheims is one of many nurses in many towns who transported the wounded to cellars when the hospitals were under bombardment. Mlle. Eugenie Antoine of Vailly sur Aisne was decorated by the English for her care of the wounded under fire. Mlles. Cuny, Bertrand and Marie Pierron nursed under fire, the latter making it her task to go out into the woods and search for the wounded.

The work of French school teachers comes in for mention again and again. Mlles. Fouriaux, Lanthiez Cavorrot and Mme. Fiquémont of Rheims were reported to the French Minister of Education for gallant conduct. Another school mistress turned her



MISS HENDERSON OF THE ROUMANIAN UNIT

school into a lazarette. Mlle. Marcelle Semmer, also a teacher, received the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

The Nurses of St. Charles at Nancy had to their credit at the beginning of 1916 over a thousand soldiers nursed under heavy fire. Their superior Sister Julie was given the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

This is a partial list of those mentioned in army orders and in despatches from France. Every day adds to the number, and for one mentioned there are a hundred as anonymous as the soldier in the ranks. This is a war in which the operations are so scattered, the numbers so vast, that we know little or nothing of the exploits of individual men and women. But we do know that the part taken by their women has been the wonder of the nations at war.

"The Crimean War," says an article in the *Common Cause*, organ of the National Union of Woman

Suffrage Societies, "created the war nurse. This war has created the woman war doctor."

The woman war doctor is the peculiar contribution of England. The history of English women on the field in this war has been of hospitals staffed from the head of the medical staff to the lowest orderly by women. There have been literally thousands of these women. Of nurses alone 10,000 are spoken of at one time and there is no public record of how many there have been since. Besides the staffing of the hospitals women have gone out as cooks and to work in other capacities in the camps. In the list of almost 5,000 persons named by Sir Douglas Haig last summer for gallant and distinguished conduct in the field are many women, and in recognition of their numbers the King ordered that in future the military medal be given to women.

Like the French and German nurses the English nurses and doctors were killed at the post of duty. Nurses in hospital ships torpedoed by the enemy responded gallantly to the order "Women first" by claiming their privilege and duty of seeing the sick and wounded taken off first, and so, many nurses lost their lives.

To men in the hospital service military titles are given. For the most part the women doing the same work do not have this recognition, though a few do bear the title of Colonel or Captain. The titles were grudgingly given, and indeed the services of the women were grudgingly accepted at first by the British war office. It was not till the French accepted the English women's hospital units that the English authorities learned their value.

At the beginning of the war the Scottish branch of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies set about raising funds for hospitals. A district teacher gave £10 from her savings. This was the first donation; since then thousands of pounds have flowed in.

The first hospital went to Calais under Dr. Alice Hutchinson and Dr. Mary Phillips. Dr. Hutchinson served in the Balkan War a few years ago and her experience made hers the model for other women's units which were established at the request of the French military authorities at Royaumont, Troye and other places. The fine Royaumont hospital had as its medical chief, Dr. Frances Ivens, and Mrs. Harley, sister of Sir John French, as administrator. Mrs. Harley is one of many who have received the French Croix de Guerre. She had charge of the transport column, one of whose duties was to pick up the wounded on the field.

The Woman's Hospital Corps is another English enterprise. This group first began work under the French Red Cross in Paris.

Early in 1915 the English military authorities awoke to the value of these medical women and their equipment, so eagerly made use of by the French. They made them a part of the British Medical Service and put Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson in charge of a large hospital at Boulogne. Subsequently a base hospital at Endell Street, London, became one of the Scottish Women's Hospitals. Of Dr. Anderson's hospital, a medical official said: "You have set a standard which is quite unknown even among the auxiliary hospitals."

In most of these hospitals the whole staff, house-keeping, ward service, business and medical, are women. Among the doctors in this group is one of the few women bearing a military title, Captain Everett McClaren, of the 3d Scottish Military Hospital.

In December, 1915, the first beginning of what is known as the Millicent Fawcett Hospitals was made. Two women were sent out to Petrograd to take care of maternity cases among refugees in Russia. From the care of these poor mothers the work spread to cover many other cases. There are now, under Drs. May, King-Atkinson and other women, 5 hospitals from Petrograd to Kazan, and from Kazan to Galicia. They include an infectious hospital for children and another for soldiers at Volhynia in Galicia. In the latter place the doctors ferreted out concealed cases of smallpox and prevented an epidemic.

One enterprise of the Scottish Women's hospitals group which has been surrounded by danger at every step has been their work with the Serbians. The first of their Serbian Units was sent out by the French military authorities at the end of 1914 under Dr. Eleanor Soltau, to take care of surgical cases at Kragujevatz. Let the *Common Cause* tell this part of the story:

"The Unit found, on its arrival, that it had a far more serious work before it, for the typhus epidemic, which had begun in the disgracefully dirty and overcrowded hospitals left behind them by the Austrians, flowed over Serbia like a flood. No one will ever know what the mortality was from that terrible outbreak, but this we know, that more than a quarter of the Serbian doctors died, and two-thirds of the remainder had the disease, a fact which speaks volumes for the devotion of the Serbian medical profession, and is some indication of what the ravages must have been among the general population. To Dr. Soltau's everlasting credit, she took over, with her small staff and, for such an increase of work, her inadequate equipment, No. 6 Reserve Hospital for typhus cases and No. 7 Reserve Hospital for ordinary medical cases, in addition to her surgical hospital, which was full. The Committee hurried out reinforcements and equipment. For three long months those women worked there, facing the hard work and the long strain with indomitable spirit. There were three deaths among the Unit, young lives given in a great cause, and nine cases of illness, and still the effort never relaxed.

"The British Government sent out a Commission under Colonel Hunter, which did invaluable sanitary work outside the hospitals. There was also a French Commission, and an American one which came out with all the wealth of the Rockefeller Institute at its back. Other units—French, Russian, American and British—took their share of the work—notably Lady Paget's Unit under the Serbian Relief Committee—and at last, by May, the epidemic was over.

"It is a strange, dark, gruesome time to look back on; but one marked by many brave deeds and much unrecorded heroism. It will always be a proud fact in the story of the Scottish Women's Hospital that we took our share, too, in that great battle. At the end of the time Dr. Soltau herself fell ill with diphtheria and was invalided home. After that the Fever Unit, which had had charge of the typhus cases, was sent to Mladanovitz to open camp hospital behind the Second Arm."

The hospitals remained until the invasion of Serbia.

"There is no space to tell of the horrors of the retreat," says the *Common Cause*. "One hospital after another was evacuated, a field ambulance was formed in conjunction with the Serbians, called the Second Serbo-English Field Ambulance, Dr. Chesney and Dr.

Laird, the British Medical Officers. This field ambulance trekked over half Serbia during the retreat, always trying to form hospitals, always arriving to find the town they came to evacuated. The hospitals all came down to the West Morava Valley, bringing in every case their full equipment with them, not to any great purpose, for eventually it was all seized by the Germans. Dr. MacGregor managed to put in a fortnight's excellent work at Kragujevatz, where she opened a hospital of 600 beds in the artillery barracks and a big dressing-station, 1,000 cases a week passing through her hands."

Part of the staff of this hospital remained behind at its work, in two parties, one of which, under Dr. Hutchinson, was taken prisoner.

"The last Unit, caught at Salonique, and unable to advance into Serbia, took up the work at that end, and under Dr. Mary Blair, cared for the train-loads of refugees escaping southward, passed them on to the ships, and eventually arrived with some 5,000 of them in Corsica, where they have opened a general hospital,



DR. ELSIE INGLIS

an infectious diseases hospital, where they are doing all the medical work, supervising the sanitation and supplying medical aid to the Serbians in all the villages. Their work not only bears fruit now, but means great things in the future."

In August, 1916, Dr. Elsie Inglis went out with the newest enterprise, to the Roumanian front at Dobrudia. They had to retreat almost immediately, but in the very act of evacuating the doctors treated over 2,000 wounded. The hospital staff was the last group to leave and they passed through burning villages with bombs bursting around them. In this retreat the transport column of eight ambulances, kitchen and supply and repair cars, which is part of the equipment of every Unit, was invaluable.

Miss Henderson, the administrator of the Roumanian Unit, commented on the women's indifference to danger.

"We had German aeroplanes over our camps," says she, "but our girls showed the utmost disregard of danger. I heard one girl orderly, lying on her back so as to get a better view of one, say quite calmly: 'It looks exactly as if the bomb might fall into my mouth if he dropped it.'"

WOMEN VOTERS AND ELECTION EXPENSES

If argument were made to-day to exclude any group of male citizens from the electorate, on the ground that their admission would increase the cost of election expenses, the proponents would be consigned to ignominious oblivion without a day's delay. Yet anti-suffragists officially make appeal to this most mercenary and anti-democratic of motives as grounds for denying votes to women. Not only do they do this, they adduce figures that warp the facts almost beyond recognition. For instance, the cost of election expense in a "little election" year—no gubernatorial vote—is compared invidiously with the cost of a "big election" year, when a whole national and state ticket is in the field. They take a year like 1913—which, for reasons unknown to gods and men, was an off-year in election annals in Illinois, a phenomenally small proportion of voters going to the polls—and compare its election expense, more or less vaguely, with the election expenses of 1916. Women were not voters in 1913. They were in 1916. The horizon must be made to gloom and glower during the interim.

"In Chicago the cost of election has increased three times as a result of adding women to the electorate." It takes an anti to make the connection. The clerk of Cook County can't do it. He says that adding women to the electorate has added one-third to the election expenses. In this connection it is of interest to note that the cost per registered voter in New York, where women don't vote—yet—was, in 1914, 2.29; in Chicago, where women do vote, it was 1.84. In 1915, the cost per voter in St. Louis, where women don't vote, was 2.12; in Chicago that year it was 1.095. That is to say, in 1914 at a cost of one and one-half million, one-sixth of the population of New York voted. In the same year at a cost of one and one-sixth million, seven-twelfths of the population of Chicago voted.

Again, anti-suffragists pick a fastidious way among facts, eliminating all those that don't prove what they want proved with a dexterity that is fairly violent. For instance, by selecting state and county "governmental cost payments" as a basis for calculation, they are able to show that the cost of government in a group of non-suffrage states, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, is less than in a group of suffrage states, California, Oregon and Washington. What that means is that the big item of governmental cost payments—the expenditures of incorporated places—is lifted out of anti-suffrage consideration quietly but surely. New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania are full of incorporated places—the "city States" of the east. Ad their cost payments to the state and county cost payments and the total goes sky-rocketing far beyond the ken of California, Washington and Oregon. Take just one example—New York's State and County expense is only about \$85,700,000. The incorporated places' expense is \$306,000,000!

The subjoined table institutes a comparison of the cost of elections that is illumining.

COST OF ELECTIONS IN VARIOUS YEARS IN CHICAGO
(From Board of Election Commissioner's Report—1915)

	Cost	Per Vote	Per Capita
1906	\$617,854.89	.70	.31
1907	443,781.27	.74	.22
1908	604,998.22	.66½	.29
1909	476,326.64	.83	.22
1910	618,827.63	.74	.28
1911	519,573.18	.56	.23
1912	908,015.98	.79	.40
1913	404,276.74	.97	.17
1914	1,136,976.76	.79	.47
1915	785,069.00	.57	.32

In 1906 there were 1,259 precincts; in 1915 there were 1,587, which is an increase of only 328 and not a "doubling" of precincts as the antis claim.

Note the high cost of the male election of 1912 and its enormous *per vote* cost, because fewer voted in that year than in any election since 1906. The year 1915, women voting, has the lowest *per vote* cost except 1911—one cent lower—and its *per capita* cost is not high. Complete 1916 figures are not available.

It is easy to say, as the antis do, that "doubling the electorate will double the election expenses." Easy to say, but hard to prove.

Telegrams from the states that now enjoy the benefits of woman suffrage, with none of the disasters attendant upon increased election expenses and increased taxes, are now on file at the headquarters of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. In every case the telegrams are signed either by the Governor or by the Secretary of State.

WYOMING: "Woman suffrage has not increased taxes in this state nor cost of elections."

COLORADO: "Only increase in cost of elections what naturally accrues from added number of electorate."

IDAHO: "Added election expense infinitesimal."

WASHINGTON: "Election expenses only increase by slight cost caused by effort to keep voting precincts under 250 voters."

CALIFORNIA: "Increased cost of elections because of women voters very little."

OREGON: "Woman suffrage has increased election expenses only so far as naturally they would increase proportionately to increase in number of voters."

ARIZONA: "Increased cost of elections through women voting not worth considering."

KANSAS: "Increased cost of elections insignificant."

NEVADA: "Slightly increased cost of printing additional ballots and compensation for election clerks."

ILLINOIS: The city clerk from Springfield writes: "The increase of election expenses thus far has been nominal and due only to expense incident to printing additional ballots and furnishing extra booths."

MONTANA: "The argument of increased taxation because of woman suffrage is absurd."

FINANCE

By Emma Winner Rogers, Treasurer

Every State suffrage association is specially engaged just now in a money-raising campaign, or in planning for such a campaign. To do this efficiently is of first importance. The National Treasurer has suggested methods and plans for money-raising campaigns both through the NEWS LETTER and in correspondence with State Treasurers and members of the National Finance Committee, and must continually remind these officials and all Finance Chairmen of even smaller suffrage divisions that "Where there's a will there's a way."

The determination to raise ample funds to carry through either State or local suffrage plans is the first essential. The selecting of financial chairmen, deciding on suitable methods and the enthusiastic pressing of financial campaigns will succeed in the measure that determined purpose to accomplish these results is present. Wise suggestions and efficient methods are sure to be seized on by zealous State and local Finance Chairmen to forward the interests of their treasuries.

The National Treasurer is sure that valuable help will be found in the following quotations from the forthcoming efficiency booklet on "How to Raise Money for Suffrage," which the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. now has in press, written by Henrietta W. Livermore of New York. The booklet will cover:

A Money-Raising Campaign, Budget and Pledges and Suggestions for Money Raising.

We quote from the first of these three topics:

A.—MONEY-RAISING CAMPAIGN

"The Manager. Suffrage associations are looking for the right kind of woman to be a financial campaign manager. . . . A woman suffragist, tactful, attractive, executive, accurate and optimistic is necessary. Do you know her?

"The Committee. The Committee should begin work at least two months before the campaign. The entire success depends on the planning ahead and thoroughness of work of this Committee and in the selection of captains. At least six should serve on this Finance Campaign Committee. Set the time for beginning and end of the campaign and advertise it. Select a slogan. Decide on the number of teams necessary, amount to be raised, amount you expect each team to raise, the forms of pledges and the forms of receipts and all details of the campaign. Begin an intensive hunt for the kind of captains who will work with a will and who can inspire others to work. Get at least six capable captains.

"Scheme. Divide your territory into districts that can be covered by a team. If your territory is a city, wards and election districts are a natural division. If other lines of division seem more advisable, such as denominations, or fraternal organizations or school districts, or social lines, let these be clearly mapped out.

"Have the captain bring in names of the persons to be asked for contributions in the territory to which she is assigned. Have all the lists card-catalogued, both a general alphabetical one for reference, and a district card catalog of the names in the territory assigned each captain. Meantime, each captain must

be selecting her team of six (more if possible) who will give up the entire campaign week to the task.

"The Campaign. Six days should be devoted to the campaign. On Monday have a get-together luncheon, at which the manager, the committee, the captains and teams are present. At separate tables seat each captain with her team. After the luncheon the manager launches the campaign, explains all details and arouses enthusiasm. Each table should be labelled with the number of the team. The card catalogs for each team are then placed on each table, gone over by the team and the names assigned to individuals of the team. Any especially important or difficult names are taken by the manager. Full directions of details of pledge-taking and money-receiving are explained and the necessary paraphernalia given to each person. System and exactness are required. Each member of a team keeps a record on her cards from now on of persons seen or interviewed, together with results. These cards are then filed in the captain's file. After luncheon and business are over the teams separate to visit immediately the names assigned and to meet at luncheon on the next day to report results.

"Following Days. Each day at luncheon teams report totals and turn in money received and these amounts are credited to the teams on a large blackboard. A victor's banner is placed daily on the table of the team reporting the largest sums obtained. Let the teams talk over their names after each luncheon and discuss difficulties and plans, separating to canvass as usual.

"Publicity. Clever advertising beforehand helps, a taking slogan, or any local hit or appeal. Posters are useful. Arouse curiosity beforehand and enthusiasm while the campaign is on.

"Whirlwind Campaign. The end of the campaign may see any especial form of campaign, utilizing every helper available, a 'dime' campaign, pencils sold on the street, mite boxes, a tag day, or whatever best suits the community. Here is the place for an original stunt. Let the campaign close with a dash and a final dinner or luncheon to which important guests are invited. If you have not reached the amount set, have pledges taken at this final dinner. You will get the amount."

ANTHONY APHORISMS

* * *

"It rejoices me every time I find a competent woman in a responsible position."

* * *

"Degradation in the labor market always has been, is today, and always will be the result of disfranchisement."

* * *

"The first duty of every intelligent woman is to devote her best energies to getting the power of the ballot into the hands of all women."

* * *

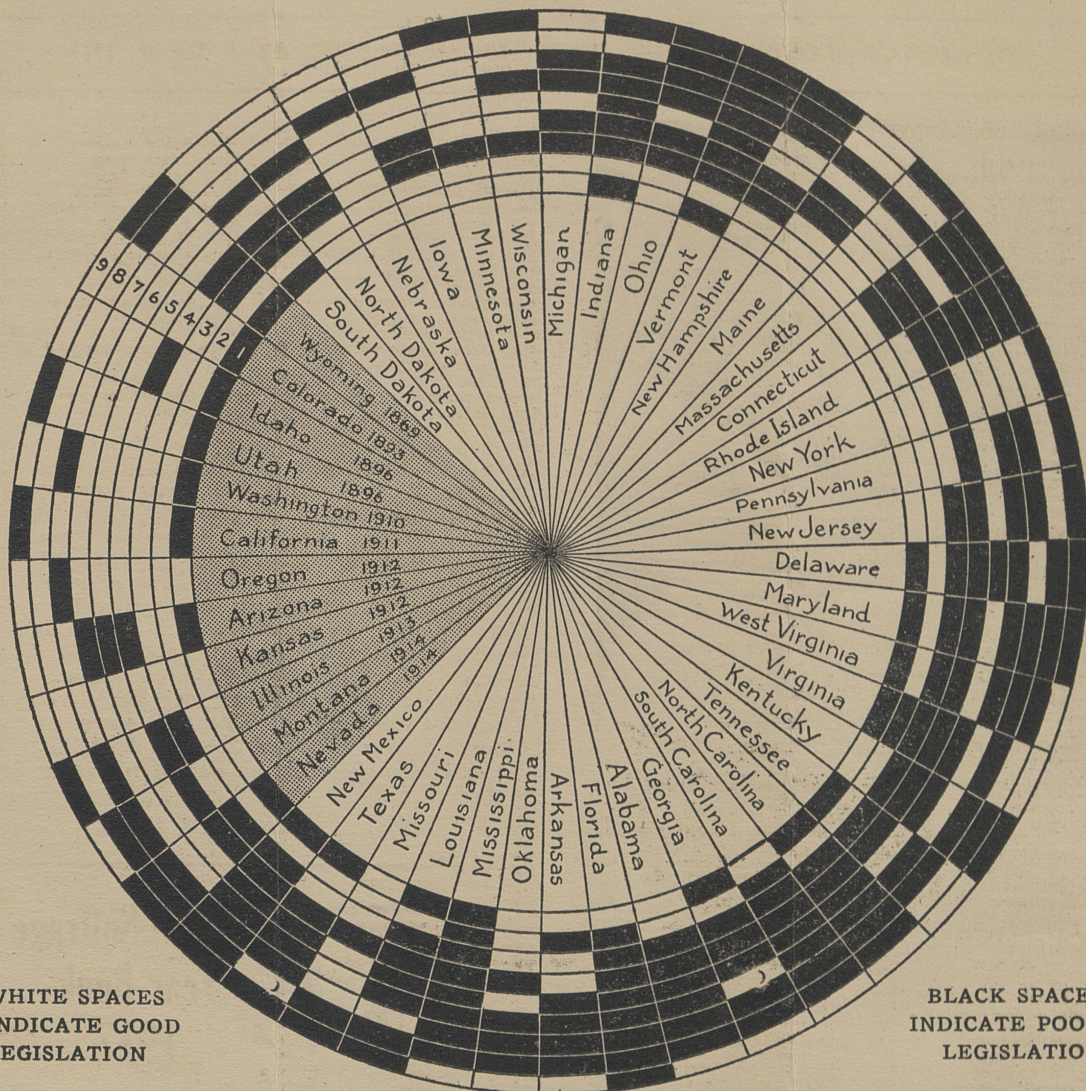
"I am here for a little time only, and then my place will be filled as theirs was filled. The fight must not cease. You must see that it does not stop."

A WORD OF REMINDER

Subscriptions to the NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS are very much in order. Subscription blanks will be found in forthcoming numbers and those whose subscriptions are falling due at this time are asked to renew promptly.

FINANCE—CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED FROM JANUARY 1 TO 31, 1917

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Conn. W. S. Assn.....	199.00	
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Mo. Eq. Suf. Assn.....	25.00	
Mass. Pol. Eq. Union.....	100.00	
Eq. Suf. League, Balto.....	17.88	
Chicago Eq. Suf. Assn.....	582.00	
Mrs. Raymond Robins.....	100.00	
Total.....	\$3,903.39	
DUES		
Nat. Council Women Voters.....	50.00	
Total.....	\$4,727.79	



WHITE SPACES
INDICATE GOOD
LEGISLATION

BLACK SPACES
INDICATE POOR
LEGISLATION

OR NONE AT ALL IN REGARD TO THE FOLLOWING:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Child Labor—14 years | 4. Minimum Wage | 7. Age of Consent—18 years—(Unchaste) |
| 2. Compulsory Education | 5. Mothers' Pension | 8. Red Light Abatement |
| 3. Eight or nine hour day for women | 6. Equal Guardianship | 9. Prohibition |

(Chart is based on compilations to date of January 1, 1917. Since that date North Dakota and Ohio have been added to the suffrage column.)

It will be seen that there are in the twelve suffrage states thirty-two black spaces in all, an average of 2.66.

It will also be seen that there are in the thirty-six non-suffrage states 186 black spaces, an average of 5.16.

Judged by social legislation, women and children are, therefore, nearly twice as well off in suffrage as in non-suffrage states.

It is to be remembered in this connection that neither women nor children are employed in industry in appreciable numbers in most of the suffrage states. This accounts for such agricultural states as Wyoming, Idaho, Utah and Arizona, for instance, having black spaces in the first circle. They are without a child labor problem of any moment and they do not put laws on their statute books to cover a situation

that does not exist. Wyoming had exactly seventeen children between the ages of ten and fifteen in factories, according to the last United States Census.

Compare the application of the mother's pension laws of New York and of Wyoming. In New York the mother must work when the father is disabled and she receives only ten dollars a month for the first child. In Wyoming a mother is pensioned if the father is disabled, dead, or has deserted the family, and twenty dollars a month is allowed for the first child.

This is the only chart of the kind so far issued with the sanction of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Acknowledgment is made to Mrs. J. C. Holman, of St. Paul, for the ingenious device whereby the showing is made.

FOR RENT—ONE PEDESTAL



MISS MARJORIE SHULER

It is also for sale—apply to National Suffrage Publishing Company. And it is not a pedestal. It is a book—the story of a suffrage campaign, and a bright and breezy girl's part in it.

The propaganda novel is a difficult proposition, but Miss Marjorie Shuler has walked up to it with the same rippling sense of humor and the same buoyancy of spirit that made her a lively and original figure in the "Eighth District" during the 1915 suffrage campaign in New York State. Those who have been through a campaign will read this gay little record with frequent reminiscent chuckles. And those who have not been through a campaign will read it chucklingly just the same. There is a fund of suffrage information and argument in it; there is advice; there is human experience, and woman experience, and political experience. And it is all off-handedly given, so that the reader has the sense of enjoying a breezy book rather than of being tutored in suffrage tactics. One instance will illustrate. Concerning the art of suffrage speaking, the young heroine says:

"My attempt at a comprehensive, logical outline failed completely. No one wanted to hear my speech. Those who stopped for a minute were restless, made comments and soon melted away.

"Finally in desperation I told the story of a little girl who went to have dinner with a great man. All during the meal she was anxious to speak. The great man silenced her. When dessert was served, he asked, 'Now, little girl, what do you want to say?'

"She replied, 'Please, sir, it's too late now. I wanted to tell you there was a worm on your lettuce, but you ate it.'

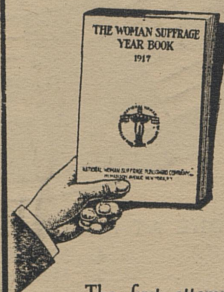
"As I told the story I realized that my voice had been patronizing like the man's. I began to talk simply about things women want to remedy before it is too late. The crowd grew and grew."

The young author went through the last campaign

from a to izzard, "doing everything, from scrubbing floors to speaking with Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Snowden, Congressman Keating and recently with Mrs. McClung." She carried on the complete suffrage filing system for Buffalo, doing the filing herself, along with various other odd jobs. One of the latter was the running of the Business Women's Club, which she started and made a profit out of, through their fifteen-cent hot suppers. Gradually she emerged as a street corner speaker, having two, three and four speeches every night all the spring and summer of the 1915 campaign and speaking through the country districts as well as the cities. She ran all the press work for the eighth campaign district, the largest in the state, and for the city of Buffalo, the second largest in the state. After the campaign she was elected city chairman and had entire charge of the city of Buffalo. She has been, "for a dim, dark, and forgotten number of years," on the Buffalo Express, and is the youngest officer of any State Federation of Women's clubs, being recording secretary of the New York organization, after two years as its press chairman. She has written children's stories which have been printed in various magazines, but this is her first sustained effort.

She is a member of the Scribblers of Buffalo, an organization limited to 30 members invited for their literary work and containing such illustrious lights as Anna Katherine Green and Marian de Forest, dramatizer of "Little Women" and "Erstwhile Susan." Several of her amateur plays and monologues have been done in Buffalo. That's about all, except that she "adores cooking and hates street speaking."

Her book is issued in an attractive dress at \$1.05 postpaid, by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company.



Woman Suffrage Year Book 1917

Edited by
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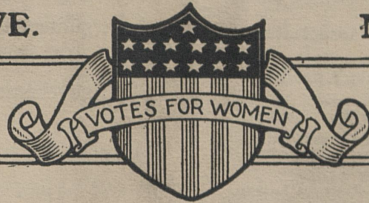
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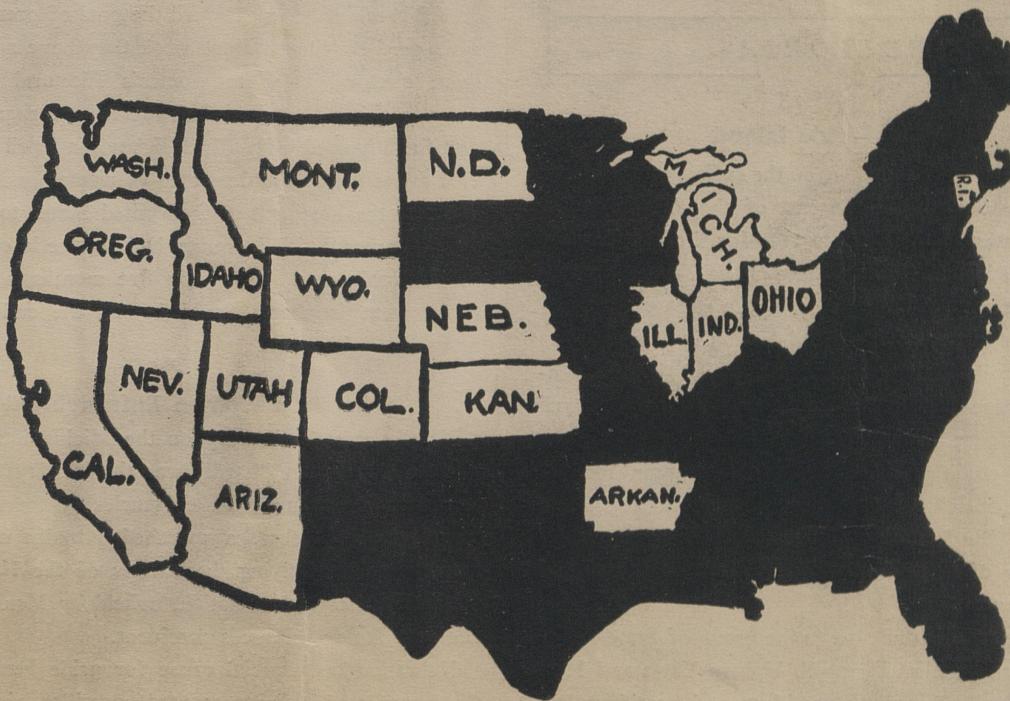
MAY, 1917

Published Monthly by the
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
171 MADISON AVE. NEW YORK CITY.

VOLUME III



NUMBER 4



NEW SUFFRAGE MAP FOR 1917

(Gained Since April 1: Rhode Island, Michigan and Nebraska)

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Continuing the
HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

A printed attempt to maintain intimate contact between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its thousands of members throughout the country.

Published once a month by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. Subscription price per year, 25c.

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ROSE YOUNG, Editor

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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EDITORIAL

Big Rhode Island

"Little Rhody" looms big on the suffrage map to-day. First State in the Union east of the Alleghenies to give its women the right to vote for the President of the United States! First State in the Union to recognize that woman suffrage is a war measure, making for the efficiency of State and Nation in war time.

On April 11, the State Senate passed the presidential suffrage measure by a vote of 32 to 3. On April 17, the House followed suit by a vote of 71 to 20.

Great credit is due Governor Beeckman for the growth of suffrage sentiment during this legislative session. He has distinguished himself by a strong advocacy of votes for women. He promptly signed the measure.

Great credit is due also to the group of State workers headed by Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates and Mrs. Barton Jenks, honorary president and president, respectively, of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association.

The significance of the Rhode Island victory can hardly be overestimated. True, Rhode Island will add but five more Electoral College votes to the complement in the choice of which women may participate, but the establishment of the suffrage banner in this

entirely new territory, heretofore a particularly inhospitable territory, is of especial moment. Of even greater moment is the evidence that the fundamental principle of democracy involved in woman suffrage can be relied on to penetrate such rigid Eastern conservatism as that supposed to be housed in Rhode Island's Senate.

* * *

Michigan Women to Vote for Next President

Hard on the heels of Rhode Island's victory comes the word that Michigan has passed the measure for presidential suffrage for women. This second overwhelming victory assures suffragists that from now on the argument for woman suffrage as a war measure is going to be found unanswerable both by Federal and State governments.

On April 19th the Michigan House passed a measure for presidential suffrage by a vote of 64 to 30. It had passed the Senate on March 21st by a vote of 22 to 7. This victory surpasses all others for quick action. It was only two short months ago that the Michigan women, led by Mrs. Orton Clark, started on their record-breaking smash toward the goal of presidential suffrage. By their valiant work they have added 15 more electoral votes to women's Electoral College share, making a total of 164, including Arkansas's 9 and the 5 handed in by Rhode Island on April 18th.

It raises the potential number of women qualified to vote for the President of the United States to 8,238,405. January 1, 1917, women had a voice in choosing 91 electoral votes. Less than five months later that complement is nearly doubled—and the end by no means in sight.

* * *

Nebraska's Women Enfranchised

Hardly was the ink dry on the Michigan suffrage measure (in future "hardly was the ink dry" will be kept standing to meet the exigencies of the suffrage score!) when Nebraska marched proudly into the suffrage column, flying the banner of the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association, upheld by Mrs. W. E. Barkley, the association's president.

Nebraska has especial cause for pride because of the measure of suffrage granted—presidential, county and municipal, and because she turned down a municipal suffrage measure which excluded farm women and voted in the larger measure which gave them the right to stand up and be counted in the vote for the next President of the United States.

Add eight more electoral votes to women's share in the Electoral College. The total is now 172. Ne-

braska is the seventh state to give women presidential suffrage since the big drive for the measure, instituted by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, began January, 1917.

* * *

Democracy

In this democratic day and generation all abridgments of democracy are coming to be intolerable to thinking men. They suffer an impaired self-respect in the face of them. They suffer, in the face of them, an impaired respect for the country which cannot establish the democratic ideal on a thoroughgoing basis; the country which leaves blots on the escutcheon of its democracy. All the more do they suffer these things when that country is their country, and America, home of the alleged free.

The question becomes one of national pride as well as of personal conviction, and men are grouping and organizing to set the matter right. One of the latest groups to get into action is the New York Men Teachers' League for Woman Suffrage. With Dr. Walter L. Hervey as president, they have established headquarters at 48 East 34th Street, and are launching a campaign of persuasion that promises votes for New York women in November.

Their first bulletin, which appears on another page, rings a rousing paean for democracy.

* * *

For America's Sake

"It is worth America's while to study our blunders and begin where we are now."

Thus Mr. Lloyd George, premier of England.

One of those blunders, generously acknowledged at last, even by that former arch enemy of suffrage, Mr. Asquith, was the disfranchisement of England's women, on the ground that "women do not render war service." England's men have a clarified vision on that subject now. In munition factories, behind the plow, down in mines, in field hospital, with ambulance transport columns, in industrial, clerical, professional, executive and administrative capacity everywhere, English women have shown the quality and the quantity of women's war service.

It was not the women alone who suffered because the potentiality of this service was not recognized from the start. It was England as well. And the reason this national resource went begging? Because women's political disfranchisement consciously and unconsciously reacts to cheapen them as national assets.

It took the crying need of eleven nations at war to bring women's war service to public attention as a national asset. Against the waste involved in such governmental obtuseness and slowness, American suffragists protest as America enters upon the world war. Women recognize swiftly that such waste is an inevitable concomitant of women's political disability. Excluding woman from political recognition, putting her in a political class with criminals and imbeciles, excludes governmental recognition of her economic and professional capacity. Learning to think of her cheaply as a political asset, the Government inevitably thinks of her cheaply as an economic asset.

Suffragists have in no way conditioned their offer of service to the Nation. Nor will they. But the question is, since this country is going to need women in all the capacities expected of voting citizens, why does not the Government strengthen that efficiency as rapidly as possible by making women politically responsible? Why does it not do it for its own sake? When all inhibition of power may be of serious consequence to national efficiency in a time of great need, why does not America take steps to avoid the delays of the other great nations in the political recognition of women?

Why does she not do it for America's sake?

* * *

Concerning Referenda to Women

Of all trite tricks proposed by opponents of woman suffrage, the tritest and the trickiest is the proposition to refer the suffrage question to the women themselves. And let them settle it? Not at all. They couldn't settle it, for woman's vote has no legal standing in any State where the proposition is made. If it had, she wouldn't be asking for the vote in that State. No, it is just a wasteful, hand-waving procedure to be indulged in on the chance that women will go on record as opposing woman suffrage, and so close the question without the assumption of any responsibility by the legal voters. If women don't go on record to that effect, no great matter; the real voters will then step in and settle the question as men see fit, anyway.

The artful ingenuousness of this attitude is brought out in a recent editorial in the one anti paper in New York City anent a bill before the Wisconsin Legislature. "First ascertain by a vote of the women if the majority of them desire the privilege which enthusiastic suffragists and easy politicians are so eager to thrust upon them. Then let the male voters decide for themselves whether they want this addition to the

electorate. That is the fair, orderly and just method of procedure."

The same fair, orderly and just bill demands that 60 per cent of all the women of the State must vote on the question. Polling 60 per cent of the men voters of Wisconsin is almost an unprecedented event. It takes a presidential election to round up men in such numbers. Even then they by no means always "turn out" at that rate. In the presidential election for 1912, for instance, only about 55 per cent. voted. But the idea, of course, is to make the whole procedure as nearly prohibitive as possible to begin with.

Merely to get word to the women of Wisconsin that such a vote is pending would require a large fund. The postage alone would cost about \$25,000.

If 60 per cent of the women go to the polls and express an opinion, the majority in favor, would they then vote? No. The question would then be submitted to a vote of the men of the State in the year 1920, precisely as if the women had not voted at all. The women would be forced to manage two campaigns, instead of one, and no assurance whatsoever is given that if a majority of the 60 per cent of the women should express a desire for the vote, the men would grant it. A careful analysis of the supporters of this measure reveals the fact that they are opponents of suffrage and the situation resolves itself into one more trick to postpone the establishment of woman suffrage.

To a mere woman there is something curiously, quaintly masculine in the futility that characterizes the proposition. Men rest under their own repeated charge that the masculine mind is a red-tape mind, often the victim of empty routine in government procedure. Certainly propositions like this Wisconsin proposition, just to go through some motions that would get nowhere, seem to bear out the accusation.

* * *

The "Emotional" Vote

However she votes, for war or for peace, for Democratic candidate or for Republican, the woman voter, be she member of Congress or high private in the rear ranks, must face, stand steady, and down carping criticism that would classify her vote by some clumsy rule of sex difference.

When the women of the West voted for Mr. Wilson last autumn there were loud outcries from Republicans against the "emotionalism" that swayed women into the Wilson column in response to the drum beat, "he kept us out of war." It was a sure sign of something or other that proved that women shouldn't vote.

When the war vote was cast in Congress in this war-riven spring, forty-nine men to one woman voted against it. Forty-nine to one! But as the forty-nine dynamos of emotionalism are men this time we hear nothing about what the emotionalism proves.

Another noteworthy fact, in view of Republican strictures on the Western woman's emotional vote of last autumn, is that the majority of the anti-war votes in Congress this spring were cast by Republicans.

* * *

Naive Fear Naively Met

A noted Texas lawyer suggests a new way in which to meet the naive fear of Texas politicians that "women will run for office if given the vote." He maintains that Texas women are almost as free to run for office to-day, if they choose to, as they would be with full suffrage. "Before the next State election let the women of the State hold a convention and nominate candidates for all State offices except Senators and Representatives. Women are entitled, under the laws of the State, to fill these offices. It will be an object lesson of value, when men realize that women have always had the right to run for office, but have not been candidates to any extent, and do it now only as a part of their work for suffrage."

The question will come up for consideration at the annual convention of the Texas Woman Suffrage Association, which meets in Waco, May 13, 16 and 17.

* * *

Sun Up in Mexico!

When the first Mexican Woman's Congress was held at Merida, Yucatan, in January of 1916, it was foregone that there would be another, and yet other events of like and even greater import. The second Congress was held ten months later and other events of greater import have indeed come to pass. At a Constitutional Convention at Queretaro, a proposal to enfranchise the professional and business women of Mexico was favorably entertained. With the candidacy of Señora Hermila Galindo for the Mexican Congress the Sister Republic of the South showed her inclination and determination to get and keep in the vanguard of progress on the woman question.

Early press reports were in error in acclaiming Señora Galindo as having been elected. She made a brilliant campaign, but was defeated. The young Señora, heralded as spirited, brilliant, beautiful and public-minded, is accredited with bending time, energy and talents toward the enfranchisement of all the women of Central and South America.

It fell to our lot some three years ago to try to get an over-domesticated American magazine for women to add to its suggestive kitchenette of a name "The Modern Woman." It sounded too untried, too new, too radical. It was tabooed. It falls to our lot to-day to chronicle that down in Mexico there is a magazine called "The Modern Woman," edited and managed by this same Señorita Galindo, with her spirited idealism toward the woman question. She is a citizen of that advanced State of Yucatan, where women now have the vote. From this radiating point a great wave of influence is spreading over the Republic and it is probable that Señorita Galindo will live to see the consummation of her cherished dream of the Mexican woman's complete enfranchisement.

* * *

Valedictory

Three short months ago we were writing our salutatory.

Today, our farewell.

Yet we are more than content. Three months is the mark of a brief life but what other suffrage journal can boast of the merry lot of having had its entire experience bounded by shouts of triumph for suffrage victories won? To the lot of what other suffrage journal has it fallen to count among its most carking cares, the effort to keep the suffrage map brought to date? In the circumstances, we go out happily. The rather that these are not really dying gasps. The truth is we are about to be reincarnated, and are writing a valedictory only to make way for another salutatory.

On June 2d, *The Woman's Journal*, *The Woman Voter* and the *National Suffrage News* each loses its identity to merge in a composite suffrage weekly that will, we are persuaded, preserve all the valuable features of each of the three and add other desirable features of its own. It is not for us to usurp here the prerogative of the first issue of that weekly. Suffice it here merely to bespeak from our readers their unbounded support for the new venture. It will take care of unexpired subscriptions on an equitable basis; it will give at least 64 pages monthly, where we are giving sixteen, and it will have the advantage of a large and capable staff of editorial writers under the direction of the new Bureau of Suffrage Education established by the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission.

The name of the magazine, the price, the personnel of its editorial staff will all be announced in the June 2d number. Without anticipating further the announcement to be made in that number, it will be seen that if we are saying farewell now it is only in order to say hail then.

ANCIENT EGGS AND FRAGRANT ROSES

Nothing so comforts the heart of the twentieth century suffragist as the reflection that it fell to Miss Anthony's lot to encompass in her own cycle of experience not only the obloquy that attached to the early advocacy of woman's rights, but, as well, the honor and triumph that are the portion of the later comers. In her home town of Rochester, her activities in behalf of the abolition of slavery and her advocacy of woman's rights brought down upon her a storm of wrath and reproach. Eggs were resorted to in Utica. Even to this day the chivalry that is supposed to stand between woman and the winds that blow has failed her, in a crisis, as witnessed the treatment accorded suffragists in the first Washington parade. But in that day every demonstration for equal rights was a crisis, and missiles, whether eggs or words, flew fast and furious. In 1874 a telegram was sent over the country which said, apropos to a convention of the suffragists: "Miss Anthony stalked down the aisle with faded alpaca dress to the top of her boots, blue cotton umbrella and white cotton gloves, perched herself on the platform, crossed her legs, pulled out her snuff-box, and passed it around. On the platform were Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Wright, Mrs. Gage, Mrs. Rose, and other noted women, all dressed in unmentionables cut bias and smoking penny drab cigars. Susan was quite drunk."

In 1897, the same Rochester that had hissed her from the platform in the sixties opened its newspaper columns wide in praise of "Our Beloved Susan; Two Thousand Hands Grasped by the Grand Old Woman." All Rochester was at her feet by then. As one paper put it, "Rochester is proud of Susan B. Anthony—proud that it can call her its citizen. It has come to appreciate her quality." Indeed, all the world was at her feet by then, for, as still another paper put it, she had come to stand before her audiences "like a vision of the spirit of prophesy, so imbued with her unselfish longing that the angel of the covenant who has held up her hands and kept her from fainting revealed her as the inspired representative of her great idea. Well may we love and reverence her, for she has given to us all that was hers, and crowned the giving with herself."

No one had a keener appreciation of the contrast between the hardships of the early days and the flowery path of the later days than did Miss Anthony herself. And what touched her most deeply about it all was that "just as it was a few of us who stood at the front, and had to take the pelting when it was with moral brickbats and ugly epithets, while the women who stayed quietly in their homes got no such treatment, so now when the pelting for those of us who are left is of roses and good words, the women who stood behind us all through the hard times are getting no mention. It cannot be helped, and there is a sort of justice in it, you see; but nevertheless, without the support of those quiet ones our work could not have been done."

* * *

Progress in Dixie

From Dixie comes the good word that the Alabama Educational Association has passed a resolution endorsing suffrage. Alabama school superintendents are nearly all men and up to now nearly all opposed to woman suffrage.

SUFFRAGE BEFORE THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Flanked by the flags of twenty-two nations that have given the franchise to women by parliamentary procedure, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, marshalled argument on top of facts and figures in her plea for the Federal suffrage amendment at the hearing before the Senate Suffrage Committee April 20. The twenty-two flags that waved for woman suffrage before the august Senators were those of Great Britain, including England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Honduras, South Africa; Scandinavia, including Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland; France; Russia; the Netherlands; Mexico; Porto Rico; Hawaii; Burmah.

In each and all of these countries full or partial measures of suffrage have been granted women by act of the parliament.

Women's Efficiency Crippled in War Time

Speaking of women's efficiency as a war time asset, Mrs. Catt pointed to the crippling of efficiency by political disfranchisement, and the cheapening of woman in her own eyes and the eyes of the Government by that disfranchisement. To-day, she said, we stand upon the verge of what may prove the greatest test of endurance yet put upon our Republic. Women, the greatest force our Nation possesses for the creation of public sentiment, are asked to mobilize their forces in aid of a Government which has wronged them.

"Our nation is engaged in the defense of democracy, 'for the right of those who submit to authority to have a vote in their own Government.' The hearts of women would beat more happily could they feel that our own Government had been true to the standard it now proposes to unfurl upon an international field.

"The grievance which every thinking, self-respecting American woman feels is the discrimination which invites to our land the men of all the nations of earth, naturalizes them after a five years' residence, automatically enfranchises them under all State constitutions, and then commands American women to seek the ballot at their hands. These men have not been asked whether they want the vote or whether they will use it when they get it. No adequate demonstration of their fitness to vote is required; they are subjected to the strain and expense of no long campaign, they find the privilege, a free grant, awaiting them upon their arrival here. With the notions of woman's sphere in mind which were formed in countries where the status of men is low and that of women lower, they are given the task of deciding whether American college presidents, teachers in the public schools and the Christian mistresses of our homes are worthy to be trusted with the vote.

Contrasts United States With Other Lands

"Little did American suffragists think that any woman of darkest Russia and darkest Mexico would be promoted to political freedom before those of the United States of America. Little did they think that women to the North and women to the South would be liberated from political thralldom before the women of the Great Republic. Why have the men of our Nation been so unmoved by the plea that if the principle of self-government is right, it must be con-

sistently applied? No woman understands. We are told upon the one hand that the hour of autocracy has struck, that democracy, the rule of the people, is coming to its own; on the other we are warned that this is no time to speak of democracy for that half of our own people who do not possess its advantages.

"We have been pronounced 'pestiferous annoyances' by a great newspaper and told to keep still until the war is over. We accept the title and decline the advice. We speak not so much for ourselves as in defence of our Republic in the hope that it will make amends and resume its rightful historic place as leader of the world's democracy."

The Reclamation of Democracy

Comparing State referenda with the Federal route, Mrs. Catt said: "It should be remembered that nineteen States have voted on woman suffrage referenda during the past five years, of which only six were won. In several of the remaining thirteen the defeat was definitely traceable to the foreign vote, organized under the direction of unscrupulous native born. Women workers at the polls in each of these States have reported that illiterate men, signing their names with a mark, ignorant men without understanding, foreign men who could not speak English, drunken men with minds blurred, half-witted men, degenerate men, and every other type which makes up the underworld, were marshalled to the polls and directed to vote against woman suffrage by men notorious for political dishonesty. These reports have come from precinct after precinct, from county after county, and from every State. Let me assure you that none of the women who have witnessed such scenes will again give homage to their Government without a reservation. From that moment they seek the vote, not as a right denied them, but as a duty to aid the reclamation of democracy from the degradation to which in too many localities it has been allowed to sink.

Against Submarine Election Methods

"The most appealing argument in favor of the Federal Amendment is that every opponent of woman suffrage of high or low degree is frantically opposed to that method. They are opposed also to referenda, but if they must choose, they take the referenda, for there are blocks of irresponsible votes which can be utilized to defeat suffrage by referenda. We are opposed to the denial of the freedom of the seas by prowling U-boats and we are equally opposed to the denial of the vote to half our people by piratical, submarine election methods. It is the duty of Congress to rescue this question from further treatment of this kind. We are outstripped in the march of progress which was inaugurated by our country. If we are to recover place, there must be a 'Wake Up America.'

"In the light of these facts, the 'mumbo jumbo' of sectionalism, States rights, political party balance, and other forms of mental anesthesia, used to quiet the consciences of otherwise progressive men, become mere junk to be cast out of our national thought. They represent not principles, but excuses.

"We ask you, gentlemen, to wait no longer; let women feel that the flag to which they pledge their loyalty waves over a land which gives them as much political freedom as any under the sun."

REASSURANCE FROM RUSSIA

It would have been infamy beyond belief if Russian women had been excluded from the new democracy proclaimed for Russia. Russian women, Russian suffragists in particular, have stood so unflinchingly behind their country in its struggle for democracy and in the great exigency of the war that their political recognition appeals as inevitable to any just-minded person.

Yet women have been appealed to, and relied on before in time of sharp need, only to be forgotten in the day of after reckoning. In passing, it may be noted that no country has ever presented such tell-



DR. SCHISCHKINA YAVEIN

ing testimony to men's ability to promise and to forget as did America, just before and after the Civil War. "Let your own cause go and help us through the war; we'll help you later," said the men. And later they said, "It's the negro hour. We'll help you later." And later they said, "It's an inauspicious time just now, but your cause is entitled to respect, and we'll help you later." There has been so much "later" in the chronology of political recognition for the American woman that she may be forgiven for being especially sceptical as to the outcome in Russia.

However, a belated cablegram to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, from Dr. Schischkina Yavein, president of the Russian Defenders of Women's Rights, shows that the Russian women had to make, were prepared to make, and did make a determined stand for their inclusion in the new liberty proclaimed for Russia. "We are pro-

MISS ANNIE FURUHJELM
Member of Parliament for Finland

claiming, remonstrating and demonstrating," read the cablegram, which bore date of March 18th. That they did so effectively is indicated by the latest advices from Russia, which give the reassurance that Prince Lvoff, Premier in the Provisional Government, has promised that women will be allowed to vote in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

When war broke out, Dr. Yavein and her co-workers threw the whole strength of their powerful suffrage unit into war service for Russia.

In Finland, where woman suffrage is already established, home rule is one of the policies of the new Russian Government, according to a Reuter dispatch. When the Finnish Diet convenes to establish a government possessing the full confidence of the people, Miss Annie Furuhjelm, member of parliament, will be one of those to draft the new democratic constitution.

* * *

WOMEN MAKE GOOD JURORS

Again it is Washington that testifies to the value of women on juries, although by the law of the State women may claim exemption from jury service if they wish. But the County Clerk of Grays Harbor testifies that "by four years of service the women have proven themselves good jurors when they serve." "The women of this State," he adds, "take a keen interest in politics and statecraft."

* * *

SIXTEEN NEW MARYLAND REGIMENTS

Sixteen new regiments to fight for the federal woman suffrage amendment—in other words, sixteen new branches of the National American Woman Suffrage Association have been organized in Maryland within the past two months. This was the report of the organizers to the executive board of the New Woman Suffrage League of Maryland at a recent meeting at the Washington headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

ARIZONA'S MINIMUM WAGE VICTORY



MRS. ROSA MCKAY

Of the eight States that already have effective minimum wage legislation—out of twelve that have minimum wage provision—four are full suffrage States; that is to say, 45 per cent of the full suffrage States have taken adequate measures for the protection of women wage earners, while only four of the thirty-seven partial or non-suffrage States, or 10.9 per cent, have done so.

"The Lady from Cochise"

"The greatest victory ever won by women's votes, and won by a woman against tremendous odds," is the way one admirer characterizes Mrs. Rosa McKay's splendid fight for a minimum wage for Arizona women. In defense of her pet measure, Mrs. McKay, "the lady from Cochise," one of the three women in the Arizona Legislature, fought almost single-handed every discouraging attempt to side-track her bill, to kill it, or to nullify it by amendment. Lined up in formidable array against her were Democrats, Republicans, Labor representatives and the organized majority led by the Speaker of the House, who declared the bill was slated for the waste basket, "where it belonged." With the smile that wouldn't come off, Mrs. McKay met all setbacks and fought against all odds. At the last minute the bill passed by a meagre majority of two. In the Senate she fared better. The privileges of the floor were extended to her by the courtly President of the Senate, and her eloquent appeal, one of the most thrilling bursts of oratory developed at the session, was the means of passing her bill with but three dissenting votes. The law provides for a minimum wage of ten dollars a week, and carries compulsory power and penalties.

The fact that Arizona is not a manufacturing State, and has not yet developed an acute labor problem, makes this legislative victory stand out with the greater triumph for woman suffrage, and its protective import toward women and children. Women vote in Arizona, and Arizona takes time by the forelock and indulges in preventive action rather than wait to be forced into remedial.

In view of the decision rendered by the Supreme Court in the Oregon Minimum Wage Law, new significance attaches to the legislative action on this subject taken by the 1917 Arizona Legislature, and the contention of suffragists that the rights of the female laborer are better safeguarded in women-voting States than in non-suffrage States.

MEN TEACHERS LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Bulletin No. 1—"For Democracy"

"Ever since I got the hang of the Declaration of Independence I have believed in Woman Suffrage."

HON. CHAMP CLARK.

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

THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS, APRIL 2, 1917.

The women of the State of New York are among "those who submit to authority."

They have a right to a voice in their own government.

The women of the State of New York are denied that right.

In the world-wide movement toward democracy other states and other countries are giving votes to women.

Women vote in Denmark and in seven other foreign countries. In the Congress of the United States a woman representative has been seated amid the hearty felicitations of her colleagues. Yucatan has given its women the vote. The Russian revolution was wrought by men and women working together; it is but just that its benefits should be—and the despatches indicate that the Provisional Government will see to it that they shall be—shared by men and women—voting together. The British Government has at last promised women the vote—even Mr. Asquith having been converted to the idea that women are people. In Germany, if Kuno Francke's prediction comes true, one of the fruits of the war will be votes for women; likewise in France. Millions of women in Canada, and in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, have been given the vote within a year. The half-breeds of the Virgin Islands, having voted under Danish rule, are to go on voting under the Flag, while the women of New York wait.

Why, in the face of these facts, are the women of New York still denied the vote?

It would be natural, though unfair, to ask, "What is the matter with the women of New York?" The proper question is, "What is the matter with the men of New York?" for it is they who are keeping their women politically lower than the women of Denmark, and of Alaska, and of Yucatan.

It is unthinkable that equal suffrage will not ultimately prevail the world over.

It is not unthinkable that what we proudly call "The Great State of New York" may be the last State in the last country to give women the full rights of citizens under a democracy. Only the men of New York can keep the State from deserving such distinction.

The Men Teachers' League for Woman Suffrage invites the co-operation of all teachers, both in colleges and in public and private schools.

Enroll in the League. Work for suffrage.

Support the Amendment November 6, 1917.

MEN TEACHERS LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE,

WALTER L. HERVEY, President.

48 East 34th St., New York.

WAKING UP AMERICA TO NATIONAL SERVICE FOR AGRICULTURE

The "Wake Up America" call has certainly been effective in arousing our people everywhere to the importance of increasing and conserving the food supply. The press, Chambers of Commerce, National and State Agricultural Departments, Governors of States and the President of the United States remind the country that men and nations live by bread and other products of Mother Earth, and call on farmers and all who can to increase the food supply by more extended and effective cultivation of the soil.

President Wilson, in his proclamation of April 16th, says:

"The importance of an adequate food supply, especially for the present year, is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency but for some time after peace shall have come both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America.

Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual co-operation in the sale and distribution of their products?"

Secretary Lane, speaking to women, says:

"The women of America can do no greater work at this time than to raise their own vegetables, can their own fruit, prevent waste in their homes and give impulse and enthusiasm to the men of the land. If they do this they will be doing a good 50 per cent of the work of fighting the war to a finish."

And Herbert C. Hoover, who has been appointed Food Director for the Nation by the Council of National Defense, makes it plain that we have not only the task of feeding our own people while at war but the Allied Nations.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is organizing its forces as rapidly as possible to meet this urgent demand for National Service for Agriculture. Thirteen State Associations have now appointed Chairmen for Suffrage Agriculture and Thrift as given below:

Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees; Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, Mrs. Hortense Tapp Moore; Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, Dr. Carrie H. Dickey; Woman Suffrage League of Baltimore, Maryland, Miss Clara T. Waite; Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane; Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Nellie N. Somerville; New Hampshire Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Andrew L. Felker; New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, Miss C. Emma Ives; New York State Woman Suffrage Party, Mrs. Ruth Litt; North Dakota Votes for Women League, Mrs. F. O. Olsen; Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Party, Miss Enid M. Pierce; Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, Memphis, Mrs. James M. McCormack; Virginia Equal Suffrage League, Mrs. D. Miles Taylor.

These Chairmen are naming committees to assist

in organizing farm and garden clubs in local leagues wherever possible. The members of the clubs pledge to work a farm or garden, or co-operate with community garden and vacant lot undertakings, or work under the direction of their County Farm Bureau.

It is very desirable that suffragists link their work for agriculture with the activities of their own suffrage group. We want to build up and not disintegrate our suffrage organizations while we join with all in patriotic service for our country.

Bureau of Farm Occupations

The crying need to be met first of all is for farm labor. The soil has been deserted for twenty years past by millions of young people to swell the urban population, and factories and shops have swallowed up the labor that should have been kept in fields and gardens. Our population is 46% per cent urban.¹ Millions of productive acres lie idle, and neither health, morals nor national well-being have been strengthened by this rapid change. Women may well lead the way back to country life and agricultural occupations, for they are not without responsibility for the exodus from farm house to the tenements, from the fields to the factories. Suffrage associations have a splendid opportunity to foster the "back to the farm" movement, to lend a helping hand in making country life more attractive to young and old, and more profitable; to open a means of communication between the factory and the farm, the school and college and the farm. We urge every State Chairman of Suffrage Agriculture to open at once one or more Bureaus of Farm Occupations, where women and girls may enlist for work on farms and in orchards and gardens, and care of country places. Use the local and county papers to inform farmers, gardeners and women workers where such help can be sought and country work found. College women might well set the example of going into farm and garden work, and while their brothers are enlisting for service in the Army and Navy, enroll themselves for National Service for Agriculture.

Canning Centers

The Farm and Garden Clubs of local leagues should plan at once to open canning centers at suitable places with the ripening of the asparagus, spinach and rhubarb crops. Provision for a supply of cans is of first importance, as a shortage exists at present and prices are rising. A volunteer or paid expert for supervision and instruction is essential.

Country hampers from the canning centers may be profitably packed and shipped to city people and institutions as well as for canning and preserving, and for instructing classes of women in canning methods. They could also be used for short courses on Thrift, on Care of Gardens, and on farming subjects.

The Farm and Garden Club of the local leagues ought to undertake at once the opening of these canning centers, as considerable preliminary work is necessary.

Farm Uniforms

Every woman who will do systematic farm or garden work needs a farm uniform as much as a soldier

(1) p. 55 Census Abstract 13th U. S. Census.

needs one for efficient service. It will mark our women as having enlisted for National Service to increase the food supply, and will evidence that they mean hard plodding work, early and late, to help out the busy farmers and gardeners by whose toil and skill the world is fed and clothed. The National Association is arranging with Sweet-Orr & Co., of New York, one of the oldest overall companies in the country, for a supply of ready-to-wear practical and attractive farm uniforms and overalls for women, which will be on sale at department stores and suffrage centers at low prices.

The overalls with their apron front call for a blouse underneath and one satisfactory for its cheapness and simplicity will be found in the newly christened "Suffrage Blouse," a practical little slip-over manufactured by Max Kurzrock. It will be found on department store counters from \$2 up, according to material.



SUFFRAGISTS ROOF-GARDENING ATOP THE BUILDING WHICH HOUSES THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

The McCall Pattern Company have made excellent patterns of farm uniforms, either one-piece bloomer suits or short skirts and leggings, together with patterns of farm and garden sunbonnets and hats, which the National Association recommends to the women who intend to make their own farm uniforms. Heavy shoes and loose gloves will complete an outdoor work outfit, and every soldier of agriculture is enjoined to wear an arm-band marked N. S. S. A., "National Suffrage Service for Agriculture."

It is believed that the National's suggestions and experiment along these lines will eventuate in a practical, economical and graceful garment. Different states are also making adaptations and suggestions.

Individuals, too, are free to make their own modifications. The National's intention is merely to present the possibilities in the most convenient forms available.

NATIONAL AND STATE FARM AND GARDEN BULLETINS

The United States Department of Agriculture and all State Departments of Agriculture issue practical bulletins on every phase of gardening and farming. These can be had for the asking, except in a case of a few bulletins for which a charge of five or ten cents is made. It is well to keep at Suffrage Headquarters the list of such bulletins for the use of the Farm and Garden Club members. A few of the bulletins are listed herewith:

Bulletins of U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

- U. S. Department of Agriculture
- Leaflet NR- 1. Plant a Garden;
- " " 21. Methods and Devices in Home Canning;
- " " 22. Tinning, Capping and Soldering; Repair Work for the Farm Home;
- " " 24. Classification of Fruits and Vegetables for Club Canning by Cold Pack Method;
- " " 25. Home Canning Instructions—Additional Recipes;
- " " 26. Canning of Soups and Meats;
- " " 29. Common Home Canning Difficulties;
- Farmers' Bulletin 777. Feeding and Management of Dairy Calves and Young Stock;
- " " 779. How to Select a Sound Horse;
- " " 426. Canning Peaches on the Farm;
- " " 359. Canning Vegetables in the Home;
- " " 521. Canning Tomatoes at Home and in Club Work;
- " " 203. Canned Fruit, Preserves and Jellies;
- " " 433. Cabbage Growing;
- " " 647. The Home Garden in the South;
- " " 254. Cucumbers;
- " " 282. Celery;
- " " 289. Beans.

New York State College of Agriculture Bulletin

(Reading Course Lessons)

- | Series | No. | Topic |
|---------------------|------|---|
| The Soil | 42. | Tilth and Tillage of the Soil. |
| Farm Crops | 24. | Rotation of Farm Crops. |
| " | 112. | Potato Growing in New York. |
| Dairying | 86. | The Production of Clean Milk. |
| Farm Forestry | 12. | The Improvement of the Wood Lot. |
| Fruit Growing | 36. | Culture of Red and Black Raspberries. |
| " | 72. | Culture of the Grape. |
| Poultry | 88. | Feeding Young Chickens. |
| Vegetable Gardening | 50. | Planting the Home Vegetable Garden. |
| " | 83. | Raising Vegetables for Canning. |
| " | 92. | Summer Care of the Home Vegetable Garden. |
| Country Life | 96. | Surroundings of the Farm Home. |
| " | 59. | Sewage Disposal for Country Homes. |

Applications for all publications should be made to Office of Publication, New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, N. Y. These publications are free to residents of New York State. Rates for residents elsewhere on application.

THE EFFICIENCY VEGETABLES GARDEN CHART

Gardening is an old, old story. Twenty centuries ago Pliny the Elder summed it up in a sentence of just six words:

"Dig deep; manure well; work often." Little can be added to this garden commandment. A method of

intensive gardening, however, may especially help those whose garden space is limited, and certainly makes for thrift in garden culture.

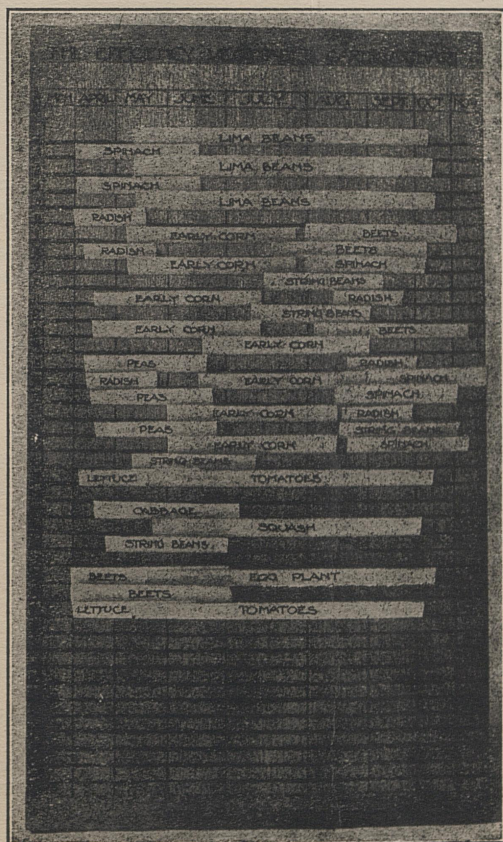
A young business man of New York, Mr. Charles H. Hodges, has worked out in his Long Island home garden a practical plan of growing double the usual garden crops on a given space, and embodied his idea in an efficiency chart, the object of which is to teach the novice and experienced man alike how to make two vegetables grow where one grew before.

The chart is a wooden board 7 x 12 inches with slots to indicate the rows in which cards are inserted to represent the different vegetables. The chart represents the garden with rows of any length a foot apart. The chart calendar is at the top. The rows are numbered for convenience. Adjustable cards in the rows indicate the vegetables.

The lengths of the cards have been determined by the time (according to the calendar) that each vegetable (seed or plant) will occupy its particular row. Each vegetable is planted the entire length of the row for its allotted time. For example, in row 16 radishes are planted (the entire length of the row) on April 1st and removed about May 15th; early corn can be planted after the radishes have been removed, and is also planted the entire length of the row.

The chart with full description of its uses in planting succession crops on the same space can be purchased for 60 cents, post-paid, of The Cloche Company, 131 Hudson Street, New York.

Arrangement of a Practical Garden which was operated successfully by the Chart System



FARM AND GARDEN TRAINING SCHOOL

Miss Ruutz-Rees and Miss Ryan, of Greenwich, Connecticut, have offered the use of their farm on the Mianus River, eight miles from Greenwich, as a Fairfield County Suffrage Camp Farming School. The object of the school will be to give a practical course in farming which will begin with the preparing of the ground, planting, caring for, gathering in, and marketing of garden produce.

There will be opportunity to learn about the care of stock, such as feeding, handling, milking cows; a course in practical camp cooking for numbers, canning and preserving, will be offered. There will also be a supplementary lecture course with scientific reading on farm subjects.

The land, camp outfit and instruction are supplied without charge. Applicants must supply bedding, towels and individual small tools. Laundry extra.

The cost, including board, share of cost of tilling land, fertilizing, seeding, transportation of produce, for eight weeks (estimated) \$50 to \$80, depending upon the number of persons taking the course.

Produce or income derived from the farm can either be devoted to defraying living expenses or disposed of for the benefit of Suffrage War Work.

Miss Ryan, who has had some experience in the West in practical farming will take the responsibility of the farm. An expert practical farmer on the place will take charge of the work and there will be in residence a competent practical woman ready to teach camp cooking for numbers, canning and preserving.

THE THRIFT DIVISION OF THE SUFFRAGE ARMY

An Open Letter from the National Chairman

"Modern war means bending all the energies of all the people toward a common end." Some serve their country best by fighting, others by working—all can serve by saving and the American woman must lead the way.

The Thrift Division of the Suffrage Army is going to stand behind the men at the front and fight waste in home and municipality, thus helping release vast resources for the Nation. The following tentative outline is sent to you that you may begin to mobilize your forces and train them for this valuable national service.

Elimination of Waste—Food

1. Selection of food—for nutritive value.
 - (a) Five types of food necessary for balanced diet—fats, sugars, starchy foods, protein-rich foods, fruits and vegetables.
 - (b) Inexpensive foods of each type.
 - (c) Paying for flavor, appearance, variety, display, etc.

References: Farmers' Bulletin, "How to Select Food," 808; Rose, "Feeding the Family," Macmillan, 1916, \$2.10; Sterns and Spitz, "Food for the Worker," Whitcomb and Barrows, \$1.00.
2. Waste of Health.

Death and illness from malnutrition and from sub-maintenance rations.

References: Irving Fisher, "Waste"; Richards, "Euthenics."
3. Waste of Food.
 - (a) In field and garden. (Write O. H. Benson, States Relation Service, Washington, D. C., about canning clubs.)
 - (b) In amounts prepared.

- (c) In methods of preparation.
- (d) In amounts served.
- (e) In utilization of left-overs.
- 4. Waste through inefficient purchasing.
 - (a) In order to minimize: (1) Clerk; (2) Delivery service; (3) 'Phone.
 - (b) Buy in as large quantity as storage facilities and keeping qualities permit.
 - (c) Co-operative club buying at wholesale prices.
- 5. Better markets.
 - (a) Efficient retail stores. Larger. Associated. Number based on population.
 - (b) Co-operative stores.
 - (c) Municipal markets. Wholesale or retail. Open to all producers. Small or large. Direct selling to retailer or consumer.

References: King, "Lower Living Costs in Cities."

Suggestions for Local Activity

1. Study of own dietaries.
 - Menus, cost, purchasing.
 - Reports on successful dietaries.
2. Reducing amount of garbage.
 - Reports on diminution of garbage.
3. Price reports.
 - Local.
 - National (Monthly Reports of U. S. Bureau Labor Statistics).
 - Committee to report changes in markets, wholesale and retail and compare with local markets.
4. Cheap food committee.
 - Suggest cheap food and dietaries.
 - Suggest substitutes as prices change. Use of skimmed milk. Whole or graham flour and cereals.
5. Efficient purchasing.
 - Committee to survey and report recommendations for more efficient methods on part of housewives: (a) Delivery problem; (b) Methods of payment of bills; (c) Telephone service.
6. Survey of local conditions.
 - Determine (1) opportunities for nearby farmers to sell directly to consumers and retailers. (Parcel post.)
 - (2) Prices in different stores.
 - Carry on campaign with local authorities for improved markets.
7. Co-operative buying clubs.
 - Organized to allow all who wish to place order with manager.
8. Anti-stimulant group.
 - Reduce amount bought of coffee, tea.

General References on Food:

Government bulletins on food.

- Lists—Farmers' Bulletins, No. 16. From Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.
- Foods and Cooking, No. 11. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
- Economical Use of Meat in the Home, No. 391.
- Cornmeal as a Food and Ways of Using It, No. 565.
- Fats and Their Economical Use in the Home, No. 468.
- How to Select Food, No. 808.
- Cheese and Its Economical Use in the Diet, No. 487.

University of Missouri bulletins.

- Infant Feeding, Stanley.
- Feeding of Children, Kneeland.
- School Lunches, Bab Bell.

Hold the meetings wherever possible in suffrage headquarters. When the league does not possess them, utilize the school-houses. For leader, secure someone trained in home economics. If that is not feasible, get some housekeeper noted for her efficient management of her own home. Enlist health officers, nurses, dieticians, county farm managers and university extension workers for speakers, on various topics. Write to your State university to see what help they can give you in this work, and to the Department of Agriculture at Washington for various bulletins covering any phase of your work and for help through their extension service.

This outline on food will be followed by others on shelter, clothing and municipal waste, and from time

to time with suggestions for work. The immediate necessity is for quick action in enrolling members and getting them to put in their best powers in helping to solve this national problem of the elimination of waste. We want women to play their part in this war. Can we not do it best by putting our homes on a business-like, efficient basis, and by so doing not only help immeasurably in the present crisis but prove our right to the larger life which is coming to us? Please let me hear from you regarding your work, with suggestions of additional topics of interest which may come up in the course of your study.

Very cordially yours,
HELEN GUTHRIE MILLER,
1st Vice-President.

Calendar of Recent Suffrage Legislation

Iowa.—The joint resolution to amend constitution to permit full suffrage for women passed the Senate, 35 to 13, on March 22d, and the House, 85 to 20, on March 29th. Recommended by Governor Harding in his message to the Assembly. Must be endorsed by next Legislature before it goes to the voters.

Oklahoma.—The concurrent resolution giving suffrage to women by constitutional amendment, which passed the lower house on March 12th, was passed by the Senate on the last night of the session, as a Democratic party measure, without a dissenting vote. It will be submitted to the voters at a special election June, 1918.

Wisconsin.—The amendment referendum measure which was engrossed and passed by Senate, 20 to 12, under a suspension of the rules, on April 10th, provides for submission to the voters in November, 1918. The bill is now before the Lower House.

Minnesota.—The Senate on March 29th, by a vote of 31 to 35, defeated the presidential suffrage bill, which had been introduced in the House, January 17th, and received favorable action. On April 9th, the Senate accepted election committee's report to postpone indefinitely a resolution to amend the constitution to give equal rights to women. The amendment had passed the House on February 21st, receiving a vote of 85 to 41.

Missouri.—House of Representatives passed, 84 to 37, a bill granting women the right to vote for presidential electors. On March 24th the measure was eliminated from the Senate calendar.

Pennsylvania.—The amendment to the constitution of Pennsylvania providing for full suffrage to women failed by 3 votes in the lower house of the legislature on April 17th. The vote stood 101 to 94.

Connecticut.—Joint legislative committee on woman suffrage submitted unfavorable reports to the House on April 10th, on the bills giving women the right to vote on the liquor question and for national, city and town officers.

Massachusetts.—The Supreme Court of the state, in an opinion handed down to the Legislature April 17th, declared the latter body had no authority to define the word "people," in the act providing for the convention as meaning men and women, and had no power to amend the act or take other steps to permit women to vote upon recommendations submitted to the electorate of the commonwealth by the coming constitutional convention.

Rhode Island.—Bill permitting American-born women, after two years residence in state, and women of foreign birth only after five years residence in the United States, and two in the state, to vote for presi-

dential and vice-presidential electors, introduced in Senate on February 8th by Senator Henry B. Kane, of Narragansett, and referred to judiciary committee; reported out of committee April 6th; passed Senate, 32 to 3, April 11th; passed House April 18th by 71 to 20, and signed by the Governor on April 18th.

Michigan.—Bill introduced in the Senate March 6th, passed March 21st, vote 22 to 7, permitting women to vote for electors for president and vice-president; passed the House on April 18th, vote 64 to 30.

Florida.—Constitutional amendment permitting women full suffrage was introduced simultaneously by Senator Hughlett and Representative Marshall, April 12th. Passed the Senate by a vote of 23 to 7 on April 23d.

Nebraska.—Bill for presidential, county, and municipal suffrage passed the House on February 7th by a vote of 73 to 24. Passed the Senate April 21 by a vote of 20 to 13. Signed by Governor Neville April 21st.

Nineteenth Suffrage State

Nebraska is the nineteenth state to get into the suffrage column. Eleven—Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming—have full suffrage. Eight have presidential suffrage—Illinois, North Dakota, Ohio, Indiana, Arkansas (right to vote for presidential electors at primaries), Rhode Island, Michigan and Nebraska. Five of the eight have municipal suffrage as well. Indiana gets a special measure of suffrage, notably the right to vote on delegates to the constitutional convention and the ratification of the constitution itself. The Rhode Island, Ohio, and Michigan measures provide for presidential suffrage only.

WHEN WOMEN ARE NOT PEOPLE

—By Florence Young

The fiat has gone forth. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has handed down a decision that, under the laws of Massachusetts, women are not to be defined as people by the Legislature. The eminent jurists went no further in classifying women than to state that it was apparent that the law did not construe them to be a part of the people when it enfranchised men. Under the construction of the law just what the women of Massachusetts are is left to the imagination. Animals? Angels? Devils? Or, does the law regard them as a new species, to be catalogued in the annals of a later period?

No ruling of a Prussian Diet could be more autocratic, more arbitrary, and less in accord with the human fact than this high-handed decision of the highest tribunal of a great republican commonwealth. So King George might have ruled that the Boston tea-party was not made up of people when he denied them the right of representation. Since the laws of their state can deny them the political rights of citizens on the premises that they are not people, as people are defined by the arbitrary definition of courts, are the women of Massachusetts to be ruled off the earth?

How long must they be content to occupy their anomalous position, neither fish, flesh nor fowl? If, in the eye of the laws of their state, they are not people, what is their status within the confines of their own commonwealth? It is interesting to note in this connection that if it had not been for one of this unnamed Massachusetts species American Independence might never have been. American jurisprudence might never have been. It was the promptings of Mercy Otis Warren, who happened to be the first person in America to conceive of a separation of the colonies from England, which committed John Adams to the Declaration of Independence, and it was her courage which sustained his sinking spirits when he was shunned on the streets of Philadelphia for even suggesting such a possibility. It was her mind that formulated the concept of "inherent rights," which was to be the cornerstone of a new political authority. She asserted that "inherent rights belonged to all mankind, and had been conferred on all by the God of nations."

The women of Massachusetts not definable as people? There has never been a time in the history of the state when Massachusetts women have not played their part beside men as an integral part of the commonwealth. With the men they have worked and suffered, lived and hoped, prayed and died. There is not a milestone in the progress of the state which does not measure the trail of their footsteps; there is not a home that does not show their efforts in behalf of the family and the state; there is not an industry which does not bear testimony to their support. Women's contribution to the industries and prosperity of the state has kept pace with the development of its resources. In all the ramifications of the state's development they have had a hand, contributing their full quota of work, save in the field of jurisprudence. And so little progress have the laws of Massachusetts made under the sole direction of men, that in the twentieth century the jurists of Massachusetts can still construe according to mediæval standards!

New Mexico.—Presidential suffrage bill failed of passage in the lower house by only four votes.

Turn On The Light!

Has woman suffrage brought material improvement in government?
Has it improved moral conditions, safeguarded the interests of the home, given better protection to children, improved conditions for working men and women?

These are questions answered by facts, not opinions and theories, in the new eight page pamphlet

TURN ON THE LIGHT

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

PRICE:

\$.25 dozen; \$1.50 per 100; \$4.00 per 500; \$6.00 per 1000.

OF COURSE THEY OUGHT TO VOTE

One of the conclusions voiced by the Democrats of the South after the last presidential campaign was that the South owed the election of its President to the Western women's vote. The women of Texas have been lately giving their State a chance to show just how appreciative Democrats really are of the help polled by the Western women's vote for a Democratic candidate. An active campaign was waged at the last Texas Legislature for woman suffrage. Three suffrage bills were introduced: One asking for a referendum to the electorate of the State of the question of a constitutional amendment: One asking for presidential suffrage, which the Legislature had power to grant; One asking for the privilege of voting at the State primaries, which also the Legislature could grant.

All three measures were defeated. The vote on the referendum was 76 for and 56 against in the House. The primary bill died on the Senate calendar. The bill for presidential electors was killed in the lower House. Apparently, however, defeat only whetted the Texas women's desire to give Texas another chance to make good with the women. Under the able leadership of their President, Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, a vigorous educational campaign was waged at Austin and throughout the State. Much valuable publicity was given suffrage, and the women who had put their shoulders to the wheel had the satisfaction of seeing the public aroused from its former apathy; indifferent spectators became interested listeners, lukewarm friends became active supporters, and a few openly avowed enemies drew into cover. There were many converts, too, among the members of the Legislature. Several Congressmen who had voted against woman suffrage in 1915 saw the light and voted for it in 1917. Among them was Representative Henry Clark, who is now one of the keenest suffragists in the State. His attention was secured by a determined suffragist who made occasion to fire point-blank at him the question, "Why are you against suffrage?" Representative Clark searched around in his mind for a reply and finally said, "My mother did not want to vote. She was perfectly contented attending to her home duties."

"Where is your mother?" asked the suffragist, sensing that Representative Clark could best be converted through the conversion of his mother.

"She is dead; she died ten years ago."

"Well ten years ago we were not asking for the vote either. Perhaps if your mother were living to-day she would want to vote. Conditions change and many people change their ideas within a decade."

"But my wife doesn't want to vote," added the Representative, hastily seeking refuge behind another member of his family.

"Perhaps she has never thought much about the matter. We would like to talk to her," said the irrefragible suffragist.

The suffragist set Representative Clark to thinking, with the result that he sent a telegram to a well-known woman in each of the five largest towns in his district. The replies he received were overwhelmingly in favor of suffrage. The night preceding the day on which a vote was to be taken on the suffrage measure in the

House, Representative Clark asked his wife how she wanted him to vote; she replied wistfully that she wanted him to use his own judgment. Her wistfulness made Representative Clark think some more. As a last resort he turned to his young daughter who was walking down to the House with him the morning of the vote and said, "What do you think about votes for women?" With the lofty assurance of youth she said calmly, "Why, Daddy, of course they ought to vote." And there began Representative Clark's career as a suffragist.

Now that the legislative work is over, the Texas suffragists are going right along with their propaganda and educational campaigns; suffrage schools have been inaugurated, and teas and luncheons, mass meetings and discussions before clubs, outdoor speakers and various mediums of publicity are being utilized to spread broadcast suffrage sentiment. One of the interesting features of the Texas campaign is that most of the very active women are distinctly "home women"—wives and mothers. And while the State President modestly admits they may make some mistakes, she adds, "We are sincere and earnest and confident of ultimate victory."

The Democratic party stands patly committed to woman suffrage by the State route. Suffragists, not alone of Texas, but of the Nation, are watching with tense interest for the evidence of good faith on the part of Southern Democrats as State by State the issue is injected into the political program of the hour. Arkansas men saw their opportunity and rose to it gallantly. Texas men have let occasion go by default. Every time the Southern Democrat repudiates in his own State the suffrage plank which he endorsed with his national party platform, he makes stronger and more timely the suffragists' plea for the passage of the Federal suffrage amendment.

FINANCE

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THE MAN WHO SAW WHAT HE COULD DO FOR OKLAHOMA AND DID IT



MRS. FRANK B. LUCAS

A woman's indomitable pluck and a man's direct influence saved the woman suffrage bill from dying in committee in the Oklahoma Legislature, and put Oklahoma on the suffrage map as a campaign State in 1918. The quick wit of one of the most capable and ardent workers for the bill, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, a few hours before the Legislature adjourned, rescued the bill from a conference committee where three

members of the House and three members of the Senate had reached a deadlock. The members of the House stood out uncompromisingly for a straight suffrage measure at a primary election, and the three members of the Senate stood out as irrevocably for a literacy test bill at the general election in November. Mrs. Lucas saw that whatever was to be done must be done quickly and through a Democratic caucus. She immediately called upon the most influential Senator of the committee, Senator J. Elmer Thomas, to urge upon him the necessity for prompt action. The influential Senator looked his despair.

"What can I do?" he demanded, "at this time when there are hundreds of bills in the hopper and everyone clamoring to have their bills put through and only a few hours until adjournment?"

"I know what you would do, Senator Thomas, if this were a pet bill of yours," Mrs. Lucas flashed, "you would call a Democratic caucus of your body and bind the refractory members by the caucus rule and the war would be over."

The influential Senator looked at the woman and smiled. He had seen the light. "I will see what I can do, Mrs. Lucas."

Within an hour a Democratic caucus was on and after the caucus the Senate voted unanimously to accept the House amendments which struck out the literacy test and inserted a straight suffrage clause. The Legislature was to adjourn at 12 P. M., and at 11 P. M. Mrs. Lucas went to the House with the engrossed bill to have the House recede from its primary election clause and insert general elections in November, 1918. At 12 o'clock she was at the Senate getting the signature of the President. Then back at the House to have the bill engrossed with all amendments. When the bill was ready for enrollment Mrs. Lucas sug-

gested to the President that as everything was in such a chaotic condition everywhere, with his permission she would enroll the bill herself and then she would know that nothing had been left out or added to. The bill being a concurrent resolution, it was not necessary for the Governor to sign it, but when the bill was enrolled, out of courtesy to the Governor's office, a place was made for his signature. Governor Williams signified his desire to sign the bill in the presence of Mrs. Lucas and her co-workers. The pen with which the President of the Senate signed the enrolled bill was given to the State Suffrage Association, and the work of one determined woman and the Senator who saw what he could do and did it was finished.

* * *

What "Primary Suffrage" Means

Arkansas presents a suffrage victory that is perhaps the most unlooked for thus far in the entire suffrage campaign. Women of that State have the right to vote in all primary elections.

They must pay a poll tax and meet all the qualifications of male voters. That means they practically have full suffrage in the State of Arkansas now. For it is at primaries that the choice of officials is made. There is only one party in Arkansas, the Democratic Party. The Republican Party exists only in name. At the primaries the Democratic voters turn out for their real election, and it is there that the men who shall be Governors, Senators, Representatives, State Legislators, Judges, Presidential Electors, and other officials are chosen.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Published Monthly at New York, N. Y., for Apr. 1, 1917

STATE OF NEW YORK ss.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK ss.

Before me, a notary public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared ROSE YOUNG, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is Managing Editor of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, publishers of the Headquarters News Letter, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443 Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the name and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

NAME OF	POST OFFICE ADDRESS
Publisher, National American Woman Suffrage Association,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Editor, Rose Young,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor, Rose Young,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Business Manager, Miss Eleanor H. Bates,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of the total amount of stock.) NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, consisting of 67 organizations, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs preceding, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also, that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ROSE YOUNG, Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of March, 1917.

MARY GUERIN,

(Seal)

(My commission expires March 31, 1917.)

AMERICANIZATION SERVICE OF THE SUFFRAGISTS

One of the things the National American Woman Suffrage Association has offered as a service to the government is help in making loyal citizens. Even in States where women are themselves deprived of the rights of full citizenship, they want to see the best citizens possible brought into the land they love.

There are eight million aliens in the United States. "By birth, by tradition, by training, these millions of people will find it difficult to understand the causes which have led the country into war," says the announcement of help drawn up by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Inevitably, war will breed intolerance of statement, and will tend to arouse antagonisms and hostilities.

To show how practical their Americanization plans are, the suffragists point with pride to achievements already made in the woman-voting State of Wyoming, where classes in civil government for adult aliens have been carried on for some months in the State University of Wyoming. Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, who occupies the chair of sociology, is not only conductor, but instigator of this work. In reply to the United States Naturalization Service, an appeal was made to the public schools of Wyoming to form naturalization classes, but as no response was made in Laramie, Dr. Hebard volunteered her services. Dr. Hebard is co-operating with the U. S. Immigration Agent at Denver, Mr. Paul Lee Ellerbe, and with Honorable V. J. Tidball, Judge of the District Court, who was at one time Dr. Hebard's pupil in constitutional law at Wyoming University. Judge Tidball has issued an order giving Dr. Hebard the right to conduct these naturalization classes, and he accepts her certificates of examination for those who have taken work with her. This elimination of examination in the court-room has been an infinite relief to the foreigners, who find a court examination under strange surroundings a trying, sometimes even a disastrous ordeal.

When Dr. Hebard took one of her regular Sociology Classes down to the court-room to witness the naturalization of some foreigners, three of the men quizzed that day by Judge Tidball had been instructed by Dr. Hebard in the elements of United States government.

After the court was dismissed the judge said he wished all native-born Americans could answer the questions as well, and with as full understanding.

At the end of the course, and after the examination, Dr. Hebard pinned a small silk flag upon the coat or dress of each one of the class, saying that it might be their first duty after receiving actual citizenship to defend our emblem of liberty and union even at the sacrifice of life.

When a German was asked if he would fight against Germany if the United States should have to go to war, without any hesitation, but with a troubled brow, he answered, promptly and feelingly, "Yes!" One of the lawyers in the court-room said to Dr. Hebard, "Although you have no sons to send to war, you certainly have made three patriotic loyal citizens out of that number of aliens."

Miss Hebard's classes met in the university, and in her regular class room. The pupils were shown the same respect as if they had been matriculated

students. Instruction was given by lectures with blackboards and maps. The courses covered ten winter weeks—a severe test of the desire to become good American citizens. On many an evening the class faced a blizzard, or heavy snows, to reach the university. All could read and speak English, but one German student found "executive" and "judiciary," "too big a word" to pronounce.

Besides the academic treatment of her subject, Dr. Hebard never let a lesson pass without a patriotic stimulus. This she gave through the selection of typical Presidents of the United States for special study. Also by lessons in democratic ideals from the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. Behind the instructor always hung the American flag with a picture of Washington in its folds.

Another class for the summer will be organized at once, and now all seven of Wyoming's judges have interested themselves in the movement, and are encouraging citizens to organize similar classes.

Dr. Hebard thinks this is a work which the women of the State can do for preparedness. It seems to her quite appropriate that Wyoming should take a leading part in introducing this as a woman's service to the country, since Wyoming in 1869—the first commonwealth in the world to take such a step—gave its women full and unlimited citizenship.



LARAMIE, WYOMING, CLASS IN NATURALIZATION ON THE COURT HOUSE STEPS, MARCH 8, 1917.

Lower row, left to right, German, Irishman, Englishman. Second row, left to right, Instructor G. R. Hebard; Judge of the Court, V. J. Tidball; Deputy U. S. Naturalization Agent, F. C. Emmerich; Clerk of the Court, F. Ihmsen.

OUR OWN PRESS TABLE

To Press Chairmen:

Day's News

As everybody is beginning to know, the National American Woman Suffrage Association is establishing what promises to be a daily suffrage news service. It is not too much to expect, in this day and generation, that there will be "something doing" in suffrage worthy of nation-wide attention almost every day in the week. So almost every day in the week a suffrage news story will go out from headquarters to the news distributing agencies of the country. But that is not enough. Suffrage news must be more intensively handled than that. State by State and county by county regional and local suffrage news must be developed and distributed among the newspapers. State press chairmen should not rest content until they have adequate local women watching the news end for suffrage all over their respective states. Keeping suffrage in the news of the day means keeping suffrage in the minds of voters. Suffrage press chairmen must become past mistresses in the art of relating suffrage to the day's news, whether that news be baseball or war. They must see the potential suffrage interest and argument everywhere, and they must write it in as large newspaper headlines as they can, so that voters may see it. Woman suffrage is involved in the basic democratic principle. That is why it is so easy to inject it into each day's content in the newspaper, as in life.

A Live Issue

"Suffrage," we are fond of saying, "is a live issue." Suffragists all over the country know what it is to be sought out by newspaper reporters bent upon "getting a suffrage story." They know what it is to fence and parry with the benign intention of getting newspapers to feature woman suffrage and leave unfeatured so-called "woman rows." They can, many of them, tell a suffrage news story as far as they can see it or hear it, and they can, some of them, link up suffrage with "day's news" in a truly ingenious manner. Around the press table in forthcoming numbers, current examples of this ingenuity will be dealt with.

Helping the Reporter

But sometimes women fail utterly to rise to the occasion when opportunity offers. By way of illustration, consider the case of one perfectly nice lady helping one perfectly earnest reporter get a story: The story is just a little story of two names. Mrs. James Henry Smith has been elected president of the Once-a-Week Club. The woman whom she succeeds is named Mrs. William P. Jones. The woman who is helping the reporter get the story is named Mrs. Wright Green.

The Reporter, at the telephone—Is that you, Mrs. Green? This is Miss Gettit of the *Trumpet*. I received your notice about the election, but you didn't give the initials of Mrs. Smith or Mrs. Jones. Will you please give them to me?

The Lady—Oh, didn't I? That was awfully stupid of me. Oh, yes, I remember now. I didn't give them because I didn't know them. I don't know why it is I can't remember initials. Let me see—what are that woman's initials? Why, you know she is the wife of

that Mr. Smith who is in the city bank. No, in the post office. Anyhow, he has some job or other. You know him, Mr. Smith? He is very well known. He has a brother in the militia—don't you remember—he went to the border and got camp fever and died, and his wife was so torn up about it, and wrote letters to the papers. Oh, yes, her name was Edith, but we always called her Daisy—Daisy Gray Brewster she was, the daughter of that old Mr. Brewster who was—

The Reporter—Is this the new president you are talking about now? You mean her name was Edith?

The Lady—Oh, no; I'm not talking about her. I'm talking about her husband's brother's wife's father.

Yes, and she will be talking about him, or his great-aunt's cousin's niece, for the next hour, unless the reporter gets tired and goes off about some more profitable business.

The Moral?—Know your facts and help the reporter get them without wearisome and perplexing digression.

* * *

AS THE EDITORS SEE IT

Compiled by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Chairman
Dept. of Editorial Correspondence

"With universal suffrage announcing itself in England, and democracy announcing itself in Russia, the tree of war is bearing strange and unexpected fruits. But who shall say that the fruit is not good? Of course not everyone in Russia wants democracy; and not everyone in England wants suffrage. If we waited until everyone wanted anything, we would wait until doomsday. There are many excellent women who do not want to vote; also, there are many excellent women who do not want to marry—not so many, of course. As the world is bound to go on, the views of the virgins may be respected, but will never be adopted as a working creed for all."

—*Express*, San Antonio, Texas.

"Who is foolish enough to say after nearly three years' observation of what women have done in all other parts of the globe touched by the great conflict that they are not entitled to suffrage? If they are fit and willing to rush to the aid of the Government in war they are fit and capable of helping to direct it in times of peace."

—*Standard-Union*, Brooklyn, N. Y.

"Women demand and must have their proper place in the public affairs of every civilized nation. There can now be no doubt as to necessity for full recognition of this fact in any nation. Success such as has crowned the noble efforts of the suffragists in Great Britain will eventually come to the cause of suffrage throughout the world. America looks on with warm approval and looks confidently forward to the early achievement of universal suffrage on this side of the Atlantic. Justice to women cannot be denied, and they are going to vote."

—*Leader*, Pittsburgh, Pa.

"The change of front in England will have a mighty influence in turning the scales in this country. It will be strange if Congress fails to meet the pressure of importunity before very long. It will be strange if now the women fail to renew the struggle with victory nearer than ever. And it will be foolhardy for those who represent the people to ignore the claims of woman suffrage."

Mercury-Herald, San Jose, Calif.

THE HOME AND THE VOTE

A New Kind of Woman's Page

The following recipes have been taken from various cook-books issued by Brooklyn suffragists, by those of Pennsylvania, and best of all by the Woman's City Club of Long Beach, California, showing that enfranchised women do not desert the cook-stove for the ballot box.

Fish Cutlets

Take one and one-half cups boiled halibut or salmon, add a thick white sauce made of three tablespoons of butter, one-third cup flour, one cup of hot milk, one-half teaspoon of salt and pepper, and one-half teaspoon of grated onion. Mix with the fish and let cool. Shape into cutlets, dip in egg and crumbs, fry in deep fat, drain in paper.

Foie à la Poulette

Cut a calf's liver in slices, dredge with flour, mince one onion and fry in butter, add the liver, cook until done, then add pepper, salt, a small quantity of chicken broth, a few drops of vinegar, and stir until well mixed.

Delicious Chocolate Layer Cake

Two cups brown sugar, one-half cup cocoa, one-half cup butter or shortening, one cup sour milk, two and one-half cups flour sifted in slowly, lastly add one cup hot water in which has been dissolved one teaspoonful soda. Beat until smooth, then add one teaspoonful baking powder.

Icing—one cup sugar, one cup of water, one tablespoonful cocoa, one teaspoonful butter and vanilla to taste. Boil until it hairs. Place nuts in halves on top.

Date Pudding

One pound dates, one cup walnut meats, two cups sugar, four eggs, five tablespoonfuls bread crumbs with two tablespoonfuls baking powder in it. Bake one-half hour. Lift once in a while with a fork to dry it out.

Enfranchised Macaroni

Prepare macaroni in double boiler as usual. Slice one large onion and one large green pepper. Brown in bacon drippings; add one can of tomatoes, salt to taste. Pour this, when boiling, over the macaroni. Take any number of rib pork chops, cut away fat, place on top of macaroni. Bake twenty minutes in hot oven. Sprinkle with grated cheese and brown.

With these recipes, the plea is offered that any person eating any one of these dishes and finding it good, will in gratitude remember that those who feed a nation perform an important service, and that good cooks not only want but deserve good votes.

WHEN MEN REPRESENT WOMEN

A woman traveler, eastward-bound from the Pacific coast, varied the long and wearisome Pullman day by strolling through the day-coaches seeking interest. She found it in the blatant voice of a burly, red-faced man who occupied a seat beside a small wizened woman.

"Getting out of Idaho as fast as I can," he announced to everybody in particular. "Tired of this thing of women voting. Here, Idaho passes a law I'm against. And women did it. I won't live in the State. Going into North Dakota."—(Poor man, not knowing what was going to happen in North Dakota about three weeks from then!) "Brother-in-law is driving my cattle over the border to-day—this thing of women voting"—he went off to the smoker grumbling and rumbling deeply.

The east-bound woman slipped into his seat. "Do you want to move?" she asked of the small wizened one.

"Nope."

"Do you like Idaho?"

"Nope."

"Do you think you will like North Dakota?"

"Nope."

"Did you ever vote?"

A change that was like the breaking up of the river ice under spring suns came over the woman's pinched face. Her eyes twinkled, her lips jerked back, she looked vital.

"Oncet!" she snapped.

And you knew, from the very impishness of her, that it was for that measure, the passage of which was sending him and his cattle out of Idaho over into North Dakota.

THE ANTI IN POLITICS

Mr. Milton Fairchild, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Institution for Moral Instruction, asked assistance from a prominent anti-suffrage woman in a recent campaign for universal character education of children in the public schools, but did not gain her promise to help. The excuse given was—"Well, you know I am in politics now." His reply was—"This is surprising—the suffrage women are accused of neglecting the children on account of politics, but the anti-suffrage women are supposed to be devoted to the home virtues, and in favor of keeping out of politics for the sake of the children." Mr. Fairchild writes the *National Suffrage News* that he is forced to conclude that: "Evidently even anti-suffrage women do go into politics of necessity when they decide to do something for the good of the Nation."

* * *

One Pedestal for Rent Again

"Marjorie Shuler's 'For Rent—One Pedestal' is readable, amusing, entertaining, instructive. It produces smiles, tears, and indignation with varying degrees of other emotions to fill the chinks—and all within the covers of a small book. Read it."—Carrie Chapman Catt.

**A SQUARE DEAL FOR WOMEN
In Peace or in War**

Without Regard to Sex

"In any eventuality, when women may be employed, we insist that equal pay for equal work shall prevail without regard to sex." So reads a vital clause in a document adopted at a conference of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, D. C., March 12. The document sets forth the pledge of labor to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty in time of war as in times of peace. The clause has particular bearing upon the industrial service likely to be required of women workers in war time.

Discrimination in Federal Service

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has recently protested discrimination against women in the Federal civil service. The American Federation of Labor has taken similar action. Representative Keating introduced into the House of Representatives a resolution calling upon President Wilson to furnish the House with such information as would enable it to determine the truth or falsity of the grave charges that are made in this connection. Mr. Keating comes from Colorado, the representatives of which State are in the habit of looking after women's interests as carefully as men's. The answer to his questions would have brought out the extent to which sex is a factor in civil service selections. The evidence of it he called impressive. The resolution was ruled out on a point of order, but it is not likely that the matter will be allowed to rest there. Suffragists are determined that what is apparently a bureaucratic discrimination against women shall be abolished.

French Women's Appeal

The women of France have drawn up the following declaration, for which they ask the consideration of the women of all countries:

"This frightful war, from which women in all nations have as much to suffer as men, will have some reactions which we must from now on foresee if we are to be guarded against the threats which are increasing daily.

"The destruction by millions of active men of the various countries at war obliges now, and later on will increasingly oblige, industry to employ in an unusual proportion women workers.

"Each time women have entered industries, which up to that time had been closed to them, a lowering of wages has followed.

"Women must understand that wherever they may be called to take the places of men, it is their duty to demand equal pay for equal work. They must demand it:

"1st. Because it is the most elementary justice that the labor be paid according to its intrinsic value, and not according to sex.

"2d. By personal interest.

"3d. By duty toward other women (as it has been demonstrated that the acceptance of a reduced wage brings inevitably a fall in all wages of the trade).

"4th. By duty toward the fighting men who, when they return, must not find conditions of labor still lower than they were before the war.

"We ask of the women of all countries:

"1st. To make in their respective countries a methodic inquiry into the state of men's and women's wages.

"2d. To arouse all professional societies, feminists, etc., to organize a powerful movement in behalf of equality of pay with the view of obtaining from their government at the moment of the signature of the peace treaty the settlement of international conventions applicable for a limited time and designed to assure the respect of the following principle:

"The pay for definite work must be absolutely independent of the sex of the individual who executes it."

* * *



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OHIO'S GREATER VICTORY

When Ohio women won presidential suffrage a wave of triumphant rejoicing surged through the suffrage ranks from coast to coast. On April 3d an even greater victory for suffrage was won in Ohio, in the estimation of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, leader of Ohio's suffrage forces. This was the Supreme Court's affirmation of the constitutionality of women's votes cast under Ohio's city charters. No story ever loses in the telling when Mrs. Upton tells it, so let her tell this one.

"In 1912 an amendment to the constitution providing for Home Rule for cities was adopted. Newton D. Baker, now Secretary of War, then mayor of Cleveland; Brand Whitlock, late minister to Belgium, then mayor of Toledo; Prof. A. R. Hatton, of the Western Reserve University, and some others were much interested in this amendment, and we have always supposed that Mr. Baker and Prof. Hatton wrote it. In fact, each thinks that he wrote it, so they must have written it together. This amendment provided that cities, instead of following the state law, might adopt for themselves a charter under which their laws should be administered. It was called Home Rule, because the voters of the municipality were to decide, in the first place, whether they would have a charter, and then what form of government the charter would take.

"A number of Ohio cities are now working under charters. Their governments vary. These cities are: Cleveland, East Cleveland, Toledo, Dayton, Springfield, Sandusky, Lakewood and Ashtabula. Some of them have the commission form of government and some have managers on the suffrage question. So far as suffrage is concerned, Cleveland is by far the best-organized city in the State of Ohio, probably the best west of New York. The Cleveland suffrage organization, at the time East Cleveland was thinking of adopting a charter, decided to ask for woman suffrage in that charter. Many people think there would not have been a charter in East Cleveland if the Cleveland suffragists had not started in, for after the men decided to take the matter up they let it drift for many months, and if I remember aright the committee having the thing in charge did not hold a meeting up to the time the suffragists went to them.

"When the men who framed the Home Rule amendment found we were going to ask for woman suffrage under that amendment they laughed, because they said they had no thought of including suffrage in it, although they were both ardent suffragists. The charter carried, the woman suffrage amendment carried, and the women of East Cleveland were enfranchised under the new charter. The question of annexation to the city of Cleveland had long been agitated, and after the charter, with woman suffrage, had been carried, this agitation was renewed, and at the first election in East Cleveland (the one to choose the commissioners under the charter), the question of annexation was also brought in the Supreme Court by Mrs. J. Livingston Taylor to determine, first, the constitutionality of women voting under city charters; second, whether they had the right to vote on the question of annexation. The Supreme Court at first said it could decide before election, but later some intricate questions came up and the Supreme Court said it would not decide the question until after election if the election officials were willing to allow the women to vote and to have their votes sealed up, to be counted after

the Supreme Court had decided the case. This was agreed to. The case went to the Supreme Court last October. It has been hanging fire ever since. April 3d that decision was rendered, and it was favorable. The women in East Cleveland can now vote in all municipal elections and can be voted for exactly as men can vote and be voted for.

"One of the significant features of this whole thing is that when the Cleveland Party took up this case, with Miss Florence E. Allen as legal adviser, scarcely a man could be found who thought there was anything in our contention. Miss Allen first had to convert a majority of the charter commission to the legality of the thing itself, and second to the legality of submitting the woman suffrage amendment as a suffrage proposal. A man in Toledo, former state solicitor, took the same position Miss Allen did, and the assistant law director in Cleveland (during Mayor Baker's administration) also took this position; but the Cleveland law director and most of the Cleveland lawyers, who were good suffragists, assured us that there was nothing in our contention. We have no small satisfaction because of the excellent work done by women in this whole case."

THE RHODE ISLAND VICTORY

By Florence Howe Hall

Among those who will especially rejoice in the Rhode Island victory are the members of the Newport County Suffrage League. Founded in 1908 by Miss Cora Mitchell, they have kept steadily at work, despite the many discouragements confronting them.

In 1912 Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott, youngest daughter of Julia Ward Howe, became the president, since which the membership of the League has greatly increased. During the summer of 1916 the League had a specially active season, Mrs. Florence Howe Hall, honorary president of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, and eldest living daughter of Mrs. Howe, acting as general secretary and chairman of canvassing. House-to-house canvassing was carried on, with excellent results.

The present officers are, in addition to Mrs. Elliott, the President, Honorary President Miss Cora Mitchell; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Eugene Sturtevant, daughter of the late Bishop Clarke of Rhode Island; Mrs. James Griswold Wentz; Mrs. Michael Van Beuren, daughter of the late Mr. John Archbold; Mrs. J. J. Clarke, granddaughter of the late John Bigelow of New York; Mrs. Oscar Miller, Mrs. Thomas S. Nowell; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Walter S. Wright; Treasurer, Miss Mary Sturtevant; Auditor, Rev. William Safford Jones.

Mrs. Elliott went to the Capitol in Providence on the 17th inst. when the Lower House passed the bill. Governor Beeckman is a member of the League, as is also Miss Henrietta C. Ellery, granddaughter of Mr. Ellery, who signed the Declaration of Independence; Bishop Darlington of Harrisburg, Pa.; Dr. Kate Stanton, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Mrs. Howard Cushing, Jr., Mr. J. Marsden Perry, and many others.

It is always dangerous to say when the first suffrage meeting was held. An interesting one was held as early as the beginning of the present century at the Channing Memorial House. Among the speakers were Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Henry Blackwell, and Mrs. Florence Howe Hall. Dr. Mary D. Hussey was active in arranging the meeting.